Citizenship Engagement: Responses from High School Students

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Abstract

In the United States, the main mission of social studies education is to prepare students for citizenship. With this in mind, the following study examined 191 high school students' views on how they demonstrated citizenship. Traditionally with this age group, personally responsible citizenship has been a common form of self-reported citizenship engagement. However, in this study, the students seemed to conceptualize citizenship differently. With the Akwesasne Mohawk students, the European American students, and the students who classified themselves as other, disengaged citizenship was the most popular form of citizenship while patriotic citizenship was the least popular form of citizenship. Although attitudes about citizenship are changing, by understanding students' perceptions about citizenship, citizenship education curriculum can be recalibrated to better meet the needs of students in the 21st century.

Keywords Citizenship, American Indians, Native Americans, high school students, Mohawks, social studies education

1   Introduction

In the United States, the main goal of education and social studies education has been to prepare youth for citizenship (Farber, 2011; Glickman, 2009; Herczog, 2013; Keels, 2009; National Council for the Social Studies, 2010; Reid, 2014). However, there are different views on what types of behaviors citizenship should include. For example, Parker and Beck (2017) note that the Athenians used the term idiocy to describe individuals who focus on their own needs sometimes more than the needs of their community. Yet, Westheimer (2015) highlights the limitations of civic behaviors that are oriented merely to helping others and following laws, arguing that citizens should focus on addressing the root causes of social justice issues such as poverty (Westheimer, 2015). In contrast, Donahue (2000) argues that while seeking to address the root cause of a social justice issue may help long term efforts, following a natural disaster, the act of helping others can address the immediate needs of homeless survivors such as food and water. Yet, conflicting views of desirable citizenship behavior go beyond the act of helping others. For the National Council for the Social Studies (2013), social studies is about citizenship and content knowledge, but for Francis Bellamy, the author of the United States Pledge of Allegiance, citizenship is about cultivating love for the nation via the United States Pledge of Allegiance (Ellis, 2005; Jones & Meyer, 2010).

While educators seek to promote their own views on how youth should demonstrate citizenship, the demographics of youth in the United States is

changing (Gollnick & Chinn, 2016). By 2023, ethnic minorities will constitute 55% of United States kindergarten through twelfth grade students, and the increase in minorities is expected to continue (Department of Education, 2013). With this shift in United States demographics, the landscape of United States citizenship education is in a midst of change.

While citizenship education has examined individuals of different racial/ethnic backgrounds (Alazzi & Chiodo, 2008; Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Wood, 2014), Native American Indians have generally been underrepresented in the citizenship education research literature. Examining the experiences of and attitudes about citizenship of one Native American nation, the Akwesasne Mohawks, compared to European Americans and to students who classify themselves as other offers diversity to the existing citizenship education literature based on their identity and on their forms of civic participation. Consequently, the study examined the following research question: In what types of civic behaviors do high school youth participate?

2   Literature Review

2.1 Attitudes about Social Studies/History

There are diverse attitudes towards social studies/history. For example, in response to Native American youth having their culture being undermined in the classroom, some Native American youth and parents view the

United States educational system with caution or hostility (Verbos, Gladstone, & Kennedy, 2011). Similarly, Woodson (2015) notes that African American participants viewed social studies textbooks' limited coverage of United States Civil Rights leaders with strong suspicion and distaste.

Chandler (2010) notes that teachers in general but especially white teachers are extremely fearful of discussing race in the classroom because they view the topic as taboo, teachers are at a disadvantage when discussing races other than their own, and teachers are fearful of offending the community which may have differing views about race/ethnicity. For example, Swanson (1997), a European American, expressed anger that there was a film that examined the Native American Geronimo, and Swanson (1997) disliked the concept of having paintings of Native Americans on walls. In contrast, Bowman (2003), a Stockbridge-Munsee/Mohican, decries the absence of Native American educators, the absence of Native Americans in research studies, and the lack of culturally relevant pedagogy in kindergarten through 12th grade classrooms.

2.2 Citizenship Behaviors

Citizenship is defined as a person's membership within a state or country (Parker & Beck, 2017), and citizenship serves as the study's conceptual framework. There are different lenses for viewing citizenship behaviors, and this study examined four types of citizenship. They are disengaged citizenship, personal development citizenship, personally responsible citizenship, and patriotic citizenship.

2.2.1   Disengaged citizenship

Individuals who believe that they can impact the political process are more inclined to vote, to contact a public official with a concern, and to be psychologically engaged with politics (Levy, 2013). In contrast, disengaged citizens are individuals who state that they are not involved in citizenship activities (Martin, 2017; Mellon Humanities Focus Area, 2014). There are various possible explanations for this behavior. A 2016 Associated Press-Gfk poll found that nearly 80% of Americans of unspecified race/ethnicity were dissatisfied because they felt that the government was dysfunctional and ignores constituents' interests (Webber, & Swanson, 2016). Furthermore, when Flanagan and Gallay (2008) evaluated primarily European American middle and high school students' feelings of trust before/after the national election, post-election results showed a decrease in trust toward politics, the media, and other people. Additionally, there was a decline in their belief that the government cares about ordinary citizens and a decline in their belief that the United States offers opportunities for everyone. Later in 2014, Berson Rodríguez-Campos, Walker-Egea, Owens, and Bellara (2014) surveyed primarily Hispanic and European American middle and high school students on their desire to vote in the next election or to vote at age 18. Due to their dissatisfaction with voting and politics, only 40% of the students reported that they planned to vote. They felt disconnected from the United States, so for them, voting was not seen as an important responsibility of citizens; instead, voting was seen as irrelevant to their lives (Berson et al., 2014).

2.2.2   Personal development citizenship

Personal development citizenship involves citizens who develop themselves via activities such as school, sports, and clubs (Brookfield Community School, n.d.; Martin, 2017; University of Oxford, 2017). With respect to content knowledge, Berson et al. (2014) notes that the more knowledgeable youth are about civics and politics, the more likely they are to be involved in the political process. Because social studies content is so critical, the National Council for the Social Studies defines social studies as the development of citizens through the examination of social science and humanities content (National Council for the Social Studies, n.d.). The American high school curriculum provides students with social studies coursework to develop their content knowledge (El-Haj, 2007), and peoples' political knowledge can impact their attitudes about democracies, political participation, and democratic principles (Dias & Menezes, 2014). By participating on sport teams, individuals can experience a sense of belonging and a sense of connection to their school and to their community. Through sport, individuals have the opportunity to develop their leadership skills, work ethic, athletic skills, physical fitness, and problem solving skills (Kozub & Brusseau, 2012; Yeung, 2015). Furthermore, Lopez and Moore (2006) found that males and females of unspecified race/ethnicity who participated in sports during high school were more likely than nonsport participants to vote and volunteer.

Meanwhile, through clubs, students have opportunities to feel part of a group, develop communication skills, and cultivate leadership skills (Carter, Swedeen, & Moss, 2009; Kressly, Herbert, Ross, & Votsch, 2009). Also, when students are participating in after school clubs other than sport teams, their civic participation rises (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Through the act of personal development, youth can prepare for their future within society, explore potential career options, enrich their minds, and strength their bodies.

2.2.3   Personal responsible citizenship

During personally responsible citizenship, the individual seeks to help others and strives to follow the society's rules and laws (Westheimer, 2015). To demonstrate this form of citizenship, an individual may donate blood at the local blood bank or may donate money to the American Red Cross. Through personally responsible citizenship, youth can learn more about their community and can help support their community (Berson et al., 2014; Martin & Chiodo, 2007).

In the United States and overseas, personally responsible citizenship is a popular form of citizenship. When primarily rural European American United States high school students were asked to describe how they displayed good citizenship, 51% of the 11th graders discussed helping other people and 36% of the 11th graders discussed the need to obey rules and laws (Martin & Chiodo, 2007). Likewise, when southwestern United States Native American high school students were asked to explain good citizenship, 71% of them discussed helping other people in the community and 61% of them commented upon the significance of complying with rules and laws (Martin & Chiodo, 2008). In the country of Jordan, among rural high school students of unspecified race/ethnicity, good citizenship meant helping others (50%) and following rules and laws (50%) (Alazzi & Chiodo, 2008). Next, in New Zealand, when primarily New Zealand European and Pacific Nations high school students were given an opportunity to define good citizenship, they explained that it involved helping other people (Wood, 2014).

2.2.4   Patriotic citizenship/commitment to country

A patriotic citizen demonstrates loyalty and support for the nation (Kahne & Middaugh, 2007; Martin, 2017). When Mitchell and Parker (2008) interviewed northwestern high school students of unspecified race/ethnicity on their views about citizenship after the 9/11 attacks, they described their feelings of numbness toward the United States flag and their limited connection to the United States; their sense of identity and their strong connection were for their city not the nation. In addition, when Bondy (2014)

interviewed high school Hispanic students in the southeastern United States, they felt disconnected from the United States and felt disinterest towards the Pledge ceremony. Conversely, when primarily European American and African American southeastern high school students were asked to discuss what the Pledge meant to them personally, 39% of them discussed the importance of loyalty to the nation while 28% of them discussed America. Unfortunately, for 28% of them, the United States Pledge of Allegiance meant nothing (Martin, 2014). Finally, when California high school students of unspecified race/ethnicity were asked about patriotism, Kahne and Middaugh (2007) found that patriotic citizenship/commitment to country was the most popular at 73% compared to constructive patriotism (68%) which involves looking at an issue from different perspectives, blind patriotism (43%) which involves following a position without reflection, or active patriotism (41%) where a person takes action on and enacts change in society on an issue.

2.2.5 Rural communities

Due to the location of many Native American reservations in isolated rural areas, an additional factor to consider is life within rural communities. For the Native Americans and non-Native Americans living in rural communities, job opportunities are less plentiful for them compared to individuals who live in major cities (Elder, 2015), and overall, approximately 30% of all Native Americans and Alaska Natives live in poverty (Elder, 2015). For the rural county where the study of Akwesasne Mohawks, European Americans, and students who classified themselves as other took place, the poverty rate in the county is 18.3% (United States Census Bureau, 2016 a), and the percentage of students eligible for free and reduced lunch is 72.4%.

Experiences with generational poverty impacts individuals' views towards society. Payne (2013) notes that when individuals live in generational poverty, they are apt to show distrust and dislike for organized society. This tendency has been exacerbated by the rural Akwesasne Mohawks' negative experiences with the United States government such as the loss of their tribal land coupled with their limited political power (Elder, 2015; Segwalise, 2005). Payne (2013) also notes that due to a lack of resources and a need to survive, individuals who live in generational poverty tend to see illegal behavior not as a negative behavior but a part of life and survival. For example, within the rural town where the study took place, amidst limited job options, some area residents work for the school district or the tribal casino while other Akwesasne Mohawks and European Americans smuggle immigrants and/or cigarettes across the United States/Canadian border for profit (George-Kanentiio, 2008). Yet, not all rural youth view the world through the same lens. Among rural southwest Native American high school students of unspecified tribal affiliation, the students wrote that they demonstrated good citizenship by helping others (71%) and following rules/laws (61%) (Martin & Chiodo, 2008). They also wrote that they planned to demonstrate good citizenship 10 years in the future via voting (68%) and community service (71%), and for them, community service included service to the community and service to the tribe (Martin & Chiodo, 2008).

The 2014 Pew National Research American Trends Study found that trust in the United States government was lower in rural areas (22%) than in urban areas (28%) (Cillizza, 2015). Rural areas can have different policy needs compared to urban areas, and a lack of political power among rural citizens can cause tensions. However, there are opportunities for synergy. Historical studies of rural communities suggest that economic self-interest and policy opportunities helped them to more closely connect to the community (Lauzon, 2011).

3 Methods

The study included 191 rural high school students of whom 88 were Akwesasne Mohawks, 80 were European American, and 23 who classified themselves as other. The students who classified themselves as other tended to be a combination of Akwesasne Mohawk and European American heritage. For this study, a rural community is defined as an area less than 2,500 residents (United States Census Bureau, 2016 b), and the city where the study took place meets the United States Census criteria. The high school is located within the northeastern United States and includes grades 9 through 12. To supplement the school's traditional course offerings, it provides coursework on the Akwesasne Mohawk language and culture.

3.1 The Akwesasne Mohawks

The Akwesasne Mohawk tribe is located on both sides of the United States/Canadian border, and United States treaties of 1784, 1789, and 1794 guaranteed the Akwesasne Mohawk tribe's sovereignty (Segwalise, 2005). Tribal members strongly value their tribal identity (George-Kanentiio, 2008), and a traditional Akwesasne Mohawk is "a person or a family who chooses to live outside the 'mainstream' life imposed on Native Americans by the European or European American culture or governments" (Johansen, 1993, p. xxviii). For example, when the United States Citizenship Act of 1924 imposed American citizenship upon the tribe, the tribe rejected American and Canadian citizenship (George-Kanentiio, 2008; Holm, 2010; Reid, 2014; Segwalise, 2005). Later, in 1977, while traveling to a United Nations conference, the Mohawk tribal members successfully used their Iroquois issued passports (Barreiro, 2005). By emphasizing tribal identity, the tribal members are demonstrating their strong connection to the tribe.

3.2 Data Collection and Data Analysis

During a one week period, six social studies teachers distributed the survey to their students and collected the responses. The survey encompassed demographic questions and the following survey question (Table 1): In your daily life, are you involved in any activities that you consider to be related to citizenship? If so, please describe them. The open ended format was used to hear their perceptions on what constitutes citizenship behaviors and to avoid biasing their responses. To obtain the data categories, the constant comparative method (Creswell, 2015) was used. The survey responses and the interview responses were transcribed and placed in an Excel spreadsheet. From the data, the author noted key words and phrases, searched for emerging patterns, and created codes. From the participants' responses, codes emerged. Then, descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data. For Table 1, the main codes were disengaged citizenship, personally responsible citizenship, personal development citizenship, and patriotic citizenship. Quotes from the participants were included to illustrate the categories.

4 Results

Overall, the most popular form of citizenship engagement was disengaged citizenship (36.63%) while the least popular form of citizenship was patriotic citizenship (6.3%). However, disengaged citizenship was more pronounced among Akwesasne Mohawk students (41.49%) and students who classified themselves as other (47.83%) than the European American students (28.24%). With this form of citizenship, a typical response was "No."

With personal development citizenship, participation rates were fairly similar among the Akwesasne Mohawk (26.60%), the European Americans (24.71%), and the students who classified themselves as other (21.74%). For example, a European American student wrote, "Yes, I go to school," an Akwesasne Mohawk student penned, "Sports," and a European American student wrote, "I am in the local volunteer fire department."

With personally responsible citizenship, Akwesasne Mohawk students' participation rates (18.09%) were somewhat lower than European American (27.06%) and students who classified themselves as other (26.09%); however, in each of the groups, the participants strongly preferred to help others than follow rules and laws. For example, one European American wrote, "Activities in which we help other people that go through hardships. By helping another citizen, I feel that I help give back. I participate all the time, but we have meetings about every other weekend." An Akwesasne Mohawk student penned, "Volunteer in community events" while a student who classified himself as other noted, "In my daily life, an activity that I consider citizenship is helping at a local [food] pantry."

Finally, with patriotic citizenship, 5 out of 6 of the Akwesasne Mohawks (5.32%) preferred to express patriotism towards their tribe rather than towards the United States. For example, an Akwesasne Mohawk student penned, "For being a Mohawk I try to attend ceremonies. I wake up each day and I am proud of who I am and that's being Mohawk." However, a different Akwesasne Mohawk student wrote, "Stand up for the Pledge of Allegiance every day in school and sometimes sing the national anthem at my hockey games." In contrast, all of the European American students (9.41%) discussed the Pledge. For example, one European American student wrote, "Pledge allegiance to the flag every morning at school." In contrast, among the students who classified themselves as other, 0% of them discussed patriotic citizenship.

Table 1. High school students: In your daily life, are you involved in any activities that you consider to be related to citizenship? If so, please describe them and identify how often you participated.

High School Students			
Total participants = 191	Akwesasne Mohawk n = 88	European Americans n=80	Other n = 23
Total responses = 202	Total responses = 94	Total responses = 85	Total responses = 23
Disengaged citizenship = 74 (36.63%)	Disengaged citizenship = 39 (41.49%)	Disengaged citizenship = 24 (28.24%)	Disengaged citizenship = 11 (47.83%)
Personal development citizenship = 51 (25.25%)	Personal development citizenship = 25 (26.60%)	Personal development citizenship = 21 (24.71%)	Personal development citizenship = 5 (21.74%)
School = 29 (14.36%)	School = 15 (15.96%)	School = 11 (12.94%)	School = 3 (13.04%)
Sports = 20 (9.90%)	Sports = 10 (10.64%)	Sports = 8 (9.41%)	Sport = 2 (8.70%)
Club = 2 (1%)		Club = 2 (2.35%)	
Personally responsible citizenship = 46 (22.77%)	Personally responsible citizenship = 17 (18.09%)	Personally responsible citizenship = 23 (27.06%)	Personally responsible citizenship = 6 (26.09%)
Help others = 42 (20.79%)	Help others = 15 (15.96%)	Help others = 21 (24.71%)	Help others = 6 (26.09%)
Rules laws = 4 (1.98%)	Rules laws = 2 (2.13%)	Rules laws = 2 (2.35%)	
Patriotic citizenship = 14 (6.93%)	Patriotic citizenship = 6 (6.38%)	Patriotic citizenship = 8 (9.41%)	Patriotic citizenship = 0 (0%)
Pledge = 9 (4.46%)	Pledge = 1 (1.06%)	Pledge = 8 (9.41%)	
Tribe = 5 (5.32%)	Tribe = 5 (5.32%)		
No response = 9 (4.46%)	No response = 4 (4.26%)	No response = 5 (5.88%)	
Miscellaneous = 8 (3.96%)	Miscellaneous 3 (3.19%)	Miscellaneous 4 (4.71%)	Miscellaneous 1 (4.35%)

5   Discussion

This study sought to evaluate the civic engagement of high school Akwesasne Mohawk and European American high school students. Traditionally with this age group, personally responsible citizenship has been a popular form of self-reported citizenship engagement (Alazzi & Chiodo, 2008; Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Martin & Chiodo, 2008; Wood, 2014). However, in this study, for the European American students, the Akwesasne Mohawk students, and the students who classified themselves as other, disengaged citizenship was the most popular form of citizenship, and patriotic citizenship was the least popular form of citizenship. The overall popularity of disengaged citizenship among these high school students supports the 2016 Associated Press-Gfk poll which found that nearly 80% of adult Americans of unspecified race/ethnicity feel that the United States government is dysfunctional and ignores constituents' interests (Webber, & Swanson, 2016).

5.1 Disengaged Citizenship

With disengaged citizenship, ethnic differences occurred. Disengaged citizenship was higher among the Akwesasne Mohawks (41.49%) and the students who classified themselves as other (47.83%) compared to European Americans (28.24%). This finding supports previous research which found that Native Americans, African Americans, and individuals of unspecified race/ethnicity had negative attitudes about social studies/history (Chandler, 2010; Verbos, et al., 2011; Woodson, 2015).

Within the Akwesasne Mohawk tribe, tribal identity is strongly valued (George-Kanentiio, 2008), and the Akwesasne Mohawk students' strong interest in disengaged citizenship may be a byproduct of the male and female tribal members' negative experiences in the United States through the years (Segwalise, 2005). For example, the United States treaties of 1784, 1789, and 1794 which guaranteed their sovereignty were followed by illegal settlements (Holm, 2010). Later, in 1985, due to industrial pollution, the Mohawk reservation was "one of the worst PCB-polluted sites in North America" (Johansen, 1993, p. 11); "residents were warned not to eat vegetables from their own gardens" (Johansen, 1993, p. 6). These negative experiences provide potential context on why the Akwesasne Mohawks responded to an open ended survey on citizenship engagement with

a simple response of no. This historical context also impacts students who classify themselves as other; this history is part of their heritage and their family's heritage. Meanwhile, with respect to the European Americans, this racial/ethnic group has historically held a more privileged place in American society and this status might have contributed to their lower rates of disengaged citizenship.

5.2 Personal Development Citizenship

Overall, the second most popular category of citizenship was personal development citizenship. Previous research has highlighted the benefits of personal development citizenship (Berson et al., 2014; Carter et al., 2009; Dias & Menezes, 2014; El-Haj, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kozub & Brusseau, 2012; Kressly et al., 2009; Lopez & Moore, 2006; Yeung, 2015), and in this study, the self-reported participation rates among the three groups was fairly similar with the Akwesasne Mohawks at 26.60%, the European Americans at 24.71%, and the students who classified themselves as other at 21.74%. This form of citizenship reflects activities in the students' daily lives such as school, clubs, and sports; however, personal development citizenship has been devalued because it focuses on helping the individual rather than the community (Alazzi & Chiodo, 2008; Parker & Beck, 2017) and because social studies coursework has shown mixed results on political socialization (Hutchens & Eveland Jr., 2009). However, it is through personal development citizenship that students are learning social studies content, developing their identity, and developing skills such as leadership skills, communication skills, and organizational skills. While personal development citizenship lays down a foundation for future civic growth, the rates of disengaged citizenship among the participants is an area of concern. If students continue to feel disengaged citizenship as they become adults, their future overall citizenship engagement on the local, state, and national levels may be limited, which in turn, weakens the nation.

5.3 Personally Responsible Citizenship

Out of the four types of citizenship engagement, personally responsible citizenship ranked near the bottom at third place. This finding differs from previous research with primarily European Americans high school students in Martin and Chiodo (2007) who viewed citizenship in terms of helping others and obeying rules/laws, Native American high school students in Martin and Chiodo (2008) who viewed citizenship in terms helping others and following rules/laws, Jordanian high school students of unspecified race/ethnicity who saw citizenship as helping others and following rules/laws (Alazzi & Chiodo, 2008), and primarily New Zealand European and Pacific Nations high school students who regarded citizenship as helping other people (Wood, 2014). Self-reports of personally responsible citizenship among the participants were similar among European Americans (27.06%) and students who classify themselves as other (26.09%) but lower among the Akwesasne Mohawks (15.96%). For the Akwesasne Mohawks, their responses may be due to them having had negative experiences with the United States government (Segwalise, 2005) coupled with the consequences of rural poverty. Previous research notes that wealthier students are 1.89 times more inclined than their low socioeconomic peers to partake in service activities (Kahne & Sporte, 2008); in poor rural areas, some struggling families simply may not be able to afford to donate money or canned goods to charity.

Payne (2013) notes that individuals who live in generational poverty tend to feel distrust and dislike for government, and a lack of trust in the government can reduce an individuals' political efficacy and their overall desire to participate politically within a society's government (Levy, 2013). Furthermore, schools which have high levels of low income students tend to have high levels of cynicism (Hutchens & Eveland, 2009).

Payne (2013) also notes that individuals who live in generational poverty tend to place less value on rules and laws. The study results support this tendency. Overall, the participants' desire to help others was 20.79% while their interest in following rules and laws was 1.98%; in each of the groups, helping others was valued much more than following rules and laws.

5.4 Patriotic Citizenship/Commitment to Country

Among the different self-identified forms of citizenship participation, the least popular category was patriotic citizenship, and differences occurred among the groups. With the Akwesasne Mohawk students, five out of six viewed patriotic citizenship in terms of the tribe. All of the European Americans discussed the United States Pledge of Allegiance, and none of the students who identified themselves as other discussed patriotic citizenship. The negative response to the Pledge by the Akwesasne Mohawk and the students who classified themselves as other supports previous experiences such as the numbness described by high school students of unspecified race/ethnicity in Mitchell and Parker (2008) and the disinterest that Hispanic high school students in Bondy (2014) felt towards the Pledge. The European American students' support of the Pledge aligned with the primarily European American and African American southeastern high school students' positive feelings toward the Pledge.

In response to negative experiences, some individuals choose to retreat from the dominant culture and to more closely identify with their group's culture (El-Haj, 2007). For example, in a case study of four Muslim high school students who were born in Palestine or in the United States (El-Haj, 2007), the students had encountered negative experiences in school such as classmates who accused them of carrying a bomb, and their family members encountered negative experiences such as police stops due to racial profiling. The participants did articulate their feelings of disengagement, and the majority of the participants refused to pledge their allegiance to the American flag (El-Haj, 2007).

6 Limitations and Future Research

This study was limited to one geographical area and one Native American tribe. Future research could include other geographic areas and other Native American tribes. Future research could also examine students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds and students from other tribes.

7 Conclusion

Voluntary citizenship engagement is not automatic (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). While societies wish to preserve their culture and traditions, there is a tendency for youth to re-conceptualize traditions to reflect their lives and their times (Jones & Meyer, 2010; Santrock, 2016). In this study, while the Akwesasne Mohawks have long held an interest in their tribal identity, disengaged citizenship was also the most popular form of citizenship among the European American high school students and the students who classified themselves as other. The students' emphasis on disengaged citizenship shows a change from the traditional form of citizenship participation – personally responsible citizenship. By understanding students' perceptions about citizenship, citizenship education curriculum can be recalibrated to better meet the needs of students in the 21st century.

None declared

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