

# Students as Citizens: Conceptions of Citizenship in a Social Studies Curriculum

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## Introduction

Citizenship education has long been regarded as one of the central purposes of a publically funded education system. Almost a hundred years ago, John Dewey remarked that democratic societies “must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes” (1924, p. 115). Nearly a century later, many scholars and practitioners still argue that one of the primary responsibilities of a public education system is to ensure that citizens have the knowledge and skills to effectively engage with the shifting social, economic, and political opportunities that exist in their lives, and that are inherent in a democratic system. In the past 15 years, however, there has been growing concern in democratic countries about “the levels of engagement or disengagement amongst young citizens,” (Hughes, Print & Sears, 2010, p. 295) and their ability to engage with basic civic responsibilities. Furthermore, there is general consensus among these populations that these concerns “can and should be addressed by effective citizenship education” (Hughes, Print & Sears, 2010, p. 295) through curriculum capacity building.

Investigating how curricula can contribute to effective citizenship education is a multi-faceted issue when considering the political context in which curricula are created, the resources required to implement initiatives, and the pedagogical approaches of teachers in the field. It is an especially “complicated conversation” (Pinar, 2011, p.1) when wading into debates about citizenship and citizenship education, as citizenship is not a static concept. Disputes about citizenship arise, in part, because of the complexity of the issues and because these discussions often focus on normative concepts from a “moral point of view.... Those who speak of educating for citizenship are not so much concerned about the narrow legal definition of citizenship as with some normative sense of good citizenship” (Sears, 2004, p. 93). Moreover, as Pinto asserts, since schools play such an integral role in creating engaged citizens in democratic societies, curriculum policy development itself becomes highly political since it lays out what students ‘ought to learn’ and what teachers ‘ought to teach’ (2012, pp. 3-4). Similarly, Apple claims that for curricular theorists and other educators, it is important to document current conceptual tools used in curricula to understand to what extent they may maintain a false consensus or act as agents of



hegemony to determine the latent ideological functions a curriculum might perform (2004, p. 97). Given that in North America, studies is the subject frequently designated with the responsibility of teaching citizenship, in our research we analyzed the content of a ministry of education sanctioned curricular document in a Canadian prairie province, Saskatchewan. Our study investigates how the curriculum navigates the shifting opportunities for citizenship in students' lives, and how they are encouraged to participate in the major decision-making processes that affect them.

To analyze the dominant conceptions of citizenship that are inscribed in the Social Studies Grade 9 curriculum and two state sanctioned supporting documents, we drew upon a critical discourse analysis, seeking to understand the emphasis of specific conceptions of citizenship. Moreover, this study examines how global citizenship and differing worldviews are represented within these dominant citizenship conceptions. We chose the province of Saskatchewan in Canada because it recently underwent a substantial curricular review process that provides us with an opportunity to explore current thinking and trends on citizenship.

According to the provincial *Education Act*, citizenship education is delivered through activities that are deemed appropriate by the respective boards of education and school staff and "in accordance with the curriculum guidelines issued by the department" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1995, p. 108). To critically assess the nature and conception of citizenship contained in these curricular documents, and building on the work of Clausen, Horton, and Lemisko (2008), we analyzed the *Social Studies 9* curriculum (2009) outcomes and indicators to ascertain the conception of citizenship that they represent. The curricular outcomes describe what students are expected to know and to be able to demonstrate as learning outcomes to complete the course. The curricular indicators are the competencies that students -- who have achieved these outcomes -- are expected to be able "to perform" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 19).

In addition to the core curriculum for Social Studies Grade 9, we investigated the extent to which other significant documents produced by the Ministry of Education supported the types of citizenship profiled in the curriculum. We analyzed two documents that apply to all subject levels from Kindergarten to Grade 12: the *Cross-curricular Competencies* (2010) and *Broad Areas of Learning* (2010). These two documents are used by teachers to ensure that lessons go beyond teaching subject area knowledge, in order to stimulate student growth as individuals and members of a society, which is of particular relevance to our study. Analyzing these documents provided a supplementary reading to our analysis of the stand-alone *Social Studies 9* curriculum, and provided a context for positioning the course within the broad goals of education in the province. With this investigation, we probed the following research questions:

- What conceptions of citizenship are represented in the *Social Studies 9* curriculum (2009)?
- To what extent do the conceptions uphold global perspectives and differing worldviews?
- How are the conceptions of citizenship supported (or not) by the *Cross-curricular Competencies* (2010) and *Broad Areas of Learning* (2010) documents that compliment *Social Studies 9*?

The Social Studies 9 curriculum is a significant document to study understandings of citizenship for several reasons. First, it is the last social studies course that students are required to take during their high school studies, and is a Core Curriculum course which teachers are mandated to base their lessons on (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009a). Unlike some provinces or states in North America, Saskatchewan does not have independent civics courses (Sears, 1994). In Saskatchewan, the age for compulsory schooling is sixteen (Oreopoulos, 2005) and typically, students are in Grade 9 or 10 when they reach this age. Second, a new Social Studies Grade 9 curriculum was released in 2009 during the curricular reform process, two years after the election of the conservative based Saskatchewan Party, in 2007. The earlier developmental stages of the document began under the leadership of the previous government, the social-democratic New Democratic Party, and acknowledges the contribution of teachers and educators through focus groups and consultation with Indigenous Elders and school division committees. Finally, in addition to the outcomes and indicators for Grade 9, the curriculum under study details information about the core social studies curriculum and the goals for Kindergarten to Grade 12 Social Studies, the broad areas of learning and cross-curricular competencies, assessment information, and connections to other areas of study.

The rationale for analyzing the *Cross-curricular Competencies* (2010) and *Broad Areas of Learning* (2010) documents is also multifaceted. Primarily, studying these two documents expanded our understanding of how citizenship is constructed in the curriculum, since these documents contain goals that are delivered throughout all grade levels, to “reflect the desired attributes for Saskatchewan’s PreK-12 students” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010a, p. 1). Although the documents themselves are not considered Core Curriculum, the concepts in these resource documents are taken up in every course’s curricular document, linking the broad areas and competencies to the outcomes of that particular course. *Broad Areas of Learning* is a short, one-page overview of the three areas of learning that reflect the Ministry of Education’s nine goals, as laid out in *Goals of Education for Saskatchewan* (1985). These three broad areas of learning include ‘Sense of Self, Community, and Place’, ‘Lifelong Learners’, and ‘Engaged Citizens’. Each area has a brief description, which includes the related goals of education. Similarly, *Cross-curricular Competencies* is also a short, seven-page overview of the four interrelated areas that are to be continually addressed through all areas of study. These four competency areas include ‘Developing Thinking’, ‘Developing Identity and Interdependence’, ‘Developing Literacies’, and ‘Developing Social Responsibility’. Each competency has three sub-goals, which include descriptions of what meeting these sub-goals will look like. Again, like the broad areas of learning, these cross-curricular competencies are reiterated at the beginning of each course’s curriculum document, including a discussion and descriptions of how each competency is specifically related to social studies.

Given the interdependency in a democracy between publicly funded education and the related responsibility for governments to ensure that citizens are equipped to participate equally in the decision making processes that affect them, it is important to examine the relationships that exist among and between the social, economic, and political institutions in a country (and province), and to investigate how curricula encourages interactions among these systems (Apple, 1983). It is also vital to dissect the nature of this type of citizenship education. An emphasis on curricula is not to deny advocacy for different conceptions of citizenship education through the efforts of teachers using varied pedagogical practices to interpret curricula. Although there are examples where new

teachers feel intimidated by the pedagogical style that accompanies progressive pedagogy (McLean, Cook & Crowe, 2008), other examples highlight instances where classroom environmental and pedagogical approaches have had a significant impact on students' understanding of citizenship (Pasek, Feldman, Romer & Jamieson, 2008; Bickmore, 2004).

The influence of upholding majority values in the creation of any curricular document is particularly relevant when looking at the desired attributes for citizens in a democracy. Tupper and Cappello describe the process of upholding majority values as 'curricular commonsense' (2012), when the knowledge that shapes curricula is largely unchallenged, as it is considered to be accepted or 'official' knowledge. As they note in their study of the ways that students take up notions of 'good' citizenship, an "uncritical acceptance of commonsense (embodied in curriculum) may shut down possible alternative visions for what society might look like by consistently reifying a dominant vision" (p. 40). Views of citizenship that do not 'fit' can be silenced within the curriculum.

In addition to curricula normalizing majority values, curricula can also be influenced directly or indirectly by "the hegemonic power nexus and assist[s] in the reproduction of the existing order" (Kumar, 2012, p. 4). In his article on, "Democracy and Curriculum", Wood asserts that "the curriculum arises as a product of choice ... further, choosing from among many curricular possibilities is always first and foremost a political act" (1998, p. 177). Likewise, decisions about how best to educate students about democratic engagement can be the result of deliberate political choices (Beyer, 1998).

Embedded ideology not only surfaces in curricula through deliberate choices made by political actors, it can also influence the curricular development process itself. In her investigation of (and involvement in) the curricular development process in another Canadian province in the late 1990s, Pinto describes the way that the privatization of the curriculum development process through increased policy development outsourcing meant that curriculum writers had become contractors (2012, pp. 90-91).

## Context

Just as the politicization of curricula is well documented and debated, so too is the history of debates regarding citizenship education (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2001). In addition to provincial assessments, there have been a number of academic studies looking at citizenship education in Canadian provinces and territories, including comprehensive reviews of the official policy documents, curricular documents, and types of support for citizenship education (Bickmore, 2006; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Mundy & Manion, 2008). Surprisingly, Saskatchewan has largely been absent in these significant studies. One article that did include a Saskatchewan assessment compared another province in Canada, Ontario, and Saskatchewan social studies curricula for grades one to ten, including the former Saskatchewan *Social Studies 9* (1999) curricular document (Clausen, Horton, & Lemisko, 2008). Using the typology proposed by Sears and Hughes (1996) as a basis for comparison, the authors concluded that both Saskatchewan and Ontario show "some remnants of the elite conception, a dominant Liberal conception and only a burgeoning conception of global/social justice democracy" (Clausen, Horton, & Lemisko, 2008, p. 48). Our intention in this research is to determine if this prior insight holds true for the new *Social Studies 9* (2009) curricular document, and to probe further how the conceptions in the curriculum are supported by other ministry of education approved resource documents. More recently, Llewellyn, Cook, and Molina (2010) identified in their study of civic knowledge and skills in Canadian provincial curricula that policy guidelines



stressed procedural civic knowledge over objectives that promoted active forms of citizenship.

Canadian curricula are not alone in promoting passive citizenship over active engagement among students. An international study of 25 countries' civic education programs by Losito and Mintrop found that, "many country experts concluded that the prevailing goal of civic education in their country was knowledge transmission" (2001, p. 166). Although teachers had a desire to emphasize critical thinking, in practice, teaching methods were still largely teacher-centric and emphasized knowledge transmission, ostensibly discouraging active forms of political engagement and critical thinking (2001, p. 158).

A growing concern among those who study citizenship reveals that young citizens are increasingly ill-equipped to be active citizens (Hughes, Print & Sears, 2010). Exactly what the skills, knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors should look like for active conceptions of citizenship, however, is highly debated. As Sears asserts, although "there is considerable consensus that preparation for democratic citizenship ought to be a goal of public education, there is very little real consensus around what we mean by a "good" citizen" (2004, p. 93). Likewise, in his article on effective citizenship education, Osborne asserts that the essence of citizenship "is to be found in the continuing debate over what it means to be a citizen" (2010, p. 13). Notably, among scholars writing about citizenship in Canada and the United States who acknowledge similar goals of defining the values, knowledge, and skills that citizens should espouse (Journell, 2010; Mundy & Manion, 2008; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), opinions diverge when comparing the *nature* of these values, knowledge, and skills (Sears, 2004, p. 93).

Included in the debates around democratic citizenship is an urgency for global education or global citizenship education programs to be developed as independent areas of study, or as embedded within citizenship education (Young, 2010; Davies, 2006; Zahabioun, Yousefy, Yarmohammadian, & Keshtiaray, 2013). Global education programs, created partly in response to the rise of globalization, are also highly contested. As Shultz asserts, there are three different types of citizen that global citizenship education approaches encourage: the neoliberal global citizen; the radical global citizen; and, the transformationalist global citizen (2007). The neoliberal global citizenship education approach is "primarily linked to global economic participation" where students learn that international mobility and participation in the global marketplace are important, and that solutions to global inequity are dealt with through donating to charities, opposed to through a process of recognizing their own privilege. Conversely, the radical global citizenship education approach encourages students to recognize the global inequity that globalization causes, and challenges the structures of power and institutions (particularly financial institutions) that reinforce oppression. Finally, the transformationalist global citizenship approach holds that globalization is creating new forms of inclusion and exclusion across nations, and that the North-South economic divide is now a divide between the wealthy and poor across the North and the South (Shultz, 2007, pp. 252-256).

Insofar as global education exists in varying forms of citizenship education, the type of citizenship education advocated for by Shultz (2007) and Young (2010) is typically present in more progressive forms of citizenship education, specifically those that have social justice or participatory citizenship at their core. In an effort to further define this type of global citizenship education, Mundy and Manion offer a list of six interrelated characteristics of global education found in the literature, including:

1. A view of the world as one system, and of human life as shaped by a history of global interdependence;
2. Commitment to the idea that there are basic human rights and that these include social and economic equality as well as basic freedoms;
3. Commitment to the notion of the value of cultural diversity and the importance of intercultural understanding and tolerance for differences of opinion;
4. A belief in the efficacy of individual action;
5. A commitment to child-centered or progressive pedagogy;
6. Awareness and a commitment to planetary sustainability. (2008)

These six characteristics are similar to those put forth by both Shultz and Young, such as viewing the world as an interconnected system, and being committed to social equality and human rights. In addition, the inclusion of being committed to progressive pedagogy signals a shift not just in content knowledge about citizenship, but in the ways that teaching practices can espouse the core principles of this knowledge. Furthermore, Mundy and Manion's emphasis on individual action coupled with an understanding of how these actions fit within a broad system echoes the need to build authentic democratic spaces as outlined in Shultz's transformationalist global citizenship approach.

### **Conceptions of Citizenship**

A spectrum (synthesized in Figure 1) developed by Journell (2010) is particularly useful when examining citizenship conceptions in curricular documents. The first category in his spectrum identifies discourses of citizenship that deal with structural processes of government where students are imbued with patriotic values, supportive of the actions taken by their country, and are required to study the abilities needed to be competitive in a political economy. The second category focuses on character education, where students are meant to develop a strong sense of morality, under the assumption that 'good' people will inevitably lead to a 'good' society. The third, fourth, and fifth categories fall under the umbrella of "liberal citizenship discourses" (Journell, 2010, p. 353). Here, the deliberative citizenship conception invites students to question authority and encourages their engagement in public discussions about controversial issues. Also contained in this set of discourses are social justice approaches, where students seek to foster change through examining systemic forms of injustice and oppression. Participatory models are discussed under the umbrella of liberal citizenship discourses and students are encouraged to participate in political and social issues, and the decision making processes in their communities. Journell's sixth category is transnational or global citizenship in which students are active on an international scale and promote connections between local communities and global issues. Finally, the last category describes cosmopolitan citizenship. Here, students are encouraged to make local to global connections and to be compassionate, cooperative, and cognizant that social and economic issues are not confined to political borders (Journell, 2010) without having to deny a sense of belonging within local or regional communities (Osler, 2010).

Similar spectrums have been developed for global citizenship education. Of particular relevance to this study is Mundy and Manion's overview of provincial global education curriculum content in elementary schools in seven provinces and territories across Canada. In their model, the continuum specifies 'what global education teaches' at



one end and ‘what global education does not teach’ at the other. Encompassed within their framework, active citizenship is described as having “transformative potential” (2008, p. 945) for both individuals and through collective action, and is grouped with other characteristics such as social justice, solidarity, critical thinking, and a strong moral purpose. Elite citizenship, which appears at the opposite end of the spectrum, encourages citizens to act within the current laws and electoral systems, coupled with other characteristics such as competitiveness, charity, and uncritical thinking (2008, p. 945).

<b>Figure 1 - Citizenship Conceptions</b>	
From: Journell, W. (2010). Standardizing citizenship: The potential influence of state curriculum standards on the civic development of adolescents. <i>PS, Political Science &amp; Politics</i> , 43(2), 351-358.	
<b>Type of Citizenship</b>	<b>Main Characteristics</b>
<b>1. Civic Republicanism</b>	Citizens have patriotic values, support actions of their countries, and learn skills necessary to compete and succeed in a political economy.
<b>2. Character Education</b>	Citizens have a developed sense of morality, and emphasis is placed on individual character, moral issues, ‘good’ values.
<b>3. Deliberative</b>	Citizens question authority, and are encouraged to engage in public discourse on policy and controversial issues, but are to seek to better one’s country.
<b>4. Social Justice</b>	Citizens seek out and discuss elements of social injustice and oppression, such as exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence, with the goal of fostering social change.
<b>5. Participatory</b>	Citizens participate in political and social issues, as well as in their communities.
<b>6. Transnational</b>	Citizens are active, but on an international scale, and make connections between their local communities and issues of global importance.
<b>7. Cosmopolitan</b>	Citizens are compassionate, cooperative, and see peace as a virtue of all people in a society. Know that environmental, economic, and social issues transcend political boundaries, and have a desire to address large global problems.

Although Mundy and Manion’s framework encompasses many of the current trends in citizenship education, reviews are not comprehensive, nor can they cover all of the nuances and debates that exist about each conception effectively. As a salient example, none of the classifications directly address how Canadian Indigenous perspectives are upheld or suppressed even though such an inclusion would be integral to conceptions that promote social justice. Instead, frameworks that omit Indigenous knowledge further reinforce “overly Euro-Canadian” (Deer, 2008, p. 79) values, even in spaces that encourage forms of questioning, an assessment of worldviews, or an interrogation of power structures.

## **Conceptual Frameworks & Methodology**

On a paradigmatic level, we approached our analysis through critical constructivism. Our choice of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodology, flows from this stance. As Kincheloe explains, critical constructivists are concerned with the role

that power plays in the knowledge construction and validation process, and the way in which these processes uphold the privilege of some while marginalizing others (2008). In addition, our approach holds, ontologically, that the world is constructed, but also, epistemologically, that all knowledge is a construction (Kincheloe, 2008, pp. 7-8), and that as a researchers, we act as co-creators of knowledge.

For these reasons, employing critical discourse analysis as a methodology, which “focuses attention on the process whereby the social world is constructed and maintained” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 2), enabled us to read the curricular and resource documents to uncover the citizenship conceptions that are privileged over others. Equally important, one of the aims of discourse analysis is to understand the socio-historic situation of the text (Gillen & Peterson, 2005, p. 147) and to make connections between the language used in the text and the social context in which it was created, therefore revealing the social context that it espouses (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1993). Understanding social context was achieved by analyzing the two supporting documents. Finally, identifying and adapting the methodological conceptual frameworks for this study was based on Norman Fairclough’s dialectical-relational methodology for critical discourse analysis, which we used to guide our methodology and methods (2010).

As we have seen, Journell’s spectrum gives voice to a number of types of citizenship (including varying forms of global citizenship) that other spectrums only broadly define (Figure 2). His spectrum moves from nationalist and character citizenship education discourses, to liberal citizenship education discourses, and, to global or transnational citizenship education discourses.

There are two primary differences between Journell’s original conceptualization and the one that we used to conduct this research. The first adaptation was introduced to better reflect the Canadian context, since Journell’s first category, ‘Civic Republicanism’, focuses on American political realities. In the adapted version, this conception is now called ‘Nationalist’, and focuses on types of citizenship that promote a Canadian multicultural nationalism, to explore how the specific processes of a Canadian democracy within a diverse society (Indigenous, francophone communities) are represented and how the facets of democratic systems are signified within society.



<b>Figure 2 – Adapted Citizenship Conceptions</b>	
Adapted from: Journell, W. (2010). Standardizing citizenship: The potential influence of state curriculum standards on the civic development of adolescents. <i>PS, Political Science &amp; Politics</i> , 43(2), 351-358.	
<b>Conception</b>	<b>Main Characteristics</b>
<b>1. Nationalist</b>	Advocates for a ‘Canadian’ way of life, and upholds status quo, democratic, and structural processes.
<b>2. Character Education</b>	Emphasizes individual character, issues of morality, and having ‘good’ values.
<b>3. Deliberative</b>	Questions the status quo, and encourages making value judgments and articulating personal opinions on issues.
<b>4. Social Justice</b>	Deals with structures of oppression that deny equality or justice, dissects colonization and imperialism, and includes representation of Indigenous and other worldviews.
<b>5. Participatory</b>	Facilitates student activism, fosters agency, and embeds learning in real-world projects or service learning.
<b>6. Transnational</b>	Focuses on international issues, diverging worldviews, and abandons Eurocentric curriculums.
<b>7. Cosmopolitan</b>	Emphasizes human rights, cooperation, peace, and recognition of a ‘global community’.

Second, to pay close attention to the ways that power and hegemony are upheld in the types of citizenship in the curriculum, the ‘Social Justice’ conception was adapted to focus on how structures of cultural imperialism and colonization are investigated and to probe the presentation of diverse worldviews, specifically, how Indigenous worldviews and rights are upheld or suppressed (Haig-Brown, 2008). This adaptation is particularly significant because Indigenous perspectives are generally overlooked in Journell’s conceptions. Furthermore, since 2007, Saskatchewan has mandated that treaty education be taught as part of the curriculum in order for students to learn about the negotiations between Indigenous groups and the Canadian government that resulted in the six treaties or “contractual agreements” in Saskatchewan, including Treaties 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10 (Office of the Treaty Commissioner, 1998). In addition to utilizing this adapted framework for identifying general citizenship conceptions, we drew upon Mundy and Manion’s six characteristics related to global education dispositions (Figure 3) to probe the extent to which the dominant conceptions found in the curricula indicators upheld a global perspective and diverse worldviews.

**Figure 3 – Global Education Dispositions**

Dispositions from: Mundy, K. & Manion, C. (2008). Global education in Canadian elementary schools: An exploratory study. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 31(4), 941-974.

1.	A view of the world as one system, and of human life as shaped by a history of global interdependence.
2.	Commitment to the idea that there are basic human rights and that these include social and economic equality as well as basic freedoms.
3.	Commitment to the notion of the value of cultural diversity and the importance of intercultural understanding and tolerance for differences of opinion.
4.	A belief in the efficacy of individual action.
5.	A commitment to child-centered or progressive pedagogy.
6.	Awareness and a commitment to planetary sustainability.

To conduct this investigation we combined Fairclough's dialectical-relational methodology with Auerbach and Silverstein's coding process (2003). Combining these two approaches allowed for an in-depth critical discourse analysis of the texts. Fairclough's dialectical-relational model outlines a process that seeks to describe, interpret, and explain the texts as they relate to broad societal constructs through both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic/semiotic analysis, and Auerbach and Silverstein's approach enabled us to identify relevant data within these texts and to provide tools to move conceptually through Fairclough's analytic model.

First, Auerbach and Silverstein's coding process, which moves from raw text, to relevant text, to repeating ideas, to themes, and finally to theoretical constructs (2003, p. 35), aided in the selection of relevant text for analysis and consideration within the three texts analyzed. Taking the three documents as raw text, it was necessary to narrow the texts down to the relevant text to be analyzed before beginning the process of describing, interpreting, and explaining, as per Fairclough's model. The raw text included the entirety of the *Social Studies 9* curriculum document (2009), the *Cross-curricular Competencies* document (2010), and the *Broad Areas of Learning* document (2010). The three documents were downloaded from the official Saskatchewan Ministry of Education's curricula website: [www.edonline.sk.ca](http://www.edonline.sk.ca). From here, the relevant text was selected, which included the portions of these documents that would provide the data necessary in order to answer the research questions. In the case of the *Social Studies 9* curricular document, three sections of the text were chosen as relevant text for analysis, totaling 12 pages of the 39 page document. The first two sections are the portions of the curriculum document that describe how the broad areas of learning and cross-curricular competencies apply to teaching Social Studies (2009, pp. 2-5). This text describes how both are connected to social studies as an area of study broadly, but not about the content of the Grade 9 curriculum specifically. The third section chosen for analysis includes the four "Aims and Goals of Social Studies and the Social Sciences", as well as the indicators needed (70 in total) to produce outcomes that seek to achieve the following four goals:

1. To examine the local, indigenous, and global interactions and interdependence of individuals, societies, cultures, and nations;
2. To analyze the dynamic relationships of people with land, environments, events, and ideas as they have affected the past, shape the present, and influence the future;

3. To investigate the processes and structures of power and authority, and the implications for individuals, communities, and nations; and,
4. To examine various worldviews about the use and distribution of resources and wealth in relation to the needs of individuals, communities, nations, and the natural environment and contribute to sustainable development. (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b, pp. 19-25)

The outcomes and indicators span seven pages of the document, and are the content that lessons are typically based upon in order to reach the four goals of the curriculum. For each of these outcomes, there are typically between four and eight indicators that students should be able to demonstrate if they have achieved the designated outcome. For example, under the first outcome, “Explain what constitutes a society”, there are eight indicators that students are expected to show that they can complete.

In the case of the *Broad Areas of Learning* document, the entirety of the one-page document was considered relevant text. This document contains descriptions of the “desired attributes for Saskatchewan’s PreK-12 students” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010a) as these attributes are related to the Ministry of Education’s nine goals. The three broad areas, ‘Sense of Self, Community, and Place’, ‘Lifelong Learners’, and ‘Engaged Citizens’ describe “the knowledge (factual, conceptual, procedural, metacognitive) that students will achieve throughout their PreK-12 schooling career” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010a). Similarly, the entirety of the *Cross-curricular Competencies* document was also considered relevant text. This document is a seven-page overview that describes the four competencies that are to be developed through all courses of study, including ‘Developing Thinking’, ‘Developing Identity and Interdependence’, ‘Developing Literacies’, and ‘Developing Social Responsibility’. Each of these competencies are described briefly in the document, and are accompanied by three goals that will enable the development of the competency.

After identifying the relevant text for each of the three documents, we engaged in the process of describing what was going on in the texts, identifying repeating ideas, identifying themes, and interpreting these themes in the text as they related to the adapted frameworks of citizenship conceptions. In particular, emerging themes were considered in terms of the linguistic features that were being used to create meaning in the texts, paying special attention to certain concepts, including representation, voice, and reflexivity (Werner, 2000). This analysis process consisted of different steps for analyzing the curricular outcomes and indicators than for the remainder of the relevant text in the curriculum document and for the broad areas of learning and cross-curricular competencies.

In the case of the Social Studies Grade 9 curricular indicators and outcomes, this process included analysis and interpretation of every individual indicator separately (70 in total). Even if several indicators were all meant to help achieve the same outcome, they were considered ‘stand alone’ units of text. Analyzing these smaller units made it easier to interpret their content and features, and to group them into the conceptual category of citizenship that they espoused. Utilizing Journell’s adapted citizenship conception framework to thematically code indicators meant selecting the best fit for each indicator, all of which could have realistically been espousing more than one type of citizenship. The specificity of the framework, however, meant that although an indicator may have espoused more than one type of citizenship, selecting where it best fit was an easier task than with frameworks that had fewer categories. Secondly, for indicators that were difficult to analyze as stand-alone units of language and did not seem to overtly espouse any particular

characteristics of any of the citizenship conceptions, they were denoted as having ‘no appropriate fit’, if after several rounds of analysis the best fit was still unclear.

After the initial rounds of analyzing the indicators, subsequent rounds of analysis paid strict attention to understanding whether or not the conceptions advocated in the curriculum upheld characteristics of global citizenship education, drawing from the six Global Education Dispositions outlined by Mundy and Manion (2008) described earlier. Taking the indicators from the two most dominant conceptions of citizenship found in the curricula through the first step (32 in total), we used a similar thematic coding process to ascertain to what extent these indicators reflected any of the characteristics contained in the six Global Education Dispositions.

In the case of the larger pieces of text in the *Social Studies 9* curriculum, the *Broad Areas of Learning*, and the *Cross-curricular Competencies*, a similar process was used. Again, text was reviewed for repeating ideas, and these were interpreted by coding similar units of language based on what characteristics of Journell’s adapted framework were present in the semiotics of the texts. The units of language that espoused certain citizenship characteristics were described, interpreted, and explained in relation to how citizenship was being constructed in certain portions of the text.

## Data & Discussion

### Conceptions of citizenship that are encouraged in the Social Studies Grade 9 curriculum

Based on our findings, the following table (Figure 4) depicts the frequency of indicators that espoused characteristics of each conception alongside an example of an indicator that used language to suggest a ‘fit’ with the type of citizenship conception. We chose to represent the thematically grouped indicators in this way in order to highlight the breadth of types of citizenship contained in the curriculum. The majority of indicators, 60 percent, contained characteristics of the Deliberative or Social Justice conceptions of citizenship, which are part of the liberal discourses of citizenship. Within this 60 percent, deliberative citizenship that encouraged students to question authority, to engage in public discussions about policy and controversial issues and to seek ways to “better their country”, made up 36 percent of the indicators. Social justice citizenship that empowers students to examine systemic forms of injustice and oppression, to discuss marginalization, exploitation, and powerlessness, and to seek to make positive social change, made up the remaining 24 percent of the indicators.

The Deliberative citizenship conception appeared in 25 of the 70 indicators, or 36 percent. This type of citizenship encourages students to question authority, and to engage in debates about public policy, but ultimately seeks to ensure that any efforts to work for change are accomplished through the existing political, economic, and social systems. Here, unequal power structures are not addressed directly, and working within existing political systems is the norm.

Examples ranged from comparisons of leadership in societies, defining what constitutes a society, to encouraging students to consider their own stance on issues. As a case in point, to reach the outcome to “Compare the factors that shape worldviews in a society, including time and place, culture, language, religion, gender identity, socio-economic situation, and education”, the indicator stated that students should,

Explore personal student beliefs about some contemporary issues or problem (e.g., making friends; the role of technology in daily life; affordable housing;

intergenerational families; global warming; post-secondary education; participating in religious or cultural ceremonies; designer clothing; healthy food choices; drinking and driving; violence). (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b. p. 20)

Here, the indicator is asking students to explore their ‘personal beliefs’ about an issue or problem; the document is shaping the way in which it anticipates that the students will respond to the question. These beliefs offer selective representations, with “implied values and unstated preconceptions ... produced from within particular social experiences, and cannot claim universality” (Werner, 2000, p. 198). Many of the examples offered in the indicator of issues or problems for students to explore had the potential to encourage a meaningful investigation of structural components of society, such as looking at affordable housing, global warming, or violence. However, the students are being asked to ‘explore’ their personal beliefs on these issues, and not to investigate why these examples exist or what their root causes are. While there is the potential for students to probe deeper to examine the basis for their opinions on these issues, they are not being required to do so, making this indicator an example of how the document is encouraging them to describe ‘how things are’ rather than challenge the existing status quo.

The Social Justice citizenship conception was the second major conception evident in the curriculum, totaling 17 of the 70 curricular indicators, or 24 percent. In this form of citizenship, students examine the root causes of injustice, marginalization, and power imbalances. Most of the indicators that fell into the Social Justice conception successfully encouraged knowledge transmission about these structural issues, although not necessarily through participatory activities that might equip students with the skills to engage in change-making themselves.



**Figure 4 - Social Studies Grade 9 Indicator Frequency and Corresponding Citizenship Conceptions**

Adapted from: Journell, W. (2010). Standardizing citizenship: The potential influence of state curriculum standards on the civic development of adolescents. *PS, Political Science & Politics*, 43(2), 351-358.

<b>Conception</b>	<b>Number of Indicators</b>	<b>Examples of Indicators</b>
<b>Nationalist</b>	10 (14%)	RW9.2d Assess the importance of trade relations and transportations systems for prosperity in the societies studied, and make generalizations with reference to contemporary Canada.
<b>Character Education</b>	2 (3%)	IN9.1b Investigate the roles of individuals in the institutions of the local community, including the expectations attached to those roles.
<b>Deliberative</b>	25 (36%)	IN9.1d Compare two different societies studied including the attributes of leaders, the roles of various individuals, cultural traditions and ceremonies, and means of sustenance.
<b>Social Justice</b>	17 (24%)	IN9.4b Analyze the influence of worldviews upon attitudes toward territorial expansion, colonization, or empire-building in the societies studied, and assess the impact of such activities on the indigenous cultures and peoples.
<b>Participatory</b>	0	N/A
<b>Transnational</b>	13 (19%)	IN9.2c Hypothesize about the reasons underlying the similarities and differences between the worldview of one individual and that of another person.
<b>Cosmopolitan</b>	2 (3%)	PA9.3d Explain the means to achieving rights in the societies studied, and compare this to contemporary Canadian society.
<b>No Appropriate Fit</b>	1 (1%)	RW9.3d Represent achievements and technologies of the contemporary world that have their origins in the achievements and technologies of societies studied.
<b>Total Indicators:</b>	<b>70</b>	

The strongest examples of indicators that contain characteristics of the Social Justice citizenship conception are listed under the goal, “To investigate the processes and structures of power and authority, and the implications for individuals, communities, and nations” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 23). For students to achieve the first outcome, “Examine concepts of power and authority in the governance of the societies studied” (2009b, p. 23), they are required to “Interpret the effect of the system of government on the worldview of the societies studied, in terms of who had power, and how government leaders obtained power (e.g., Iroquois chiefs chosen by clan mothers, European leaders selected by elite males) and how power was exercised” (2009b, p. 23). In this indicator, students directly ‘interpret the effect’ of certain types of government on the worldviews in that society, ‘who had power’ in society, ‘how government leaders obtained

power', and how they exercised it. Here, this questioning process disrupts what could be considered a 'natural' historical storyline (Werner, 2000), and invites students to probe the alternative simplicities in past power relations.

Additionally, another indicator includes an investigation of what this type of citizenship would mean for Indigenous populations. Under the outcome to "Analyze the impact of empire-building and territorial expansion on indigenous populations and other groups in the societies studied" (2009b, p. 23), the indicators hold that students should "assess the treatment of indigenous populations by the imperialists in the societies studied," and to "evaluate the authenticity and validity of information sources used in the inquiry process" (2009b, p. 23). Students are required to define empire building, territorial expansion, and imperialism and to investigate the effects that these events have on Indigenous populations. Asking students to pay attention to the 'authenticity and validity' of their information sources promotes reflexivity regarding the authorship of the texts used in the classroom (Werner, 2000).

The remainder of the indicators fell into five of the remaining six categories. Transnational citizenship, where students learn about connecting international issues to local issues, accounted for 19 percent, and Nationalist citizenship, where students are to engage in learning that reinforces the societal status quo, accounted for 14 percent of indicators. Character Education citizenship and Cosmopolitan citizenship represented three percent each, while no indicators seemed to encourage Participatory citizenship. In addition, one percent of the indicators fell under the "no appropriate fit" category, as they did not seem to contain any significant characteristics of any of the other seven conceptions.

Utilizing critical discourse analysis enabled us to assess how citizenship is constructed and how it contributes to sustaining particular power relations and ideology within the current social order. Our results indicated that the majority of curricular indicators espouse a combination of a Deliberative and Social Justice orientations to citizenship. As shown, (Figure 4), these two conceptions encourage students to form their own opinions on issues, to think critically about social responsibility, to assess what constitutes the components of a society, and to consider what their role will be in contributing to justice for all. Furthermore, the number of indicators that contained characteristics of the Social Justice conception of citizenship also encouraged students to question structures of power and to understand how these structures affect different oppressed groups.

Our research discovered that despite the majority of indicators containing characteristics of Deliberative, Social Justice, or Transnational citizenship, a significant amount also encouraged a Nationalist conception of citizenship, whereby students are taught about government, democracy, and how to pursue activities that reinforce homogenous nationalist ideals, despite diverse Canadian cultural perspectives. In general, the majority of indicators that fell into this latter category described "how things are" in contemporary Canadian society. These indicators do not necessarily seek to reinforce the status quo, but, by describing the system of government as it currently exists without encouraging students to imagine possible alternatives, they may do just that. This finding is consistent with what Clausen, Horton, and Lemisko found regarding Saskatchewan curricula, in that these documents have "more 'global/social justice' manifestations" because they include "a stronger emphasis on expectations of 'active' participation in democratic processes" (2008, p. 47). Moreover, they also stated that although the curricula

gave space to the “study of differences within the democratic system (and Saskatchewan gives greater play to decision-making within a democracy), neither [document] explores forms of dissent or opposition that exist outside the established system to any notable degree” (2008, p. 47).

To this point, our analysis revealed a lacunae of indicators to encourage the Participatory conception of citizenship. Again, although the majority of indicators encouraged students to think critically about systems of power, none of the indicators directed them to act on what they learned or to invoke changes within these systems. For indicators and outcomes to espouse this type of citizenship would require a program design that differed substantially from the current curricular form. Implementing participatory projects would enable a kind of learning that extends beyond the classroom. In “Civic Participation: A Curriculum for Democracy”, Fleming argues that, “Students’ chances to make substantive contributions may start with their own schools, but they should also extend beyond the school so community members can become partners and mentors in civic engagement. The effects of this curriculum benefit both the students and the community” (2011, p. 42). Examples of these projects can vary from intensive programs that take place outside of regular classes (Maitles, 2010), to projects to promote electoral engagement like Student Voices that are embedded into courses’ curricula (Pasek, Feldman, Romer, & Jamieson, 2008), but necessarily require a different kind of curriculum construction than exists in the one studied here.

### **Global perspectives and differing worldviews**

Given the prevalence of the call for global citizenship education to be offered in conjunction with citizenship education activities, we utilized a set of six axioms by Mundy and Manion to analyze the indicators that fell into the Deliberative and Social Justice citizenship conceptions for global perspectives and Indigenous worldviews. Figure 5 shows the extent to which the Global Education Dispositions are profiled in the *Social Studies 9* curriculum, and provide examples of each indicator.

After completing this analysis, we concluded that all the indicators in the Social Justice and Deliberative citizenship conceptions espoused characteristics described by the Global Education Dispositions, signaling that the majority of the Social Studies Grade 9 curricular indicators contained characteristics of global education. Many examples spoke to the presence of the characteristic “Commitment to the idea that there are basic human rights and that these include social and economic equality as well as basic freedoms.” For instance, to achieve the outcome to “Investigate the roles and responsibilities of members of the societies studied and those of citizens in contemporary Canada” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 24), one indicator encourages students to “Investigate examples of the oppression of rights of particular groups or individuals in societies studied including examples in Canada (e.g., slavery, limited franchise, restrictions on property ownership)” (2009b, p. 24). In examining the oppression of rights of certain groups, including looking at slavery and property ownership in Canadian and other societies, students would be investigating issues of social and economic equality as outlined in the previous global education disposition.

**Figure 5 – Social Studies 9 Indicator Frequency & Global Education Dispositions**

Dispositions from: Mundy, K. & Manion, C. (2008). Global education in Canadian elementary schools: An exploratory study. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 31(4), 941-974.

<b>Global Education Dispositions</b>	<b>Number of Indicators</b>	<b>Examples</b>
<b>1. A view of the world as one system, and of human life as shaped by a history of global interdependence.</b>	3 (9%)	Goal 1: To examine the local, indigenous, and global interactions and interdependence of individuals, societies, cultures, and nations.
<b>2. Commitment to the idea that there are basic human rights and that these include social and economic equality as well as basic freedoms.</b>	12 (37%)	Goal 3: To investigate the processes and structures of power and authority, and the implications for individuals, communities, and nations. Goal 3, Outcome 3, Indicator 2: Investigate examples of the oppression of rights of particular groups or individuals in societies studied including examples in Canada (e.g., slavery, limited franchise, restrictions on property ownership).
<b>3. Commitment to the notion of the value of cultural diversity and the importance of intercultural understanding and tolerance for differences of opinion.</b>	13 (41%)	Goal 1, Outcome 2: Compare the factors that shape worldviews in a society, including time and place, culture, language, religion, gender identity, socio-economic situation, and education.
<b>4. A belief in the efficacy of individual action.</b>	0 (0%)	N/A
<b>5. A commitment to child-centered or progressive pedagogy.</b>	0 (0%)	N/A
<b>6. Awareness and a commitment to planetary sustainability.</b>	4 (13%)	Goal 4: To examine various worldviews about the use and distribution of resources and wealth in relation to the needs of individuals, communities, nations, and the natural environment and contribute to sustainable development.
<b>Total Indicators:</b>	<b>32</b>	

Other examples also confirm the presence of the characteristic “Commitment to the notion of the value of cultural diversity and the importance of intercultural understanding and tolerance for differences of opinion”. When meeting the outcome of analyzing “the ways a worldview is expressed in the daily life of a society” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 20), one indicator invites students to “Investigate the worldview of the local community as represented through features including literature, the arts, cultural celebrations and traditions, education (including Elders’ teachings of Indigenous peoples), sports and recreation, and architecture” (2009b, p. 20). Several indicators also mentioned

Indigenous populations in Saskatchewan, First Nations people, and the treaties. The presence of these indicators signals that ‘intercultural diversity’ is taken up in the curriculum by asking students to identify how different worldviews inform cultural practices, and by explicitly naming Indigenous Elders’ teachings in one of the examples as an alternative form of education.

Interestingly, none of the indicators espoused characteristics of two of the Global Education Disposition categories, “A belief in the efficacy of individual action”, or “A commitment to child-centered or progressive pedagogy”. This finding is consistent with the lack of indicators that contained characteristics of the Participatory citizenship conception cited previously in the adapted version of Journell’s citizenship conceptions.

By utilizing Mundy and Manion’s set of Global Education Dispositions (2008), we concluded that the dominant citizenship conceptions taken up in the Social Studies Grade 9 curriculum uphold global perspectives, and to a certain extent, differing worldviews. The majority of indicators that included characteristics of the Deliberative and Social Justice citizenship conceptions primarily supported two of global perspectives: a “Commitment to the idea that there are basic human rights and that these include social and economic equality as well as basic freedoms”; and, a “Commitment to the notion of the value of cultural diversity and the importance of intercultural understanding and tolerance for differences of opinion” (2008, p. 944). Again, within these global characterizations, none of these indicators cultivated “A belief in the efficacy of individual action” (2008, p. 944), which is consistent with the observation that none of the indicators encouraged a Participatory conception of citizenship. These findings may encourage Shultz’s “radical global citizenship education approach”, where students recognize global inequity, human rights, and challenge structures of power, but do not seek to uncover the interconnectedness of these struggles, nor are they compelled to take action on them within the transformationalist approach she describes (2007, pp. 253-254).

Some emerging evidence indicates that differing worldviews were recognized and valued, including Indigenous worldviews, as seen in the high percentage of indicators that contained characteristics of Social Justice or Transnational citizenship conceptions. Specifically, Transnational citizenship, which encourages students to consider and to recognize worldviews different from their own, was shown to exist in many indicators under the outcome to “compare the factors that shape worldviews in a society, including time and place, culture, language, religion, gender identity, socio-economic situation, and education” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 20). Indigenous worldviews were addressed in a number of indicators. Taken together, references to Saskatchewan Indigenous populations, First Nations people, treaties, and Elder’s teachings, as well as encouraging students to analyze the effects of territorial expansion and colonization, offer evidence that Indigenous worldviews are given some recognition in the curricula indicators. However, as Deer points out in his article, “Aboriginal Students and Canadian Citizenship Education”, recognizing Indigenous groups or worldviews does not necessarily mean a recognition of the wide range of groups included under the Indigenous banner, how sensitive (or not) these education efforts may be to traditional cultural practices and languages, or what they imply about a right to self-determination in education (2008).

## **Cross-curricular Competencies (2010) and Broad Areas of Learning (2010) documents**





Our interpretation of the *Broad Areas of Learning* resource document and the corresponding section in the *Social Studies 9* curriculum revealed that these documents support the Deliberative and Social Justice conceptions of citizenship identified in the Social Studies Grade 9 curriculum indicators. In addition, the call for students to ‘recognize and respect’ treaty and Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms signals strong support for a type of social justice citizenship that advocates for differing worldviews and recognition of the treaty rights of Indigenous peoples, and an engagement in public discourse on these rights.

A statement in the original *Broad Areas of Learning* document, under the “Sense of Self, Community, and Place” area of learning upholds the view that students should be “able to nurture meaningful relationships and appreciate diverse beliefs, languages, and practices from the First Peoples of Saskatchewan and from the diversity of cultures in our province” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010a, p. 1). In particular, the emphasis on nurturing an ability in students to develop ‘meaningful relationships’ with the First Peoples of Saskatchewan supports the curricular indicators that promote valuing the worldviews of Indigenous peoples, especially through efforts to acknowledge diverse beliefs, languages, and practices.

In addition to the declarative statements in the *Broad Areas of Learning* document, the section in the curriculum that explains how the broad areas of learning are related to social studies offers further support for the Deliberative and Social Justice citizenship conceptions found in the majority of the curricular indicators. Under the “Building Engaged Citizens” section, there is considerable discussion of developing ‘active and responsible citizens’. Here, the curriculum declares that students will ‘engage in discussions and take action’. As we have seen, discussions around what it means to be a member of a community are encouraged to take place, especially among the indicators that fit within the Deliberative conception of citizenship. However, none of the indicators were found to encourage a Participatory form of citizenship, making the part of the statement that encourages students to take action as members of their communities hard to follow through on. This statement would, however, offer support to teachers who chose to implement participatory-based ways of achieving the indicators in the curriculum.

The original *Cross-curricular Competencies* resource document also contained several statements that were supportive of the Deliberative and Social Justice citizenship conceptions found to be dominant in the curricular indicators. One example, in the ‘Developing Identity and Interdependence’ competency area asserts that students are expected to “Recognize and respect that people have values and worldviews that may or may not align with one’s own values and beliefs” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010b, p. 3). This statement reinforces the characteristics of a Deliberative citizen, where students are meant to develop their own opinions on issues and respect those that differ from their own.

Further evidence supports that the Social Justice conception of citizenship can be founding the ‘Developing Social Responsibility’ competency area, and under the goal of ‘taking social action’. In this reference, students are to “take responsible action to change perceived inequities or injustice for self and others”(Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010b, p. 5). Taking action to change inequalities experienced by oneself or others is central to the Social Justice citizenship conception where students recognize injustices and feel empowered to take action to resolve them.

In both cases, the *Cross-curricular Competencies* and *Broad Areas of Learning* documents supported the Deliberative and Social Justice conceptions of citizenship that were represented in the majority of the curricular outcomes and indicators. Additionally, our study concluded that some of the phrasing in these resource documents could be characterized as not only supporting the Social Justice conception of citizenship, but encouraging a more active form of this type of citizenship.

The *Cross-curricular Competencies* document, in particular, describes goals related to developing competencies in social responsibility, which point to some characteristics of the radical global citizenship education approach described by Shultz (2007) where citizens recognize social inequities and are committed to changing them. This finding is especially evident in the Kindergarten to Grade 12 goal to ‘Take social action’ as part of developing competency in social responsibility that encourages students to take action when they perceive injustice, and to demonstrate a commitment to human rights, treaty rights, and environmental sustainability (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010b, p. 5). Similarly, in the case of the *Broad Areas of Learning* resource document, which is meant as a guide for the knowledge to be woven into the experiences of Pre Kindergarten to Grade 12 students, we see evidence of a well-rounded conception of Social Justice citizenship, especially in the description of the ‘Engaged Citizens’ area of learning that deals with encouraging a commitment to “shaping positive change” and to “supporting the common good as engaged citizens” (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2010a, p. 1).

## Conclusion

By analyzing the Saskatchewan *Social Studies 9* curriculum, *Broad Areas of Learning*, and *Cross-curricular Competencies* using critical discourse analysis, we uncovered how the documents were profiling selected conceptions of citizenship over others. As Wood reminds us, every curriculum “carries with it a distinct social outcome – a notion of what body of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values students should gain in order to live in a particular social order” (1998, p. 177). The knowledge, attitudes, and values constructed in the curriculum represented Deliberative and Social Justice orientations to citizenship, which convincingly uphold a global perspective.

Acknowledging the underlying assumptions about citizenship will aid teachers and educators as they develop a variety of pedagogical approaches to teaching social studies. Equally important, knowledge of the dominant conceptions of citizenship is necessary to account for what is omitted in the curriculum. For example, the existence of a participatory or active form of citizenship in *Broad Areas of Learning* and *Cross-curricular Competencies* would offer teachers more freedom in their planning to address the under-representation of these conceptions in the curriculum.

This paper provides a snap-shot of the different bodies of knowledge and skills that are profiled in a single course. Future research about conceptions of citizenship in curricula and school resource materials will benefit from broad studies that examine multiple grade levels, courses, and jurisdictions. Despite the limitations of this study, these findings contribute to a growing transnational debate about what role curricula plays in developing students-as-citizens, and what this form of citizenship education could look like to ensure that youth have the knowledge and skills to take up the civic responsibilities that are inherent in a democratic system.

## Notes

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