

**Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship:
Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 & 10* Curriculum Policy Document
in Retrospect and Prospect**

Jesse Butler

Thesis Submitted to the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Doctorate of Philosophy in Education

Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

© Jesse Butler, Ottawa, Canada, 2020

Abstract

In Ontario, as in many other provincial, state, and national jurisdictions, the government has come to play a significant role in shaping the curriculum taught in public schools. The curriculum, in this sense, is a matter of public policy. In educational research, however, there is a surprising lack of literature analyzing the curriculum *as* policy. This thesis engages with this gap in the literature through a multifaceted analysis of four successive versions of Ontario's key curriculum policy document on the education of public secondary students as citizens. In analyzing this document, my emphasis is on how it frames citizenship, which I understand here as the desired relationship between the individual, the society, and the state. Methodologically, this thesis is a hybrid of deductive and inductive analytic approaches. The deductive element consists of an analysis of theoretical literature to develop a typology of the dimensions of citizenship—political, public, juridical, economic, and cultural. The inductive element consists of qualitative analyses of both the four versions of the curriculum policy document and a selection of interviews with teacher candidates who taught courses from this document. My findings reveal a gradual shift in the framing of citizenship in the curriculum over a twenty-year period, with active participation in local or national public life becoming eclipsed in favour of an individualized emphasis on economic participation and juridical responsibilities. While the teacher candidates interviewed reveal a willingness to creatively reinterpret the curriculum, they also describe how they are constrained by a network of other policies that effectively discourage active forms of citizenship. In conclusion, I suggest that future revisions of the curriculum policy document should place greater emphasis on active forms of citizenship in order to bring greater balance to citizenship education policy in Ontario.

Keywords: curriculum, policy, politics, citizenship, citizenship education, Ontario, secondary school, typology, frame analysis, inductive coding

Acknowledgements

A thesis is as much a collaborative creation as it is an individual accomplishment, and there are many people who contributed to this work.

I first want to thank my family. My wife, Kat, has been incredibly supportive through this entire process, from when I first pitched the crazy idea of applying to the PhD program, through the financial uncertainty of graduate school, to the last several years of parenting two young children while I worked long hours on my research. The completion of this thesis is as much her accomplishment as mine. My children, Isaac and Elliot, have been a constant source of joy and inspiration through the last weary stretch of research and writing. I also owe a great deal of gratitude to my parents, who taught me from a young age to love learning.

I would not have completed this thesis without the support of my supervisor, Dr. Peter Milley. With his experience as both an academic and a public servant, Peter has provided invaluable mentorship to me, both in my research and in my transition to a career in the public service. Completing this thesis with him, including the co-authorship of two of these articles, has been one of the most productive and pleasant collaborations of my career. I am grateful as well to Dr. Nicholas Ng-A-Fook, who guided me through the early years of my graduate school process. I am particularly grateful for his support in securing the scholarships that supported me through my PhD process. He was also the one who, back in 2013, made the unusual suggestion that I should do a comparative analysis of two consecutive versions of the same curriculum policy document. This idea ultimately became a central feature of the research reported here.

I am grateful as well to my thesis committee. Dr. Ruth Kane has been a constant support through my entire experience at the Faculty of Education, from supervising me in the teacher education program, to co-authoring my first publication, to her thoughtful advice on completing my thesis. Dr. Sharon Cook played a key role in helping me develop my understanding of social science research methodology, particularly through her excellent document analysis course. Dr. Lorna McLean is a remarkable support to graduate students in the faculty, particularly through the Critical Research Collective, which provided me with a valuable source of community during the isolation of writing. Dr. Kurt Clausen brought a keen eye for detail and suggested several key final revisions to complete the thesis.

Finally, I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which supported this research through a Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter Summaries	7
Chapter 2 (Article 1) Summary	7
Chapter 3 Summary	7
Chapter 4 (Article 2) Summary	8
Chapter 5 (Article 3) Summary	9
Chapter 6 Summary	10
Chapter 2 (Article 1): A Deductive Analysis of a Typology of Citizenship from the Literature .	12
Abstract	12
Introduction	14
Multilevelled Citizenship Practices in Canada	16
Citizenship Education Policies in Ontario	20
Updating Marshall's Citizenship Typology	24
The Citizenship Dimensions in the Ontario Civics Curriculum	30
Conclusion	39
Acknowledgement	42
References	43
Chapter 3: Overall Theoretical, Conceptual, and Methodological Framework	49
Situating the Thesis	49
Re-Situating the Typology of Citizenship in Relation to the Research Literature	53
The Political Dimension of Citizenship	54
The Public Dimension of Citizenship	56
The Economic Dimension of Citizenship	57
The Juridical Dimension of Citizenship	58
The Cultural Dimension of Citizenship	60
Indigenous Perspectives on Citizenship	62
Theoretical & Conceptual Framework	66
Theoretical Framework: Taylor's Social Imaginaries	67

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

The Public Policy Functions of Curriculum Documents	70
Frame Analysis and the Rhetorical Practices of Policy Texts	75
Conceptual Framework	77
Research Questions	79
Methodology	81
Data and Data Sources	83
Overview of the CWS 9 & 10 Curriculum Policy Document	85
Qualitative Inductive Coding Methods	87
Round 1: Initial/in vivo coding.	88
Round 2: Initial/process coding.	89
Round 3: Focused/process coding.	90
Inductive Coding of the Teacher Candidate Interviews	91
Supplementary Quantitative Analyses	93
Measuring the Scope of the Successive Revisions to the CWS 9 & 10 Document.....	94
Chapter 4 (Article 2): An Inductive Analysis of the Framing of Citizenship in CWS 9 & 10.....	97
Abstract	97
Introduction.....	99
Citizenship Education Curriculum as Public Policy	101
The Policy Context for the <i>Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10</i> Curriculum.....	104
Theoretical Framework	108
Methodology	112
Findings.....	114
Diagnostic Framing of the Political Dimension.....	116
Prognostic Framing of the Political Dimension.....	118
Prognostic Framing of the Economic Dimension	122
Prognostic Framing of the Juridical Dimension	124
Prognostic Framing of the Public Dimension	127
Prognostic Framing of the Cultural Dimension	130
Discussion	133
Conclusion	136
References	139
Chapter 5 (Article 3): An Inductive Analysis of Teacher Candidates' Framings of Citizenship	146
Abstract	146
Introduction.....	148
Literature Review.....	150

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Curriculum Policy and Teacher Agency	150
Formal, Implicit, and Prudential Citizenship Curriculum Policy in Ontario	152
Theoretical Framework	155
Methodology	158
Findings	161
The <i>Canadian and World Studies 9 & 10</i> Curriculum Policy Document	161
Stephen: Framing Citizenship as Fostering Social Integration	162
Brianna: Framing Citizenship as Creating Inclusive Spaces	164
Daniel: Framing Citizenship as Building Common Understandings	168
Adam: Framing Citizenship as Acting For Collective Progress	170
Discussion	172
Conclusion	175
Acknowledgement	176
References	177
Chapter 6: Conclusion	183
Revisiting the Research Questions	183
Research Question 3: Potential Future Policy Directions for CWS 9 & 10	185
Contributions to Research	193
Limitations of the Study	194
Lessons Learned through the Research Process	196
Next Steps and Final Thoughts	200
References	202
Appendix A: Declaration of Contributions	226
Appendix B: Teacher Candidate Interview Protocol	227
Appendix C: Research Memos on Inductive Coding of CWS 9 & 10, May 2019	229
Appendix D: 1999 <i>Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10</i> Inductive Coding Categories	278
Appendix E: 2005 <i>Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10</i> Inductive Coding Categories	281
Appendix F: 2013 <i>Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10</i> Inductive Coding Categories	284
Appendix G: 2018 <i>Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10</i> Inductive Coding Categories	287

List of Tables

Table 1. The key findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions.	6
Table 2. Enumeration of content in successive versions of the Ontario civics curriculum.	34
Table 3. Enumerated uses of ‘citizen/ship’ in the Ontario civics curriculum.	34
Table 4. Words categorized under each of the five citizenship dimensions.	36
Table 5. Unweighted count of words from each citizenship dimension.	37
Table 6. Weighted count of words from each citizenship dimension.	37
Table 7. Relationship of the research questions to various elements of the thesis.	81
Table 8. Relationship of the research questions to methodological approaches.	85
Table 9. Summary of coding cycles for the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	92
Table 10. Summary of data sources and coding cycles for teacher candidate interviews.	93
Table 11. Summary of coding cycles for the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	112
Table 12. Results of coding for diagnostic framing in the political dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	117
Table 13. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the political dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	120
Table 14. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the economic dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	123
Table 15. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the juridical dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	126
Table 16. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the public dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	129
Table 17. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the cultural dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	131
Table 18. Summary of data sources and coding cycles for teacher candidate interviews.	160
Table 19. Key findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions.	184

List of Figures

Figure 1. Weighted totals for each citizenship dimension across the three documents.....	38
Figure 2. Overall conceptual framework for the thesis.....	79
Figure 3. Count of modifications to expectations in successive edits of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	96
Figure 4. Expectations coded under each citizenship dimension, expressed as a percentage of total number of expectations in each of the four versions of CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.	115

Chapter 1: Introduction

Public policy teaches powerful lessons about rights, opportunities, and identity—but it carries different messages for different people, and produces more than one kind of citizen. Policy analysts and political leaders are acutely aware that policy may encourage or thwart participation, increase knowledge or obfuscate citizen learning, include or marginalize different groups, and advantage some at the expense of others. There is nothing neutral about the relationship between public policy and democratic citizenship.

– Schneider & Ingram, 2006, p. 329

The curriculum has played, and continues to play, a major role in forming the citizen as it institutionalizes the narratives that constitute the collective memory and shape individuals' relationships with their natural and social environments [...] As many have observed—although they have valued the consequences in different ways—modernity, globalization, mass migration, and the like bring changes to both collective and individual narratives and pose very visible challenges to the very idea of a self-governing national community.

– Westbury, 2008, p. 59

Almost 50 years ago, Kirst and Walker (1971) published an article in the influential academic journal *Review of Educational Research*, which attempted to establish a research program around what they called “curriculum policy-making” (p. 479). The curriculum, they contended, is inevitably political, in the sense that what is ultimately taught in schools represents a series of “political compromises among the heterogeneous values in any state or local district” (p. 484). The process of arriving at such a compromise is a matter of public policy. Yet, they noted that this public policy perspective was curiously absent from curriculum research: “One finds consistent acknowledgement of the existence of political influence on curriculum, but no mention of policy or policy-making, nor any attempts to compare or contrast curriculum policy-making with other types of public or private policy-making” (p. 481). Notably, they were writing at a time when curriculum policy-making in the U.S. was still relatively decentralized. Nonetheless, they noted the increasing influence of state governments in the process, driven by a growing desire for centralization and coordination of the curriculum. “This development,” they

concluded, “whether one anticipates it with eagerness or dread, merits careful attention from educational scholars and researchers” (p. 507).

In the five decades since Kirst and Walker (1971) published their paper, the role of the state in curriculum policy-making has become firmly established, in both Canada and the U.S. (Connelly & Connelly, 2013; Westbury, 2008, 2016). However, the lack of research on curriculum as public policy noted by Kirst and Walker has continued. Connelly (2013) recently noted this surprising gap on the side of policy scholarship: “One might think that the policy literature for curriculum would be a strong thread, if not the leading thread, in the educational policy literature. But in fact the curriculum policy literature is virtually non-existent” (p. 633). In this sense, Kirst and Walker’s article is a remarkable artifact in the history of educational research, representing an important potential research program that has been largely neglected.

One small but noteworthy exception to the neglect of curriculum policy-making in the literature has been in the area of citizenship education—that is, public school education focused on developing in students “a range of dispositions, virtues and loyalties that are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship” (Kymlicka, 1999, p. 79). Within educational research in Canada, citizenship education is a relatively small subfield, but it includes a number of authors who have done important work in analyzing the policy context of the citizenship curriculum (e.g., Hughes & Sears, 2008; Sears, 2010; Joshee, Peck, Thompson, Chareka, & Sears, 2016). As a research topic, citizenship education has also drawn the attention of a number of political theorists and policy scholars from outside the field of education (e.g., Iacovino & Nootens, 2011; Kymlicka, 1999; Lewis, 2011; Milner & Lewis, 2011). To a certain extent, the interest in citizenship education from a policy perspective is likely coincidental. Because policy and policy-making are part of the content of the citizenship curriculum, scholars who have an

interest in one will likely also have an interest in the other. However, Iacovino and Nootens (2011) also suggest there is something more at work here:

The structure and substance of public education for citizenship is unique as it forces members of particular societies, from parents to elites, to actually ask themselves what they stand for as members of political communities; what kind of society they want to live in; and, how they relate to fellow citizens who are different by various social markers. (p. 221)

That is, the reflexive awareness of the policy context in relation to the citizenship curriculum extends beyond academics studying the topic. As a curricular topic in public schools, citizenship education fosters the types of conversations that have the potential to lead to an engagement with public policy-making. In this sense, citizenship education as a research topic is uniquely positioned to bridge the gap in the research literature between curriculum and public policy.

In this thesis, I engage with the question of curriculum as public policy through an analysis of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* (CWS 9 & 10) curriculum policy document. CWS 9 & 10 contains mandatory secondary school courses in the subjects of geography, history, and civics, and has been portrayed by the Ontario Ministry of Education (2016) as its key policy on citizenship education. While recognizing the important pedagogical functions of curriculum policy documents, my analysis here focuses on how this document functions as a public policy instrument to advance political purposes. Following an approach suggested by Westbury (2008) and Connelly and Connelly (2013), I ask what public narratives are being presented in this document about the nature and purpose of public education in Ontario. In particular, I analyze how the document portrays citizenship, which I understand here broadly as *the desired relationship between the individual, the society, and the state*. My analysis

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

spans four successive versions of the document, from its initial publication in 1999 through its three successive revisions in 2005, 2013, and 2018. This being a thesis by articles, I take several distinct approaches to my analysis of this curriculum policy document, including supplementing the document analysis with a qualitative study of teacher candidates' perspectives on citizenship in relation to the document.

Methodologically, this thesis is a hybrid of deductive and inductive analytic approaches (Wagenaar, 2011). The deductive element, primarily presented in Chapters 2 and 3, consists of an analysis of theoretical literature, particularly the work of Charles Taylor (2004), to develop a conceptual approach to what I refer to as *the social imaginary of citizenship*. This conceptual approach is operationalized as a typology, which I present in detail in the subsequent chapters. The inductive element, which is primarily presented in Chapters 4 and 5, consists of qualitative analyses of both the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 document and interviews with a selection of teacher candidates who were teaching courses from this document. These analyses consist of close, inductive coding of the documents and the interview transcripts, in order to develop an understanding of what I refer to as the *framing practices* of both the documents and the teacher candidates in relation to citizenship (Entman, 1993; Rein & Schön, 1996). The purpose of such a hybrid approach, following Wagenaar (2011), is to bring the deductive and inductive analyses into dialogue, a theme that I primarily emphasize in Chapter 6.

In the empirical portion of this thesis, I seek to answer the following research questions:

1. How is citizenship framed in the subsequent revisions of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document from 1999, 2005, 2013, and 2018?

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

2. How is citizenship framed by a selection of teacher candidates in urban secondary schools in relation to their use of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document?
3. Based on these empirical findings and the theoretical literature, how might future revisions of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document frame citizenship in a more complete and balanced manner?

Table 1 summarizes the key findings of the thesis in relation to these research questions. I return to these questions in Chapter 3, to situate them in more detail in relation to the conceptual framework and methodology for the empirical portion of the thesis.

Table 1. The key findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions.

Research Question	Key Findings from the Thesis that Answer the Research Questions	Chapters Containing Findings
Question 1 (How is citizenship framed in the curriculum policy documents?)	- The four versions of CWS 9 & 10 have some consistent emphases: 1) external and internal threats to the stability and unity of Canada as a nation-state; 2) fostering citizens' nationalistic identification; 3) developing citizens' transferrable skills for the globalized economy; and 4) establishing citizens' legal and ethical obligations. - The successive revisions also gradually de-emphasize the avenues for transformative and collective civic action, both locally and nationally, resulting in a framing of the citizen as an isolated individual in a reified state and society.	Primary: Chapter 4 Supplementary: Chapters 2, 5, & 6
Question 2 (How is citizenship framed by selected teacher candidates frame in urban schools?)	- The four teacher candidates all frame citizenship in unique ways, which align to varying degrees to the framing of the curriculum. - Where they perceive a misalignment, the teacher candidates are willing and able to creatively work around the policy requirements of the curriculum, including to foster student civic action. - They also report on various other policy pressures that combine with the framing of citizenship in the curriculum to complicate efforts to engage students in civic action, particularly outside the school.	Primary: Chapter 5 Supplementary: Chapter 6
Question 3 (How might future curriculum revisions frame citizenship?)	- My theoretical and deductive analysis suggests the normative principle that citizenship education should frame citizenship in a way that balances its five dimensions—political, public, economic, juridical, and cultural. - The current CWS 9 & 10 curriculum frames citizenship in an unbalanced way that favours the economic and juridical dimensions at the expense of the public and cultural dimensions. - Interviews with teacher candidates suggest that the broader policy network reinforces and exacerbates this imbalanced framing. - Future curriculum revisions should place greater emphasis on the public and cultural dimensions, including student civic action, to bring the framing of citizenship into greater balance.	Primary: Chapter 6 Supplementary: Chapters 2, 3, 4, & 5

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2 (Article 1) Summary

Chapter 2 is the first of my three articles, which was published in 2018 in the journal *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*. Having been written relatively early in the development of my thesis, this article serves as an introduction to my research topic, including my initial review of the literature. The central focus of the article is an analysis of theoretical literature (e.g. Banks, 2008a; Cohen, 1999; Taylor, 2004) that results in the development of a typology of the dimensions of citizenship—political, public, juridical, economic, and cultural—which represents one of the key theoretical contributions of this thesis. I use this typology for a small content analysis of the CWS 9 & 10 document, which serves as a pilot study for the more in-depth analysis that follows in the rest of the thesis. In conclusion, I draw on the work of Cohen (1999) to propose a normative principle that citizenship education should emphasize a balance between the dimensions of citizenship. In this regard, I suggest that successive revisions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document have shifted toward an imbalance in the dimensions of citizenship, which favours economic participation at the expense of engagement in the public realm.

Chapter 3 Summary

Where Article 1 is mostly theoretical, the two remaining articles are more empirical in focus. Chapter 3, then, introduces the empirical portion of the thesis, including a detailed discussion of the overall conceptual framework and methodological approach that will guide the subsequent articles. Chapter 3 also provides a further discussion of the typology of the dimensions of citizenship in relation to the research literature, in order to demonstrate how my

thinking on this topic has continued to develop since the publication of Article 1 in 2018 through my iterative exploration of the research literature as I conducted my empirical analysis.

Chapter 4 (Article 2) Summary

Chapter 4 presents my primary empirical findings from my inductive analysis of the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document. With the support my thesis supervisor, who co-authored this article,¹ I explain the history of CWS 9 & 10, including its origin in the Ontario policy context of the 1990s (Clausen, 2016; Pinto, 2012). I then review the research literature on the political functions of curriculum policy, particularly its role as “an instrument for the construction and reconstruction of societal narratives around schools and school systems” (Westbury, 2008, p. 58). Building on previous analyses of CWS 9 & 10 (e.g., Broom, 2015; Clausen, Horton, & Lemisko, 2008; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011), I then present my inductive analysis of the four successive versions of the curriculum policy document. These findings are presented through the lens of my typology of the dimensions of citizenship from Chapter 2. Using this framework, I illustrate how there is a remarkable degree of consistency through the four versions of the document spanning 20 years. This consistency includes: 1) a preoccupation with external and internal threats to the stability and unity of Canada as a nation-state; 2) a strong emphasis on the political dimension of citizenship, in the form of fostering nationalistic identification; 3) a strong emphasis on the economic dimension of citizenship, in the form of developing transferrable skills for the globalized economy; and 4) a smaller but still significant emphasis on the juridical dimension of citizenship, in the sense of establishing a preset role for the individual citizen, characterized by legal and ethical obligations. At the same time, I demonstrate a gradual de-emphasizing over subsequent documents of the public and cultural

¹ See the Declaration of Contributions in Appendix A.

dimensions, particularly in terms of the opportunities they provide for the citizen to actively participate in society. The ultimate framing of citizenship, therefore, emphasizes the citizen as an isolated individual within a reified state and society. While acknowledging practical reasons why the curriculum might discourage student civic action—such as concerns about liability or an overloaded curriculum—I argue that this change also represents an important, and potentially problematic, shift in the political and ideological meaning of citizenship in Ontario curriculum policy.

Chapter 5 (Article 3) Summary

Chapter 5 presents my findings from a series of interviews with four teacher candidates who taught courses from the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document in 2016 and 2017. With the support of my supervisor, who co-authored this article, I draw on Connelly and Connelly (2013) to develop a broad understanding of “curriculum policy” as a complex network of state, district, school, and practitioner-level policies that operate within and around the “formal” curriculum policy documents. I then discuss some of the ways in which curriculum policy constrains and enables teachers’ pedagogical choices in relation to citizenship education, including the complexities of engaging students in civic action (Evans, Evans, & Vemic, 2019; Llewellyn, Cook, & Molina, 2010; McLean, Bergen, Truong-White, Rottmann, & Glithero, 2017). I then present my findings from the teacher candidate interviews, which address: 1) their framings of citizenship; 2) their experience of and perspectives on the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document; and 3) their experience of and perspectives on the broader network of “curriculum policy” at work in schools, particularly in terms of its perceived impacts on citizenship education. I illustrate how the four teacher candidates all have their own unique ways of framing citizenship, which align to varying degrees to their perception of the framing of

citizenship in the curriculum. Where they perceive a misalignment, the teacher candidates portray themselves as willing and able to creatively work around the policy requirements of the curriculum. In different ways and to varying degrees, this includes a commitment to fostering student civic action—whether that is done through or despite the curriculum. However, the teacher candidates also report on various other policy pressures at work in schools, including concerns about student safety and encouragement for students to spend more time online. On balance, these broader policy pressures appear to reinforce the existing imbalance in the curriculum that appears to discourage student civic engagement, particularly when it involves physically leaving the school grounds. I conclude that the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum could potentially be improved by incorporating a “requirement” for student civic engagement. While teachers who do not want to undertake such activities would retain the ability to work around the curriculum, such a requirement might provide policy leverage for motivated teachers to push back against the other policy pressures discouraging student civic action.

Chapter 6 Summary

Chapter 6 concludes my thesis by bringing the deductive analyses from Chapters 2 and 3 back into “dialogue” with the inductive analyses from Chapters 4 and 5 (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 259). In the first section, I return to the research questions, in particular Question 3, which was not directly addressed in the articles. In addressing Question 3, I reflect on the empirical findings through the lens of my theoretical work, in order to propose potential future policy directions for the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy. Returning to the normative principle of balance I proposed in Chapter 2, I draw on my findings to argue that there is an imbalance in the curriculum that underemphasizes the public and cultural dimensions of citizenship, and that this imbalance is likely exacerbated by the broader policy context. In this light, I recommend that future

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

curriculum revisions should place greater emphasis on the public and cultural dimensions, including student civic action, to bring the framing of citizenship in the curriculum into greater balance. Finally, I conclude the thesis with sections on contributions to the literature, limitations of the study, lessons learned from the research process, and next steps for related research.

Chapter 2 (Article 1):

A Deductive Analysis of a Typology of Citizenship from the Literature

This article was first published as:

Butler, J. K. (2018). Heterogeneous practices and homogenizing policies: Towards a typological analysis of Canadian citizenship education in Ontario. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 13(1), 61-81.

In-text citations and references are formatted according to the publishing guidelines of Intellect Ltd.

Abstract

In 2016, rumours began to spread that the Ontario Ministry of Education was quietly considering cutting its mandatory high school civics course in order to expand another mandatory course on career preparation. While the Ontario Ministry of Education ultimately backed down from this controversial position, the resulting public dialogue raised important questions regarding what Ontario hopes to accomplish through citizenship education. In this article, I engage this debate primarily from a theoretical perspective, arguing that the ambiguous role of citizenship education stems in a large part from a lack of clarity regarding how we use the term ‘citizenship’. In the first and second section, I review the existing literature, with particular emphasis on educational scholarship and political philosophy, to illustrate the incongruity between the complex and multi-layered ways in which citizenship is enacted in Canada and the superficial and homogeneous manner in which it is portrayed in Ontario curricula and educational policies. This incongruity, I suggest, illustrates the need for greater analytic clarity

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

regarding the meaning(s) of citizenship. In the following section, I propose a typology of citizenship, featuring five dimensions along which citizenship is primarily enacted – political, legal, public, economic and cultural. Finally, I illustrate this typology through a brief empirical analysis of the Ontario civics curriculum – a comparative keyword content analysis of the 1999, 2005 and 2013 versions of the curriculum policy document. In conclusion, I suggest that there has been a historical shift in Ontario educational policy towards economic expressions of citizenship at the expense of other dimensions. In this sense, the brief controversy over cutting the Ontario civics course to expand the careers curriculum can be seen as just one manifestation of a larger policy trajectory.

Keywords: citizenship education, Ontario curriculum, education policy, Canadian citizenship, neo-liberalism, typology

If the individual is not first a citizen, then the obligations and privileges which go with that status are effectively lost and the person ceases, to all intents and purposes, to be an individual. (Saul 1994: 62)

Introduction

In 2016, rumours began to spread that the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) was quietly considering cutting its mandatory high school civics course (Tidridge 2016). While Ontario is the only province in Canada to have a standalone civics course as a mandatory part of the curriculum, the scope of this course is limited. It is a half-semester course offered in Grade 10, splitting its credit with a mandatory ‘careers’ course meant to teach students workplace skills. Nonetheless, the reports of civics potentially being cut to make room for an expansion of the careers course led to an outcry from practitioners, researchers and advocates from across the Ontario education sector. Jan Haskings-Winner of the Ontario History and Social Sciences Teachers’ Association captures the tone of this outcry when she asks: ‘As educators, are we merely creating good workers with employability skills, or are we challenging students to be active citizens in a strong and constantly evolving society?’ (Tidridge 2016: para. 2). In other words, what is it that would make workplace education a higher priority for the OME than citizenship education?

As the public outcry mounted, the OME quickly denied – or backed away from – this controversial position. Two days after the publication of Tidridge’s (2016) article on the subject in *Maclean’s* magazine, Mitzie Hunter, the Minister of Education, submitted a statement that was posted as an update to the *Maclean’s* column. In this statement, Hunter affirms the Ministry’s continued support for both the civics and careers courses, while reviewing both to ensure their continued relevance. It is unclear whether Hunter’s statement is a correction of an unfounded rumour, or a retraction of a controversial policy position that had been intentionally or

unintentionally leaked to the public. Either way, however, this brief controversy raised important questions that remain relevant after the controversy has ended. What is the function of a mandatory half-semester civics course, and what is achieved by a semester split between citizenship and careers? What was it exactly that advocates of the civics course were seeking to preserve, when the curriculum in question is routinely critiqued as overlooking – or even suppressing – such core civic values as diversity, solidarity and activism (Butler et al. 2015; Clausen et al. 2008; Hébert 2009; Kennelly and Llewellyn 2011)? In short, what is it that Ontario as a society hopes to achieve through citizenship education?

In this article, I engage this debate primarily from a theoretical perspective, arguing that the ambiguous role of citizenship education stems in a large part from a lack of clarity regarding how we use the term ‘citizenship’. In her recent review of the research on citizenship education in Canada, Bickmore (2014) identifies five primary areas of concern for the field – conceptions of citizenship, diversity and equity, global awareness, pedagogies and school-based practices of citizenship. The research undertaken here engages specifically with the first and second of these areas. My concern is with contemporary conceptualizations of the citizen in relation to society, or what Taylor refers to as the social imaginaries that ‘define the contours of [our] world and can eventually come to count as the taken-for-granted shape of things’ (2004: 29). In the first and second sections of this article, therefore, I review the existing literature, with particular emphasis on educational policy scholarship and political philosophy, to illustrate the incongruity between the complex and multi-layered ways in which citizenship is enacted in contemporary Canada and the superficial and homogeneous manner in which it is portrayed in Ontario curricula and educational policies. This incongruity, I suggest, illustrates the need for greater analytic clarity regarding the meaning(s) of citizenship. In the following section, I draw on the literature to

propose a typology of citizenship, featuring five dimensions along which citizenship is primarily enacted – political, legal, public, economic and cultural. Finally, I illustrate this typology through a brief empirical analysis of the Ontario civics curriculum – a comparative keyword content analysis of the 1999, 2005 and 2013 versions of the curriculum policy document. In conclusion, I suggest that there has been a historical shift in Ontario educational policy towards economic expressions of citizenship at the expense of other dimensions. In this sense, the brief controversy over cutting the Ontario civics course to expand the careers curriculum can be seen as just one manifestation of a larger policy trajectory.

Multilevelled Citizenship Practices in Canada

For most of Canada's official history, citizenship has been used as a tool to assimilate a diverse population into a dominant white, anglophone culture (Stanley 1998; Troper 2002). For First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples, this was (and continues to be) largely enacted through educational policies and practices that portray their cultures as inferior and secondary to Eurocentric cultures – what Battiste has called 'cognitive imperialism' (2013: 26). The assimilative efforts of the white, anglophone majority, however, have also been directed against other minorities coming from both European and non-European ancestry. As Osborne describes:

Linguistic and religious minorities similarly found the school being used against them in the name of citizenship, as in the case of Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, Roman Catholics, Black Canadians in eastern Canada, Francophones, and most immigrant groups. For them, citizenship meant assimilation into the dominant culture which was defined largely in Anglo-Canadian terms, centering upon command of the English language, loyalty to Canada as a nation of British heritage, commitment to Canada's British traditions, and pride in Canada's membership in the British Empire. (2000: 14)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

According to Sears (2010), however, these official homogenizing policies hide an underlying reality in which the Canadian conceptions of citizenship have been shaped by our long national experience of ethnic, cultural, political, and religious diversity. This historical diversity, based on the founding presence of multiple Indigenous and European nations, has shaped the legal and policy context of Canadian education, including notably the decentralization of Canadian educational policy to the provinces (Hughes and Sears 2008; Sears 2010). While this historical diversity was long suppressed by Canada's assimilation policies, Sears (2010) argues that it laid the foundation for Canada's increasing acceptance of diversity in recent decades, leading to the current prominence of discourses of multiculturalism in citizenship education curricula (Pashby et al. 2014).

Troper (2002) proposes three parallel policy developments that have shaped citizenship policy in Canada since the Second World War. First, an official Canadian citizenship was developed in 1947, replacing the old colonial British citizenship with its various levels of inclusion. Second, the principle of universal human rights was increasingly embraced, resulting in a series of anti-discrimination laws enacted throughout Canada. Third, the Canadian government completed the reinvention of Canadian citizenship by instituting an official policy of multiculturalism. While multiculturalism has since become emblematic of Canadian diversity as portrayed in citizenship curricula, it has frequently been critiqued as simply a new mode of assimilation (Pashby et al. 2014). Nonetheless, Troper contends: 'If multiculturalism was not the Magna Charta for group rights, which some hoped and others feared, it did reassure Canadians of all backgrounds that a personal and individual cultural affinity was not antithetical to the common good' (2002: 160). This limitation is significant, as certain forms of group rights are often argued as necessary for minority cultural groups to fight for equality and inclusion, and to

ensure their own continued survival (Banks 2008a; Taylor 1994). Canadian multiculturalism does not achieve such group rights, but rather should be understood as an incorporation of a limited, individualistic version of cultural rights into the liberal public sphere – culture as a contingent expression of an individual's personal affinities and preferences.

Nonetheless, Kymlicka (2007) argues that the rise of multiculturalism in Canada has been paralleled by two other branches of Canadian public policy related to diversity, which suggest specific and limited acceptance for the rights of cultural groups. First, FNMI peoples have become increasingly politically active as they have regained a degree of control over their education, and continue to reassert their claims to an autonomous, parallel and equal existence alongside European Canadian society (Battiste 2013; Henderson 2013). Second, French Canadians living in Quebec have leveraged their majority in that province to fight for increasing control over their political and cultural future (Kymlicka 2007; Taylor 1994). (Other cultural groups have at various points made claims to group rights in Canada, including, for example, the Acadians [Sears 2010].) The historical claims to nationhood presented by these specific groups have led various scholars to re-imagine Canada as a multination state – a federal state composed of several interrelated cultural and political nations – rather than a single homogeneous nation state (Jenson and Papillon 2000; Kymlicka 2011).

Kymlicka (2007, 2011) notes, furthermore, that the claims of FNMI peoples and Quebec to nationhood are separate and parallel developments to the official policy of multiculturalism, and that attempts to portray multiculturalism as the only form of diversity in Canada are therefore misleading. Rather, the challenge in a multination state such as Canada is to enact a multinational citizenship that allows for complex and layered loyalties, both to the federal state and to historical and regional nations, while also maintaining a multiculturalism that embraces

local and national diversity, particularly in the form of new immigrants (Kymlicka 2011).

Citizenship education in Canada, therefore, should not be understood as assimilation into a single national state culture – no matter how ‘multicultural’ and inclusive this state culture is imagined to be. In this sense, Canadian citizenship takes place within complex multilevelled national and cultural communities, both within and beyond the borders of Canada. These different types and layers of citizenship will not always fit easily together, as the continued survival of various national and cultural minority groups will often require protective policies that risk infringing on the rights of other individuals and groups. Such conflicting claims to group and individual rights present a challenge to the enactment of citizenship policies in Canada, but not necessarily an insurmountable one (Kymlicka 2011; Taylor 1994).

An intriguing example of the complexity of citizenship practices in Canada is presented by the James Bay Cree, who, over several decades, starting in the 1970s, asserted their national sovereignty over their traditional territory in northern Quebec. According to Jenson and Papillon:

The Cree demand to be treated as a people with its own identity, history, and culture contributed greatly to the representation of Canada as a multinational country. It explicitly rejected the notion, promoted by many in the first postwar decades (and continuing through the present), that Canadians are all equal citizens, distinguished only by categories such as language, gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. (2000: 260)

The ways in which the James Bay Cree asserted their unique national status illustrate the multi-layered and multifaceted nature of Canadian citizenship. As Jenson and Papillon describe, originally the James Bay Cree were eight individual bands, but they joined into a single political organization in order to fight the economic infringement of Hydro Quebec onto their lands. They refused to negotiate with Hydro Quebec directly, and instead fought them legally in the Canadian

courts, winning a co-management arrangement. When Hydro Quebec sought to build a second dam, years later, the Cree fought them this time through leveraging public opinion, gathering public support from both environmentalist and Indigenous rights movements, both in Canada and internationally. Finally, when Quebec held a referendum to separate from Canada in 1995, claiming Cree territory as part of the sovereign Quebec nation, the James Bay Cree asserted their nationhood in response. They argued that, if Quebec could separate as a sovereign nation from Canada, then the Cree, by the same logic, could separate as a sovereign nation from Quebec. Through these various movements, the James Bay Cree have redefined themselves as a nation within Canada, which is both sovereign and bounded (Anderson 2006). This is just one example, but it illustrates the complex multi-layered and multifaceted enactment of citizenship within the multinational state of Canada.

Citizenship Education Policies in Ontario

Ontario has, arguably, been the province in which the historical variations in Canadian citizenship education policy have been manifested in their most extreme forms. In the nineteenth century, Ontario set the Canadian standard for a centralized educational system promoting a uniform British, Christian culture – a model that was imitated in other provinces (Tomkins 1986). In the latter half of the twentieth century, however, Ontario embraced a liberal model of multiculturalism through a network of diversity policies that similarly set a standard for the rest of the country (Joshee 2007). Through the 1990s and early 2000s, Ontario made another dramatic reversal, with a return to a homogeneous vision of society through what Joshee (2007) refers to as policies of social cohesion. In certain ways, these new social cohesion policies could be seen as a return to the nineteenth-century model of homogeneous society, but the mechanisms through which homogenization is achieved are quite different. In nineteenth-century Ontario,

homogenization was achieved through promoting a thick civil society, what Tomkins refers to as ‘the loyal informed public required by the emerging state’ (1986: 34). In contemporary Ontario citizenship curricula, however, Pashby et al. contend, ‘the main locus for social cohesion is the individual student-citizen’ (2014: 13). The hollowing out of civil society is paralleled by a downloading of responsibility for maintaining social cohesion onto the individual (Hébert 2009).

It is in this context that recent analyses of citizenship education curricula in Canada have noted the emergence of a new form of homogenization, as local diversity has been overshadowed by a universal, neutral and de-contextualized model of citizenship (Clausen et al. 2008; Hébert 2009; Kennelly and Llewellyn 2011; Pashby et al. 2014). These authors all note this as a prominent pattern in Ontario, but also note similar tendencies in other provinces, including British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Even Quebec – which among all the provinces has the strongest historical and political reasons to argue for its national uniqueness and autonomy – has fallen in line with this neutralized consensus vision of citizenship. As Iacovino and Nootens describe, the Quebec citizenship education curriculum:

takes liberal-democratic citizenship to be somewhat antithetical to any conception of popular sovereignty that would be framed around collective goals related to national identity. The ‘community’ is presented as an abstract entity that requires a kind of toolkit based on ethical individualism in order for students to situate themselves within its boundaries. Citizenship is akin to a vocation, something you learn to do, not as a member of a particular nation or culture, not through the lens of conflicting national identities, but as an individual endowed with faculties associated with critical thought. (2011: 225)

As citizenship is re-imagined to be generic and individual, the multi-layered communities, groups, and nations of Canada are glossed over, and replaced with a single, undifferentiated,

imagined community (Anderson 2006). Such an approach is particularly problematic in a diverse nation like Canada, as it hides the very real conflicts between communities, regions and nations, and does not allow the type of intergroup dialogue that can work to resolve these conflicts (Bickmore 2014).

These homogenizing tendencies that have been identified across the citizenship curricula of various provinces are complex and varied, and have been analysed through different theoretical lenses. Nonetheless, I follow Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) and Pashby et al. (2014) in identifying these tendencies with the emergence of neo-liberalism. ‘Neo-liberalism’ is a broad (and arguably over-used) term, which describes a range of ideological configurations, policy formations, and governance practices (Harvey 2005; Mitchell 2006). However, I take up neo-liberalism here in the specific sense of an attempt to empty out the complex and multilevelled diversity of Canadian citizenship and replace it with the single, uniform societal framework of the economic marketplace. According to Harvey, neo-liberalism ‘holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market’ (2005: 3). Various scholars have pointed to the emergence of neo-liberal discourses in Ontario throughout the 1990s, and continuing into the twenty-first century (Basu 2004; Pinto 2012; Sattler 2012). These discursive patterns were taken up in various ways by successive Ontario governments formed by three different political parties, but they were embraced most explicitly by the Progressive Conservative government that governed from 1995 to 2003 (Clausen 2016; Sattler 2012). One specific form of neo-liberal education policy that emerged during this period was a substantial curriculum reform which, as Pinto describes, introduced ‘a preponderance of career-focused expectations that explicitly required students and teachers to tie courses, learning, and individual skills to careers’ (2012:

143). Pinto goes on to suggest that this new focus on education as career-preparation ‘minimized the importance of other aims of education, such as those of citizenship’ (2012: 144). Such a reduction of citizenship education to economic terms would certainly suggest a neo-liberal policy trajectory.

It is important to note, however, that this same curriculum reform resulted in the introduction of the Ontario civics course in 1999. Governments, of course, are large and complex entities, and they often engage in multiple contradictory policy discourses at the same time (Mitchell 2006). The choice to introduce a civics curriculum suggests that other policy discourses were at play, pushing back against the neo-liberal tendency to reduce civil society to an economic marketplace. Nonetheless, recent research has noted a tendency within the Ontario civics curriculum itself towards envisioning a homogeneous society, defined in economic terms (Clausen et al. 2008; Hébert 2009; Kennelly and Llewellyn 2011; Pashby et al. 2014). While these researchers specifically analysed the 2005 revision of the Ontario civics curriculum, the existing evidence suggests that these tendencies may have increased with the 2013 update of the policy. Butler et al. (2015), for instance, conducted a brief comparative study of the 2005 and 2013 versions of the civics curriculum. They found the emphasis on a homogeneous vision of Canada to be even greater in the 2013 version, with diversity-focused language increasingly pushed to the margins of the curriculum. Taken together, these researchers suggest a tendency towards the neo-liberalization of the Ontario civics curriculum, which would bring it more in line with the broader neo-liberal tendencies in the Ontario curriculum identified by Pinto (2012). Such a tendency, however, also creates a significant incongruity between the complex political reality of citizenship in Canada and the simplistic and decontextualized manner in which

citizenship is taken up in Canadian education policy. As I suggest in the next section, such an incongruity results in part from a lack of clarity around the meaning(s) of citizenship.

Updating Marshall's Citizenship Typology

Sears has recently drawn attention to the lack of clarity in how citizenship is often discussed, noting that: 'Both citizenship and its constituent concepts such as rights, participation, responsibility, due process, etc. are often used as slogans to promote particular agendas rather than convey precise meanings' (2009: 2). The most common definitions of citizenship – those affiliated with the terms 'liberal' and 'civic republican' – are themselves expressions of particular political movements (Arthur et al. 2008; Schneider and Ingram 2006). However, Cohen (1999) argues that if the term 'citizenship' is defined clearly, then the opposition between liberal citizenship and civic republican citizenship becomes unnecessary. Instead, these different political perspectives can be seen to emphasize different elements of the multifaceted phenomenon of citizenship. Therefore, in this section, I propose a theorization of citizenship, with specific emphasis on the work of Marshall (1964), but drawing also on Cohen (1999), Banks (2008a) and Taylor (2004).

One of the most influential twentieth century theorizations of democratic citizenship was that of T. H. Marshall. Marshall (1964) argued that the concept of citizenship has three distinct aspects – what he referred to as its civil, political and social elements. The civil element covers legal rights, including the right to sue in court for protection by the state. The political element covers the right to democratic participation, either through directly participating in the government or through electing a representative to do so on your behalf. The social element covers rights to social and economic welfare. Marshall traces the emergence of these three sets of rights to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively. The three elements,

according to Marshall, were originally unified in local communities, but became separated as the institutions of the state were both extended over larger geographical areas and separated into distinct functions.

While Marshall's (1964) conceptualization of citizenship continues to be influential, different scholars have attempted to update it to better suit contemporary circumstances (Banks 2008a; Cohen 1999). It should be noted first that Marshall's three elements focus exclusively on the *rights* of citizens, a definition that would now be seen by many scholars as too narrow. As Schneider and Ingram note: 'Citizenship, however, is not just about rights and opportunities, but also about identity and whether [one's] identity is fully embraced by the society' (2006: 329). According to Taylor (1994), identity and recognition have always been important aspects of society, but they historically were embedded in people's social roles, and therefore could be largely taken for granted. In recent centuries, the rise of individualism has meant that identity and recognition must be acquired through interpersonal negotiations, and therefore they increasingly require explicit attention. As a result, the first adaptation of Marshall's conception of citizenship I propose is to situate the different elements not only through the rights they encompass, but also through a much broader sense of how they impact a person's belonging and participation in society. This is particularly important in relation to citizenship education, which tends to include questions of character and morality that extend far beyond the question of rights (Arthur et al. 2008; Osborne 2000).

Cohen (1999) has recently made an explicit attempt to adapt Marshall's typology to contemporary circumstances, proposing that the three elements of citizenship should no longer be understood as mapping precisely onto each other within the modern nation state. Rather, by separating the three elements and analysing them across various geographical scales, we can

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

better understand the complex layerings of citizenship that are active today. While political citizenship continues to operate primarily at state and sub-state (including municipal) levels, legal citizenship (i.e. Marshall's civil citizenship) has increasingly been shaped by the international regime of human rights, which in many cases overrides the authority of individual states in regard to the treatment of their members. Social citizenship, meanwhile, when understood broadly as belonging and participation within society, is increasingly operating at sub-national or trans-national levels, as nation states become more culturally heterogeneous. As a result, the idealization of the nation state as the locus for all forms of citizenship is no longer realistic.

Furthermore, Cohen (1999) suggests that the disaggregation of Marshall's elements of citizenship across various geographic scales creates beneficial opportunities for enriching citizenship practices, as the different elements of citizenship are able to interact in new and productive ways. On one hand, the different elements can act as counterbalances to each other. An example of this is when the potential tyranny of national majorities within nation states (as we have seen recently with the rise of various ethnic nationalisms) is held in check through the international regime of human rights or through the activism of minority group movements within and across nations. On the other hand, the different elements also interact in complementary ways. For example, the international legal regime depends on the political support of nation states for democratic legitimacy, while nation states depend on the belonging and participation created by social groups to encourage political participation. Cohen goes on to argue that:

instead of assuming that the future will entail either a new system of sovereign federal mega-states, a return to liberally national nation-states, a world government, or some sort

of cosmopolitan world legal order, one must imagine a combination of the elements of all of these. The idea of world government in which liberal and democratic considerations would merge is both implausible and undesirable since it would threaten political diversity. (1999: 265)

These new and complex interactions of the elements of citizenship, operating across multiple levels of geographical scale, present new potential for the enrichment and diversification of citizenship at all levels. However, these complex interactions are too often overlooked in citizenship education policies that imagine a simplistic and homogeneous citizenship.

Banks (2008a), meanwhile, proposes cultural citizenship as a fourth category which can complement Marshall's typology. In this way, Banks seeks to highlight the importance of group belonging and activism for minority communities within a nation state. Banks' distinction draws attention to how social citizenship, even in Cohen's (1999) more expansive version, is very much linked to Anderson's (2006) idea of an imagined national community. Taylor (2004), building on the work of Anderson, describes the public sphere as one of the primary aspects of the modern social imaginary. In the public sphere, the printing press and the news media created the illusion of a national community of equal, autonomous individuals engaged in a common conversation (Anderson 2006; Taylor 2004). Such an imagined public sphere continues to be an important feature of modern nation states. Nonetheless, as a result of recent increases in the accessibility of communications technologies, sub-national and trans-national cultural communities can now create their own public spaces, which can provide new avenues for belonging and participation (Banks 2008a). Therefore, following Banks, I propose dividing Marshall's social citizenship into two separate elements. First, *public* citizenship describes participation and belonging in the

national public sphere. Second, *cultural* citizenship presents a more organic sense of belonging within sub- and trans-national cultural communities.

Furthermore, I believe it is also necessary to add economic citizenship as a fifth category in the typology. Here too I am drawing on Taylor (2004), who identifies the public sphere, the self-governing people, and the objectified economy as the three primary elements of the modern social imaginary in which contemporary citizens engage. In contemporary societies that characterize themselves as ‘modern’, according to Taylor, the economy has been expanded beyond its original sense of the management of resources within a household or a larger political community. Instead, it has now come to be seen as an objective realm of human interaction and participation in society, which is governed by its own fixed and ‘natural’ laws. As a result, the economy has become an important and distinct aspect of how we imagine participation in national and global communities. Along with allowing a fuller description of contemporary society, the addition of economic citizenship as a category is also a practical necessity in describing contemporary citizenship education curricula and policies, in which economic participation has become increasingly prominent, particularly with the growing emphasis on employability skills and ‘financial literacy’ (Pinto 2012, 2013).

Bringing together these different scholars, therefore, citizenship can be theorized as comprised of five primary dimensions – political, legal, economic, public and cultural. Legal, economic, political and public citizenship, to varying degrees, describe formalized (and socially imagined) structures that operate beyond any organic community and that are specific to ‘modern’ society (Taylor 2004). Cultural citizenship, and, to a lesser degree, public and political citizenship, retain elements of a more organic sense of participation within situated and exclusive communities. These elements of citizenship operate across various levels of geographical scale,

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

and interact in complex ways, sometimes contradicting each other, sometimes reinforcing each other. Political and public citizenship continue to function primarily at the level of the nation state as an exclusive and unified community (Anderson 2006; Taylor 2004). Legal and economic citizenship, however, operate globally and inclusively, theoretically expanding to all living people. At the same time, they also advance a form of individualism that isolates people as autonomous units, and undermines any remaining forms of collective identification and solidarity (Cohen 1999; Taylor 2004).

It can now be seen how Cohen (1999) portrays liberal and civic republican models of citizenship as not strictly in conflict, but as describing different elements of the citizenship principle. Civic republicanism emphasizes the political and public citizenship of the nation state, attempting to merge citizenship status with a thick sense of belonging and participation.

Liberalism attempts to subsume nationalist and exclusive politics within a modern social imaginary of universal equal status, and therefore emphasizes legal citizenship and (in its neo-liberal variant) economic citizenship. I believe that the example of liberalism, in particular, indicates why this analytic typology of citizenship is valuable. The legal aspects of liberal citizenship (especially human rights) and the economic aspects of (neo)liberal citizenship (especially globalization) are often advocated from contrary political positions, but this can be obscured by ambiguous and ubiquitous appeals to ‘liberal’ values.

Cultural citizenship, operating at sub- and trans-national levels, must navigate between these structurally enforced forms of citizenship and consequently is often overlooked in the citizenship education classroom (Banks 2008a, 2008b). However, as Taylor (2004) makes clear, the formalized structures of political, public, economic, and legal citizenship are derived from, and ultimately depend upon, the experience of belonging and participation within cultural

communities. At the same time, even cultural citizenship as imagined by Banks does not entirely capture the belonging experienced in a situated and organic community, what Smith and Rogers describe as: ‘citizenship as a collective obligation to each other and the natural context in which we live’ (2015: 61–62). Nonetheless, operating within a western epistemological framework that privileges separation from nature, cultural citizenship at least brings us closer to an organic experience of belonging. As a result, greater pedagogical attention to cultural citizenship can help students better understand and enter into those abstract forms of engagement, while also creating space for other, non-dominant citizenship practices (Banks 2008b).

The Citizenship Dimensions in the Ontario Civics Curriculum

In order to demonstrate the typology of citizenship dimensions presented in the previous section, in this section I will present a brief comparative analysis of the 1999, 2005 and 2013 versions of the Ontario civics curriculum document. As Hodder (1994) makes clear, document analysis is often problematic because of the gap between writer and reader, which enables a range of interpretations of any given document. Nonetheless, Krippendorff suggests that a document ‘allows a reader to select among alternatives. It narrows the range of interpretations otherwise available’ (2004: 25). Ball (2006), similarly, advances discursive analysis of policy language as a way to develop insight regarding the constricting influence of policy documents on the agency of policy actors. As a result, I consider document analysis to be one aspect of a balanced and holistic approach to policy analysis (Butler 2015; Butler et al. 2015). In particular, a historical analysis of successive policy documents lays the groundwork for further analyses of how the curriculum is enacted in practice. This includes better understanding what Ball et al. refer to as the layers of successive policy expectations that become ‘sedimented over time in

schools' (2012: 140), and that teachers must negotiate as they work to enact policy in their situated contexts.

The Ontario civics curriculum is located in a policy document entitled *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies*, which also includes history and geography courses (Ontario Ministry of Education [OME] 2013a). It is the most recent version of a policy document first introduced in 1999, then modified in 2005 (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training 1999; Ontario Ministry of Education [OME] 2005). The current version of the curriculum is preceded by the policy document *The Ontario Curriculum: Social Studies Grades 1 to 6; History and Geography Grades 7 and 8* (Ontario Ministry of Education [OME] 2013b) and followed by *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 11 and 12: Canadian and World Studies* (Ontario Ministry of Education [OME] 2015). A complete analysis of the citizenship curriculum in Ontario, of course, would encompass all three of these policy documents, along with other related curricula and policies, as well as the ways in which the curriculum is enacted in schools (Bickmore 2014). The brief study presented here is intended to be exploratory and to lay the groundwork for further analysis in the future.

Specifically, what I undertake here is a comparative keyword content analysis of the 1999, 2005 and 2013 revisions of the Ontario civics curriculum. In both subject and methodology, this builds directly on previous studies by Clausen et al. (2008) and Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011). In these two previous studies, the authors used keyword analysis to isolate and analyse the discursive placement of certain terms (including 'citizenship'), comparing the Ontario curriculum with those of other provinces. In particular, the authors of both studies found the adjectives surrounding the word 'citizenship' to emphasize individuality over collective agency, and compliance to the political and economic status quo over activism – a broad

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

discursive construction that fits within an ideological framework of neo-liberalism. Where both of these studies analysed the 2005 version of the Ontario curriculum in comparison to the current curricula of other provinces, I am taking a chronological approach within the province of Ontario, comparing successive revisions of the same curriculum document.

Both the 2005 and 2013 revisions of the curriculum document were completed under the Liberal government that supplanted the Progressive Conservatives in 2003. While the Liberal revisions have maintained much of the overall structure and language of the original curriculum, each revision has both expanded the document and modified it through a range of specific edits. Notably, the most recent versions of the Social Studies and Canadian and World Studies policy documents contain a citizenship education framework in their introductory sections (OME 2013a, 2013b, 2015). This framework is represented as a circle divided into four quadrants – Active Participation, Identity, Structures, and Attributes – and is intended to show students ‘that they belong to many communities and that, ultimately, they are all citizens of the global community’ (OME 2013a: 9). The framework presents a reasonably balanced and holistic portrayal of citizenship, and its inclusion can certainly be seen as representing a different policy discourse that pushes back against the neo-liberal trajectory I am identifying here. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that, despite the prominence of this model in the front matter of the documents, it is only actually taken up in the curricular expectations three times – once in the Grade 10 civics course and once each in the Grade 11 and 12 politics courses – and is not taken up at all in the expectations prior to Grade 10. As a result, the citizenship education framework may best be understood as a symbolic policy gesture, rather than substantive policy intended to significantly impact teacher practice (Butler 2015; Tee 2008).

The analysis presented here does not cover the entirety of the curriculum document, but focuses on the civics curriculum itself, as well as the front matter that introduces each version of the document. The primary content of the civics course in each curriculum document is a series of ‘overall expectations’, which describe the key subject matter teachers are obliged to cover and are directly linked to student evaluation (OME 2013a: 32). Each overall expectation is followed by ‘specific expectations’ that break the overall expectation down into several more specific components. In addition, the expectations are surrounded by additional text, including lists of examples and introductory descriptions to the various sections of the document. Given this structure, a strict word count from across the document would be of limited use, as it overlooks the manner in which teachers are encouraged to approach the text. Rather than reading the document from cover to cover, teachers are encouraged to skip directly to the most relevant sections, with the expectations – and the overall expectations in particular – given much more weight than other sections. Therefore, in addition to strict word counts, I have adopted a weighting method that gives greater weight to words used in the expectations, with words used in specific expectations given twice the value of words used in the examples or the introductory sections ($=N \times 2$), and words used in the overall expectations given three times the weight ($=N \times 3$). It is worth noting as well that the successive revisions of the curriculum document increase the amount of text, while decreasing the number of expectations. This can be seen in Table 2, which enumerates the pages dedicated to front matter, the pages dedicated to the civics curriculum, and the overall and specific expectations in each document. The final row, indicating a ratio of the number of overall expectations per page of the civics curriculum, gives the clearest metric of the successive increases in the length of the curriculum relative to the number of expectations.

Table 2. Enumeration of content in successive versions of the Ontario civics curriculum.

Curriculum document, by year	1999	2005	2013
# of pages dedicated to front matter	4	24	57
# of pages dedicated to the civics curriculum	8	7	18
# of overall expectations (civics)	13	9	8
# of specific expectations (civics)	52	34	37
# of overall expectations per page (civics)	1.63	1.29	0.44

While Clausen et al. (2008) and Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) include a broader range of keywords in their analysis, my brief study focuses specifically on uses of ‘citizen’ or ‘citizenship’. Within the front matter and the civics curriculum, I found 47 uses of ‘citizen/ship’ in the 1999 version of the document, 42 uses in the 2005 version and 40 in the 2013 version. While this appears relatively stable, the successive reductions in the total number of expectations results in a movement of the language of ‘citizen/ship’ out of the expectations and into the surrounding text. Given the relative importance of the expectations within the text of the curriculum, the movement of this language into the surrounding text indicates a de-emphasizing of citizenship itself within the civics curriculum. This can be seen in the weighted totals for ‘citizen/ship’, which are 81 in 1999, 71 in 2005 and 57 in 2013. These numbers can be seen in Table 3, along with the word counts for ‘citizen/ship’ in the overall expectations, specific expectations and surrounding text in each document.

Table 3. Enumerated uses of ‘citizen/ship’ in the Ontario civics curriculum.

Curriculum document, by year	1999	2005	2013
# of uses of ‘citizen/ship’ (overall expectations):	7	5	4
# of uses of ‘citizen/ship’ (specific expectations):	20	19	9
# of uses of ‘citizen/ship’ (surrounding text):	20	18	27
# of uses of ‘citizen/ship’ (total):	47	42	40
# of uses of ‘citizen/ship’ (weighted):	81	71	57

The analysis so far provides the context within which I conducted my comparative keyword content analysis of how the three versions of the Ontario civics curriculum take up the five dimensions of citizenship. To conduct this analysis, I followed Clausen et al. (2008) and Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) in first locating instances of my keyword ('citizen/ship') and then analysing the surrounding text. In selecting text to include, I emphasized the grammatical construction of noun phrases, which are clusters of words that function collectively as the subject or object of a sentence. In effect, I identified each use of 'citizen' or 'citizenship' as a noun, then flagged each word that modifies it as part of a noun phrase, including adjectives but also prepositional phrases and subordinate clauses that directly modify 'citizen/ship'. Once these words had been flagged, I rendered each word in a generic form, then categorized each word within one of the five citizenship dimensions. The words categorized under each citizenship dimension can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Words categorized under each of the five citizenship dimensions.

Political	Public	Legal	Economic	Cultural
Democracy/atic	(Points of) View(s)	Legal	Global	Local
National	Personal	Rights	Skills	Community
Provincial	Beliefs	Responsibilities	Attributes	Purpose(ful)
Participatory/ing	Values	Individual	Careers	Action/ing/ive
Canadian	Diverse		Work	Role
Contributions	Changing		Habits	Involved
Engaged	Perspectives		Useful	Groups
Influence	Varied/ing			Belong
Decision (Making)	Contrasting			Collaborative
Constitution	Differing/ent			Identity
Civic(s)	School			Lives
Structures	Classroom			
Processes	Informed/ation			
Politics/al	Society			
(Make a) Difference	Public			
Government(s)	Questions			
Practice(s)	Concepts			
	Concern(s)			
	Issue(s)			
	Position			
	Critical			
	Education			

I categorized each word through a careful analysis of its use in context and comparison to the discourses related to each of the citizenship dimensions. For instance, words categorized as political relate to the official structures and processes of a democratic nation state, and the forms of action enabled through them. Words categorized as public refer to the perspective-taking and dialogical practices enacted through the public realm of the traditional nation state, particularly through the schooling system and the national media. Words categorized as cultural refer to thicker forms of participation, belonging, and action that operate beyond the official structures of the nation state. There were a number of words that could have fit into more than one dimension, and these cases were decided through a close reading of their context in the document. For instance, ‘individual’ aligns most closely with (neo)liberal forms of citizenship, and therefore could have been categorized as either legal or economic. However, the contextual use of ‘individual’ functioned as a qualifier on citizens’ ability to engage in political and public

participation in the nation state, and therefore aligns more closely with the legal dimension of citizenship. Once the categorization was complete, I counted the number of uses of each word, and added them together for a total count of the words used from each citizenship dimension in each version of the document. I then produced a weighted total of each dimension in each version of the document, based on the degree to which the words were used in the expectations as opposed to the surrounding text. Tables 5 and 6 contain the unweighted and weighted totals, first as raw numbers then as percentages of the total number of flagged words in each version.

Table 5. Unweighted count of words from each citizenship dimension.

Unweighted	1999		2005		2013	
Political	40	28%	36	31%	32	26%
Public	52	37%	40	34%	31	25%
Legal	17	12%	15	13%	24	19%
Economic	7	5%	7	6%	20	16%
Cultural	26	18%	20	17%	18	14%
Total	142	100%	118	100%	125	100%

Table 6. Weighted count of words from each citizenship dimension.

Weighted	1999		2005		2013	
Political	63	26%	59	30%	46	25%
Public	92	37%	63	32%	46	25%
Legal	34	14%	33	17%	34	19%
Economic	12	5%	12	6%	34	19%
Cultural	45	18%	33	17%	23	13%
Total	246	100%	200	100%	183	100%

The numbers presented in Tables 5 and 6 function as an approximate metric for the degree to which the authors of each version of the curriculum emphasize each of the citizenship dimensions by incorporating terminology that modifies their uses of ‘citizen’ and ‘citizenship’. Comparing the two tables, it can be seen that the percentages for weighted and unweighted uses

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

of words across all three versions of the document are almost identical. This indicates that, unlike the total uses of ‘citizen/ship’, the changes in terminology between the three versions took place evenly throughout the expectations and the surrounding text. This is noteworthy, as it suggests that the changes cannot be explained as incidental results of structural changes (e.g. the decrease in the total number of expectations from 1999 to 2005, or the increase in the amount of surrounding text from 2005 to 2013). Rather these shifts in terminology appear to represent systematic efforts to change the language throughout each revision, with certain discursive dimensions consistently added or deleted throughout the various sections of the document. Second, across the weighted and unweighted totals, broad shifts can be seen in the prominence of each citizenship dimension. Most notably, each revision of the document resulted in a decrease in the prominence of the public and cultural dimensions of citizenship, both in absolute and relative terms. Figure 1 presents a visualization of the weighted totals, in order to illustrate the overall shifts taking place between the different versions of the curriculum.

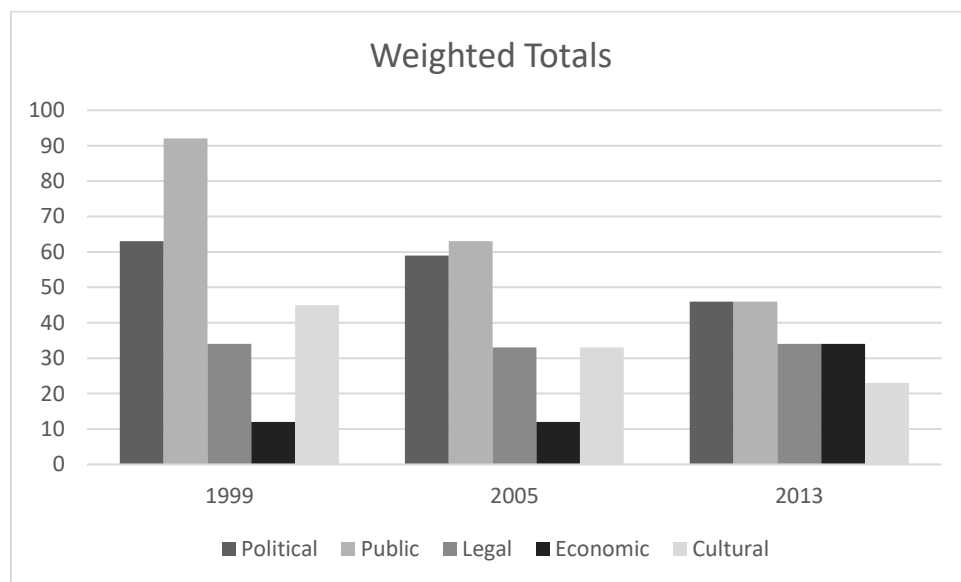


Figure 1. Weighted totals for each citizenship dimension across the three documents.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the discursive shifts in the successive revisions of Ontario civics curriculum primarily entail the removal of language related to the public and cultural dimensions of citizenship. These reductions are significant, as these two dimensions include the primary sources of collective identification and solidarity available in our society. The reduction of the public dimension represents the erosion of the public realm, including the processes for collective identification at the level of the nation state, and the avenues for working through conflicts and tensions in our national identity. The reduction of the cultural dimension, meanwhile, represents the erosion of collective belonging and action outside the formalized structures of the nation state, including particularly action and activism within the local community. The political dimension is more stable, but it also sees a reduction, particularly from 2005 to 2013. As the public and cultural dimensions are systematically eroded, the legal and economic dimensions either remain stable or – in the case of the economic dimension from 2005 to 2013 – substantially increase. In this sense, the erosion of the collective identification represented by the public and cultural dimensions is leading to even greater prominence of (neo)liberal forms of individualized, de-contextualized citizenship.

Conclusion

When the findings from my document analysis are reviewed in light of the literature summarized in previous sections, several possible interpretations emerge. Indeed, since the central argument of this article has been the complex and multidimensional nature of citizenship in Canada, it should not be surprising that the findings do not submit to a single, simplifying interpretation. First, one of the most significant discursive shifts across the 1999, 2005 and 2013 versions of the Ontario civics curriculum has been the reduction in the political and public

dimensions relative to the other dimensions. While one could certainly critique the de-emphasizing of the political dimension in particular in a course on civics, Cohen's (1999) analysis of the citizenship principle would suggest that the increasing parity between the political, public and legal dimensions may in fact be a positive development. A central component of Cohen's argument is the need for balance between these three components. In this sense, the dominance of the political and public elements in the 1999 and 2005 versions of the civics curriculum – combining for 63 per cent of the weighted total in 1999 and 62 per cent in 2005 – can be seen as problematic. Specifically, this could suggest an unbalanced emphasis on the collective identification and action enacted through the nation state, which in turn could enable the continued dominance and tyranny of cultural and ethnic majorities within the nation state. The increasing parity between political, public and legal dimensions in the 2013 document can therefore be interpreted as increasing the opportunities for discourses of human rights – adhering to all individuals apart from their national or ethnic identification – to counterbalance the dominance of national majority populations.

Nonetheless, there are two other shifts in the Ontario civics curriculum that, when considered in light of the literature reviewed previously, I would suggest are more problematic. These relate specifically to the two citizenship dimensions not included in Cohen's (1999) analysis of the citizenship principle. First, there is a decreasing emphasis on the cultural dimension of citizenship, in both absolute and relative terms, across the three versions of the Ontario civics curriculum. This aligns closely with the previous discussion of the incongruity between the complex and multilevelled enactments of citizenship in Canada and the simplistic and homogeneous presentation of citizenship in Canadian curricula. In the example drawn from Jenson and Papillon (2000), the James Bay Cree's assertion of nationhood involved action across

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

all five citizenship dimensions. However, without the initial identification and activism enabled by their thick and localized cultural sense of solidarity and belonging, they could not have utilized the other citizenship dimensions to assert their nationhood within the multinational state of Canada. As Taylor (2004) contends, the political, public, economic and legal dimensions of citizenship historically developed from the thick sense of cultural belonging in localized communities. By the same logic, students – and particularly those from outside the dominant cultural group in a society – depend on the experiential aspects of cultural citizenship to make the other citizenship dimensions pedagogically accessible (Banks 2008b). By reducing the focus on cultural citizenship, the Ontario civics curriculum is reifying the political, public, legal and economic status quo, and reducing citizenship to an ahistorical abstraction. Such a reification of citizenship makes the societal status quo pedagogically inaccessible, and simultaneously undermines the agency of citizens to reinvent their society.

Second, the increasing prominence of the economic dimension of citizenship, particularly in the 2013 version of the Ontario civics curriculum, is also problematic. There is certainly an argument that can be made, building on Cohen (1999), that all the dimensions of citizenship are important, and that therefore the near-parity of the political, public, legal and economic dimensions in 2013 is a positive development. Nonetheless, it must be borne in mind that all of these discourses are occurring within a half-semester course, with the other half of the semester dedicated to a careers course focused on developing workplace skills. In this sense, the increasing prominence of the economic dimension of citizenship in the Ontario civics curriculum, combined with the economic focus of the Ontario careers curriculum, points to a single-minded focus on economic participation on the part of the Ontario Ministry of Education.

In this context, the 2016 controversy over the potential cutting of the Ontario civics curriculum, discussed at the beginning of the article, emerges in a new light. Advocates for the Ontario civics curriculum were certainly right to critique the idea of cutting civics in order to replace it with a full semester of careers. Nonetheless, these advocates overlooked the discursive shifts that were already happening within the civics curriculum itself, with an increasing emphasis on the economic dimension of citizenship at the expense of the political, public, legal and cultural dimensions. These shifts indicate a broad discursive realignment taking place within the Ontario curriculum towards a single-minded focus on economic participation. This broad realignment – what I referred to earlier as the neo-liberalization of the curriculum – is taking place already, whether or not the Ontario civics course survives in its current form.

Acknowledgement

This research was funded through a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Insight Development Grant.

References

- Anderson, B. (2006), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Arthur, J., Davies, I. and Hahn, C. (2008), 'Introduction to the SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy', in J. Arthur, I. Davies and C. Hahn (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*, London: SAGE, pp. 1–10.
- Ball, S. J. (2006), *Education Policy and Social Class: The Selected Works of Stephen J. Ball*, Oxon: Routledge.
- Ball, S. J., Maguire, M. and Braun, A. (2012), *How Schools Do Policy: Policy Enactments in Secondary Schools*, New York: Routledge.
- Banks, J. A. (2008a), 'Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age', *Educational Researcher*, 37:3, pp. 129–39.
- ____ (2008b), 'Diversity and citizenship education in global times', in J. Arthur, I. Davies and C. Hahn (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*, London: SAGE, pp. 57–70.
- Basu, R. (2004), 'The rationalization of neoliberalism in Ontario's public education system, 1995-2000', *Geoforum*, 35, pp. 621–34.
- Battiste, M. (2013), *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*, Saskatoon: Purich.
- Bickmore, K. (2014), 'Citizenship education in Canada: "Democratic" engagement with differences, conflicts and equity issues?', *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 9:3, pp. 257–78.
- Butler, J. K. (2015), 'The gap between text and context: An analysis of Ontario's Indigenous education policy', *In Education*, 21:2, pp. 26–48.

- Butler, J. K., Ng-A-Fook, N., Vaudrin-Charette, J. and McFadden, F. (2015), 'Living between truth and reconciliation: Responsibilities, colonial institutions, and settler scholars', *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, 12:2, pp. 44–63.
- Clausen, K. W. (2016), 'From vigour to rigour: *Tensionality* and Ontario's unbalanced curriculum, 1963-2013', in N. Ng-A-Fook and A. Ibrahim, G. Reis (eds), *Provoking Curriculum Studies: Strong Poetry and the Arts of the Possible in Education*, New York: Routledge, pp. 110–28.
- Clausen, K. W., Horton, T. A. and Lemisko, L. S. (2008), 'Democracy and diversity: A content analysis of selected contemporary Canadian social studies curricula', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 4:1, pp. 35–49.
- Cohen, L. G. (1999), 'Changing paradigms of citizenship and the exclusiveness of the demos', *International Sociology*, 14:3, pp. 245–68.
- Harvey, D. (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hébert, Y. (2009), 'Responsibility and citizenship education: Shifting meanings, policy and curricula', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 5:2, pp. 4–15.
- Henderson, J. Y. (2013), 'Incomprehensible Canada', in J. Henderson and P. Wakeham (eds), *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 115–28.
- Hodder, I. (1994), 'The interpretation of documents and material culture', in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE, pp. 393–402.

- Hughes, A. S. and Sears, A. (2008), 'The struggle for citizenship education in Canada: The centre cannot hold', in J. Arthur, I. Davies and C. Hahn (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*, London: SAGE, pp. 124–38.
- Iacovino, R. and Nootens, G. (2011), 'A clash of ideals? Federalism, citizenship and education in the multinational state', in M. Behiels and F. Rocher (eds), *The State in Transition: Challenges for Canadian Federalism*, Ottawa: Invenire Books, pp. 217–38.
- Jenson, J. and Papillon, M. (2000), 'Challenging the citizenship regime: The James Bay Cree and transnational action', *Politics & Society*, 28:2, pp. 245–64.
- Joshee, R. (2007), 'Opportunities for social justice work: The Ontario diversity policy web', *The Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations*, 18:1&2, pp. 171–99.
- Kennelly, J. and Llewellyn, K. R. (2011), 'Educating for active compliance: Discursive constructions in citizenship education', *Citizenship Studies*, 15:6&7, pp. 897–914.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004), *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Kymlicka, W. (2007), 'Ethnocultural diversity in a liberal state: Making sense of the Canadian model(s)', in K. Banting, T. J. Courchene and F. L. Seidle (eds), *Belonging?: Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, pp. 1–48.
- ____ (2011), 'Multicultural citizenship within multination states', *Ethnicities*, 11:3, pp. 281–302.
- Marshall, T. H. (1964), *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*, Garden City: Doubleday.
- Mitchell, K. (2006), 'Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: Education, training, and technologies of citizenship', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 389–407.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) (2005), *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10:*

Canadian and World Studies, Toronto: Ministry of Education.

____ (2013a), *The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and world studies*, Toronto:

Ministry of Education,

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2013.pdf>.

Accessed 6 April 2017.

____ (2013b), *The Ontario Curriculum: Social Studies Grades 1 to 6; History and Geography*

Grades 7 and 8, Toronto: Ministry of Education,

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/elementary/sshg18curr2013.pdf>. Accessed 17

July 2017.

____ (2015), *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 11 and 12: Canadian and World Studies*, Toronto:

Ministry of Education,

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/2015cws11and12.pdf>. Accessed 17

July 2017.

Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (1999), *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10:*

Canadian and World Studies, Toronto: Ministry of Education and Training.

Osborne, K. (2000), 'Public schooling and citizenship education in Canada', *Canadian Ethnic*

Studies/Études Ethniques au Canada, 32:1, pp. 8–37.

Pashby, K., Ingram, L.-A. and Joshee, R. (2014), 'Discovering, recovering, and covering-up

Canada: Tracing historical citizenship discourses in K-12 and adult immigrant citizenship education', *Canadian Journal of Education*, 37:2, pp. 1–26.

Pinto, L. E. (2012), *Curriculum Reform in Ontario: 'Common Sense' Policy Processes and*

Democratic Possibilities, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- ____ (2013), 'When politics trump evidence: Financial literacy education narratives following the global financial crisis', *Journal of Education Policy*, 28:1, pp. 95–120.
- Sattler, P. (2012), 'Education governance reform in Ontario: Neoliberalism in context', *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 128, 1–28.
- Saul, J. R. (1994), *The Doubter's Companion: A Dictionary of Aggressive Common Sense*, Toronto: Viking.
- Schneider, A. L. and Ingram, H. (2006), 'Public policy and democratic citizenship: What kinds of citizenship does policy promote?', in F. Fischer, G. J. Miller and M. S. Sidney (eds), *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods*, Boca Raton: CRC Press, pp. 329–46.
- Sears, A. (2009), 'Guest Editor's introduction', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 5:2, pp. 1–3.
- ____ (2010), 'Possibilities and problems: Citizenship education in a multinational state: The case of Canada', in A. Reid and J. Gill, A. Sears (eds), *Globalization, the Nation-State and the Citizen*, New York: Routledge, pp. 191–205.
- Smith, B. and Rogers, P. (2015), 'Towards a theory of decolonizing citizenship', *Citizenship Education Research Journal*, 5:1, pp. 59–71.
- Stanley, T. (1998), 'The struggle for history: Historical narratives and anti-racist pedagogy', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 19:1, pp. 41–52.
- Taylor, C. (1994), 'The politics of recognition', in A. Gutmann (ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 25–73.
- ____ (2004), *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tee, N. P. (2008), 'Education policy rhetoric and reality gap: A reflection', *International Journal of Educational Management*, 22:6, pp. 595–602.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Tidridge, N. (2016), 'Why Ontario shouldn't ditch high school civics classes',

<http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/ontario-ditch-civics-classes-mistake/#update>.

Accessed 6 April 2017.

Tomkins, G. S. (1986), *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada.

Troper, H. (2002), 'The historical context for citizenship education in urban Canada', in Y. M. Hébert (ed.), *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 150–61.

Chapter 3: Overall Theoretical, Conceptual, and Methodological Framework

Situating the Thesis

My goal in this thesis is to study the citizenship curriculum from a public policy perspective. As I discussed in Chapter 1, citizenship education is unique in educational research in drawing a fair amount of attention to the public policy functions of the curriculum. However, it is also a fairly small subfield within educational research, and the remainder of this thesis will attempt to engage in a broader conversation that incorporates both the traditions of policy analysis and curriculum studies. Practically, this engagement extends to the journals for which I am writing the articles that follow. Where Article 1 was published in a citizenship education journal, Articles 2 and 3 are written for a policy analysis and a curriculum studies journal, respectively.

My engagement with these two distinct fields of research grew organically out of my own personal and career development over my years in the doctoral program. I first came to the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa through the Bachelor of Education Program, with the intention of becoming a classroom teacher. As I became interested in educational research, I initially maintained a focus on pedagogical questions. My original application to the doctoral program was focused on literacy education, and embedded within the field of curriculum studies. However, a series of early experiences in the program sparked an interest in educational policy. I had the opportunity to work on several research reports to the Ontario Ministry of Education, which gave me a first-hand opportunity to think about the educational system from the perspective of public policy. I began to develop an interest not just in public policy as a research topic, but in policy analysis as a field and a way of thinking. Wanting to build my practical policy skills, I audited a quantitative research course. This led directly to an

opportunity to work on a policy research project, building a demographic profile of the University of Ottawa's Indigenous students. My supervisor on this project later helped me to get a part-time job with the Federal Government, which led to a full-time job in September 2019, after the completion of my scholarship. Over the course of five years, therefore, my career focus shifted gradually from pedagogy to policy analysis. My research interest followed a similar progression from a pedagogical focus (e.g., Butler, Kane, & Morshead, 2017) to a policy focus (e.g., Butler, Kane, & Cooligan, 2019).

However, my effort to engage with these two fields is complicated by the complex relationship many curriculum scholars have with the language of public policy. This was exemplified to me by the question raised in my thesis proposal defense regarding whether I was taking an "instrumental" approach to the curriculum. This question is a valid one, rooted in curriculum scholars' historical experience of being marginalized from curriculum-creation as the curriculum became a centralized policy instrument of the state (Connelly, 2013). This alienation was exacerbated by the simplistic linear rationality that was often adopted by postwar state-based curriculum creation. As Tomkins (1986) describes:

During the 1960s, policy-makers began to pin faith on administrative models and various techniques in the form of sophisticated information systems, social forecasting and cost-effectiveness methods. They believed that the future could be shaped according to some rational plan. Rationality increasingly came to be equated with models and tidy linear systems, exemplified in the case of curriculum policy by the use of Bloom's Taxonomy, Tyler's famous rationale, behavioural objectives and the like. Curriculum documents became sprinkled with esoteric charts that were often disregarded in practice. (pp. 427-428)

Teachers, at the receiving end of such “tidy linear systems,” felt reduced to the mechanical role of implementing the curriculum, which was created in a bureaucratic context that felt foreign to the realities of the classroom (Aoki, 1984; Chambers, 1999). The response of curriculum scholars to this situation was largely to disengage with the language of public policy altogether, preferring instead to focus on pedagogical questions or broader theoretical concerns (Connelly, 2013; Connelly & Xu, 2007). A good indication of this turn is Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman’s (1995) treatment of what they refer to as “institutionalized” approaches to the curriculum, which they confine to one chapter at the end of their comprehensive survey of curriculum research, favouring instead a range of research approaches based in social theory (p. 16). Where curriculum scholars discuss public policy, it largely takes the form either of external, theoretically-based critique (e.g., Apple, 2004a) or of studies of teachers’ subjective experiences of implementation (e.g. Fernandez, Ritchie, & Barker, 2008; Magrini, 2015). Genuine engagement with the language of policy-making is relatively rare (Wraga, 2006).

Nonetheless, I feel there is great potential for coordination of curriculum and policy scholarship in order to better understand the complexity of state-created curriculum policies. There is a small but growing body of curriculum research that has started to adopt public policy perspectives (e.g., Clausen, 2016; Connelly & Connelly, 2013; Pinto, 2012; Westbury, 2016). Meanwhile, there is a growing movement within the field of policy analysis that seeks to replace the traditional dominance of instrumental rationality with more complex and interpretive understandings of the policy process (e.g., Forester, 1987; Hajer, 2003; Wagenaar, 2011). This movement developed as a response to the historical failures of traditional policy analysis to achieve its intended effects in practice—failures that would certainly be familiar to curriculum scholars (Fischer, 2003, 2006). Wildavsky (1979), who in many ways launched this movement,

influentially pointed to the non-linear way in which linear rational models of policy development are created:

Having finished a study or made a decision, we find it economical of time and effort to present not the historical evolution, the short cuts, the blind alleys, the trial and error that led to a recommendation, but, by way of summary, the alternatives adopted with the evidence in favor of the winning one. Alas, the form has come to be identified as the substance of rationality. (p. 9)

Even in the realm of policy implementation, simple linear understandings of the policy process have been forcibly discounted (Coburn & Stein, 2006; Fullan, 2005; Honig, 2006; Spillane, Reiser, & Gomez, 2006; Suppovitz & Weinbaum, 2008).

In bringing these traditions into dialogue within my research, I understand their different emphases to be complementary. To me, the difference between policy and curriculum scholarship is essentially one of operational scale. Milner and Lewis (2011) give a good example of this relationship in an article analyzing citizenship education in Ontario from a political science perspective. As they describe it: “The study of citizenship education until relatively recently has largely been left to education specialists. With some exceptions, the literature has consisted of case studies which do not lend themselves to cumulation” (p. 137). This sounds at first like a critique, but Milner and Lewis go on to supplement their primary study—which involves a statistical analysis of the impact of civic education on voting patterns—with qualitative interviews with Ontario civics teachers. They conclude that “a key factor in the effectiveness of civic education is the experience, approach and attitude of the teacher” (p. 143)—an observation that could be found in any number of the ungeneralizable classroom studies produced by educationists. As Milner and Lewis demonstrate, a public policy research

lens must incorporate a much wider scale than the pedagogical context of particular classrooms, as this is the scope of the impact of state-produced curriculum policies. However, without supplementing such research with detailed analysis at the scale of the classroom, public policy research can overlook many of the important nuances of how curriculum policy is taken up. This thesis attempts to bridge these scales of analysis, with Articles 1 and 2 analyzing curriculum policy on a societal scale, based on perspectives drawn from political philosophy, while Article 3 supplements this research with a smaller scale study of teacher candidates' perspectives on the curriculum policy.

Re-Situating the Typology of Citizenship in Relation to the Research Literature

The previous chapter (Article 1) serves as an introduction to my research project, including my primary review of the literature, an introduction to my typology of citizenship, and a first exploratory analysis of the curriculum policy documents. Since completing that article, my thinking around this project has continued to evolve, particularly in relation to deepening my analysis of the citizenship typology, which I used to frame and analyze my findings in Articles 2 and 3. As I laid out in my initial thesis proposal, I have also continued to review relevant literature in an iterative manner throughout my data analysis. Additionally, since my thesis proposal and the completion of my first article, the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME, 2018) has published a new revision of the *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* (CWS 9 & 10) curriculum policy document, which I have expanded my study to incorporate. This new revision is explicitly framed as a response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC, 2015) call for increased Indigenous perspectives in the curriculum (OME, 2017). As a result, it has become important for an analysis of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum to incorporate Indigenous perspectives. More broadly, this recent curriculum revision can be understood within

various popular, political, and academic discourses of “reconciliation” that have emerged in Canada during and after the work of the TRC (Borrows & Tully, 2018; Henderson & Wakeham, 2013; Turner, 2013). These discourses of reconciliation can be seen as an important transformation of the social imaginary of citizenship in Canada, which my analysis will need to acknowledge. In this section, therefore, I return to the typology of the dimensions of citizenship to provide more detail in preparation for the analysis that follows in articles 2 and 3. First, I describe the individual dimensions of the typology in relation to the theoretical and research literature that I found helpful in deepening my understanding and conceptualization of them. Then I specifically review the literature on Indigenous perspectives on citizenship in Canada as an alternate perspective on the typology.

The Political Dimension of Citizenship

The political dimension in my typology incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as participating in collective decision-making, with particular emphasis on formal democratic structures at the level of the nation-state, but also on other formal processes within or beyond the nation-state, such as provincial and municipal politics (Cohen, 1999; Taylor, 2004). Because of its highly institutionalized nature, the practices that constitute the political dimension largely fall within two well-defined ranges: formal participation in democratic decision-making (e.g., voting for democratic representatives), and ritualistic practices to foster affective identification with the nation-state (e.g., singing the national anthem at sporting events). Preparing students for participation in the political dimension is commonly seen as a central policy function of public schools, including both building identification with the nation-state (Kymlicka, 1999; Sears, 2010) and learning to participate in democratic processes (Milner & Lewis, 2011; Llewellyn, Cook, & Molina, 2010).

Within the Canadian context the political dimension is complicated by political pluralism, which is particular to our federated structure (Kymlicka, 1998, 2011; Taylor, 1993). Federalism complicates citizenship education policy on several levels. First, citizenship education is largely national in its focus, but in Canada the federal government is constitutionally excluded from direct educational policy and governance (Lewis, 2011; Sears, 2010) – with the notable exception of its constitutional responsibilities for Indigenous education (White & Peters, 2009). As Sears (1997) and Bell and Lewis (2014) document, this situation has resulted in ongoing efforts by the federal government to influence citizenship education policies at the provincial level, directly or indirectly. Second, Canadian federalism also represents an important aspect of the curricular content students need to learn in citizenship education. In this sense, various scholars suggest that Canadian students must learn not only about the institutional arrangements of federalism, but also about how to participate in the culture and values that sustain those arrangements (Fafard, Rocher, & Côté, 2010; Field & Rocher, 2000; Iacovino & Nootens, 2011; Stark, 1996). As Field and Rocher (2000) describe:

[...] beyond the structures inherent in federal states, federalism is founded on a number of basic principles. Both the *spirit* that must necessarily inspire a federal state and the types of arrangements for the social relationship it claims to champion are equally important for federalism to truly function as it was intended. (pp. 39-40; italics in original)

In particular, Canadian philosophers like Taylor (1993, 1994) and Kymlicka (1998, 1999, 2011) argue that citizens must develop the capacity to balance complex allegiances within multiple levels of the federal structure, as well as the ability to recognize and respect these different allegiances in others.

The Public Dimension of Citizenship

The public dimension incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as constituting a shared realm of social interaction and communal participation beyond any particular situated community. In particular, it emphasizes the nation-state as an “imagined community” in Anderson’s (2006) sense. As Taylor (2004) explains:

The public sphere is a common space in which the members of society are deemed to meet through a variety of media: print, electronic, and also face-to-face encounters; to discuss matters of common interest; and thus to be able to form a common mind about these. I say “a common space” because although the media are multiple, as are the exchanges that take place in them, they are deemed to be in principle intercommunicating. (p. 83)

While Taylor emphasizes mediated spaces here, the public dimension also incorporates actual physical spaces that have come to be seen as places for public encounters. Within the Canadian context, an important aspect of the public dimension is the role it plays in helping to build citizens’ awareness and understanding of ethnic and cultural diversity (Kymlicka, 1998; Taylor, 1993). Public schools are understood to function as an important public space in this regard (Kymlicka, 1999). However, numerous scholars have observed that schools largely fail to foster a deep understanding of diversity, emphasizing instead superficial understandings of multiculturalism within a unitary nationalistic narrative (Bickmore, 2014; Joshee, Peck, Thompson, Chareka, & Sears, 2016; Peck, Thompson, Chareka, Joshee, & Sears, 2010).

The Economic Dimension of Citizenship

The economic dimension incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as autonomous actors operating within a universalized realm of mutually beneficial exchange.

According to Taylor (2004):

Instead of being merely the management, by those in authority, of the resources we collectively need in household or state, the economic now defines a way we are linked together, a sphere of coexistence that in principle could suffice to itself, if only disorder and conflict didn't threaten. Conceiving of the economy as a system is an achievement of eighteenth-century theory, with the physiocrats and Adam Smith, but coming to see the most important purpose and agenda of society as economic collaboration and exchange is a drift in our social imaginary that begins in that period and continues to this day. (p. 76)

Taylor's comment on the economic perspective gradually coming to override all other perspectives reflects the concerns of analysts of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005; Lipman, 2011), as well as my analysis of historic shifts in the Ontario curriculum in the previous chapter.

In the context of Canadian educational policy, Manzer (1994) describes the growing impact of the economic dimension through the emergence of what he calls a political philosophy of "technological liberalism" (p. 268). Technological liberalism emphasizes "a common technologically oriented education that all young people must have in order to compete successfully in the global economy" (p. 268). Manzer's concern with technological liberalism is not only its "uncompromised and undeliberated hegemony" (p. 272), but the extent to which the educational standards it imposes are defined according to Canada's economic competitors. While Canadian curricula have a long history of importing international standards (Broom & Evans, 2015; Peck, Sears, & Donaldson, 2008; Tomkins, 1981), Manzer (1994) argues that Canadian

educational policy nonetheless evolved in the twentieth century toward a compromise of competing philosophies that accommodated our political diversity. By universally imposing international standards, therefore, technological liberalism carries the risk of undermining the legitimacy of Canadian public schooling, which depends on this underlying political compromise. Since the time of Manzer's writing, the patterns he noted in relation to the internationalization of educational policy have arguably increased, through the growing dominance of mechanisms for comparative measurement and ranking, such as PISA (Ball, 2016; Lundgren, 2015). More specifically in relation to citizenship education, the continuing impact of technological liberalism can be seen in the recent shift towards defining citizenship as a set of universally transferable skills, centred on decontextualized critical thinking and individual self-regulation (Iacovino & Nootens, 2011; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011; Sears, 2010).

The Juridical Dimension of Citizenship

The juridical dimension incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as operating within a universalized moral order that endows the individual with both universalized rights and universalized ethical obligations (Cohen, 1999; Taylor, 2004). In this sense, the juridical dimension incorporates the formal legal status of citizenship, but also looks beyond it to the philosophical assumptions that underpin contemporary legal structures.² As Taylor (2004) describes, the juridical dimension emerged out of the idea that citizens of a polity have “natural” rights that are outside of political control. Taylor concludes:

This whole development reaches its culmination in our time, in the period after the Second World War, in which the notion of rights as prior to and untouchable by political

² Where I used the word “legal” in the previous chapter (Article 1), I have since adopted Cohen's (1999) term “juridical” to avoid confusion with the narrower sense of “legal.”

structures becomes widespread—although they are now called “human” rather than “natural” rights—and in which this consciousness is given expression in the entrenchment of charters of rights, by which ordinary legislation can be set aside when it violates these fundamental norms. (p. 172)

While the development of the juridical dimension, and human rights in particular, has clearly had many positive results, Cohen (1999) warns that, “when dominant, the juridical model seems to be depoliticizing and desolidarizing” (p. 249). In this sense, the positioning of the citizen as an atomized individual in a global field of activity can undermine both identification with, and participation in, more localized communities. Taylor (1993) warns about these effects in the Canadian context, noting that the influence of an American rights-based model of citizenship has the potential to undermine Canada’s complex political communities. Field and Rocher (2000) suggest that such a shift toward the juridical dimension is already underway, insofar as the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms effectively displaced federalism as a pillar of the Canadian constitution.

A common manifestation of the juridical dimension within the citizenship curriculum is global citizenship education (Evans, Ingram, Macdonald, & Weber, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2006). While global citizenship education can take a range of forms, the variation of interest here, sometimes called “cosmopolitanism,” is that which situates the individual as an ethical actor within a unitary global domain. Journell (2010) summarizes this movement as follows: “advocates for cosmopolitanism view individuals as world citizens who share a desire to address and eliminate problems relating to all humanity, such as environmental pollution, human rights abuses, and genocide” (p. 354). As with the juridical dimension more broadly, such an educational focus can encourage the individual to identify with values and purposes that

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

transcend the often-cynical compromises of democratic politics. At the same time, by situating the citizen outside their bounded political community, it can undermine collective solidarity and create a sense of isolation and helplessness in the face of seemingly intractable problems (Cohen, 1999). Von Heyking (2006) gives a good description of these patterns in her account of the trend toward individualized moral responsibilities in the Alberta citizenship curriculum in the 1970s:

Faced with an exhausting list of global and national problems, and armed with only the skills of clarifying alternative value systems, students were ill-prepared for active civic engagement. Rather than finding a sense of community in the social studies curriculum, they found only fragmentation and despair. (p. 153)

Along with undermining political identification, an overemphasis on certain forms of global citizenship can undermine an understanding of political diversity by universalizing a specifically Western model of citizenship (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Marshall, 2011; Pashby, 2011).

Following Cohen (1999), therefore, the benefits of educating for the juridical dimension are arguably best reached when counterbalanced with a strong emphasis on the political dimension.

The Cultural Dimension of Citizenship

The cultural dimension contains elements of both the political and the public dimensions, but it emphasizes smaller-scale and more organic communities—whether these are localized, face-to-face communities or transnational, mediated communities (Banks, 2008a). In this sense, the organic communities of the cultural dimension can also be understood as the experiential basis from which the imagined community of the political and public dimensions is projected (Anderson, 2006; Taylor, 2004). However, operating both on a smaller scale and in less institutionalized contexts, the cultural dimension is more fluid in its manifestations and more responsive to citizen agency (Banks, 2008a, 2008b). In relation to the public dimension, various

scholars have suggested that Canadian citizenship curriculum policies present standardized models of citizenship—generally white, upper-middle-class, and ideologically liberal—that exclude multiple dimensions of student diversity, including racialized and trans-national identities (Bickmore, 2014; Hébert, Wilkinson, & Ali, 2008), religious identities (Moosa-Mitha, 2009; Peck et al., 2010), and working-class experiences of citizenship (Tupper, Cappello, & Sevigny, 2010). In this regard, cultural communities, such as those formed by new immigrants in specific urban neighbourhoods, are important sites for the enactment of modes of citizenship that are excluded from the official narratives of the nation-state (Banks, 2008a, 2008b, 2017).

In relation to the political dimension, many scholars suggest that it is valuable for students to engage in direct civic action within the cultural dimension, including both their immediate localized communities and dispersed cultural communities, in order to build their capacity for civic action and their sense of political efficacy (Banks, 2017; Broom, Di Mascio, & Fleming, 2017; Evans, Evans, & Vemic, 2019; McLean, Bergen, Truong-White, Rottmann, & Glithero, 2017). While the literature on civic engagement largely conflates community-based and online activities, there is some suggestion that these should be distinguished. Banks (2017) and Broom and colleagues (2017) draw particular attention to the unique benefits of engaging in students' immediate neighbourhoods. Llewellyn, Cook, Westheimer, Molina Girón, and Suurtamm (2007), meanwhile, highlight both the strengths and disadvantages of online engagement. While acknowledging that digital technologies have encouraged students to “expect a high level of participation and control in their interactions with the world,” they also suggest that digital technologies can cause “information overload” (p. 19). Students, they continue, “feel that there are so many problems in the world, and so many different ways of acting, that they grow overwhelmed and cannot identify the most appropriate method of action” (p. 19). In this

regard, the emphasis on online civic engagement in recent policy and pedagogical contexts has the potential to create a problematic imbalance in the curriculum (Evans et al., 2019; Kane, Ng-A-Fook, Radford, & Butler, 2017).

Indigenous Perspectives on Citizenship

Indigenous political systems traditionally differ from European political systems in being deeply rooted in networks of kinship relationships within particular places (Begaye, 2008; Neeganagwedgin, 2013). According to Henderson (2000a):

Aboriginal thought does not recognize Eurocentric communities, states, or nations, since these entities exist only in the artificial constructs of Eurocentric language. No state or external political authority, separate from your relatives, can exist. This is why most treaties with the British sovereign are grounded in kinship terms. (p. 271)

Henderson's critique here is similar to Anderson's (2006) analysis of the European nation-state, which is abstracted from direct human experience as an "imagined community." Traditional Indigenous citizenship, therefore, should be understood as operating on a similar scale to what I have called the cultural dimension. According to Begaye (2008), this traditionally took the form of a clan system, in which a community maintained a balance between respecting individuality and building common understandings. This balance was achieved by maintaining communities at a size that allowed everyone's voice to be heard in decision-making. This enabled many traditional Indigenous political systems to practice highly participatory and consensual forms of democracy (Begaye, 2008; Borrows, 2017a; Horn-Miller, 2013). Begaye (2008) describes the strong social and political solidarity that was enabled by such an approach:

The path to acknowledgement and recognition or to healing is embedded in the sense of community that was formed when tribes and groups were held together with a common

bond of clan and strong community values. Clans meant community, friendship, and respect for everything considered alive among humans and nature. (p. 466)

Notably, Begaye's description extends the clan system to include the natural world. This aligns with the literature indicating the importance to Indigenous socio-cultural realities of an intimate network of relationships between the human and natural world, rooted in particular landscapes (Blood, Chambers, Donald, Hasebe-Ludt, & Big Head, 2012; Restoule, Gruber, & Metatawabin, 2013; Simpson, 2014; Styres, Haig-Brown, & Blimkie, 2013). In modern Western cultures, on the other hand, human society is understood as separate from nature, which is typically imagined as an atavistic realm that humans must tame (Bignall, 2014; Henderson, 2000b). This attitude toward nature informed the historical process of colonization, in which Europeans considered their culture to be a universal structure that were transferrable from one locality to another. In the new locality, however, this culture manifested itself through domination of the new landscape and the populations already living there (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2010).

Indigenous peoples' experience of the political dimension, with its emphasis on the nation-state, has therefore largely been one of resistance to a foreign political structure imposed over their pre-existing nations (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Daigle, 2016; MacDonald, 2013). In particular, many Indigenous thinkers view Canadian citizenship as illegitimate or as irrelevant to their political and cultural identities (Henderson, 2002; Turner, 2006; Woons, 2014). As Grande (2008) describes, the goal for many Indigenous nations is to rebuild their own understanding of nationhood: "The task ahead is to detach and *dethink* the notion of sovereignty from its connection to Western understandings of power and base it on indigenous notions of relationship" (p. 244). Grande continues:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

The guiding force in this process must be the tribe, the people, the community; the perseverance of these entities and their connection to indigenous lands and sacred places is what inherits “spirituality” and, in turn, the “sovereignty” of Native peoples. (p. 245)

Within the imposed context of colonial states, therefore, Indigenous peoples have been engaging in a wide range of creative activities to rebuild their own political institutions from the ground up (Cornell, 2015; Jenson & Papillon, 2000; Papillon, 2015).

The physical process of colonization was paralleled and reinforced by a type of epistemological colonization, as European epistemologies were elevated above Indigenous epistemologies and given a universal status (Smith, 1999). The public dimension of citizenship, therefore, has a problematic history that is similar to that of the political dimension. Marie Battiste (1998, 2011, 2013) refers to the systemic undermining of Indigenous epistemologies in Canadian public institutions as “cognitive imperialism.” She describes this process in educational institutions as follows:

Instead of an education that draws from the ecological context of the people, their social and cultural frames of reference, embodying their philosophical foundations of spiritual interconnected realities, and building on the enriched experiences and gifts of their people and their current needs for economic development and change, education has been framed as a secular experience with fragmented knowledge imported from other societies and cultures. This fragmented accumulation of knowledge builds on Eurocentric strategies that maintain their knowledge is universal, that it derives from standards of good that are universally appropriate, that the ideas and ideals are so familiar they need not be questioned, and that all questions can be posed and resolved within it. (Battiste, 1998, p. 21)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Historically, cognitive imperialism was largely enacted through the residential schooling system, which was operated under the federal government's jurisdiction over Indigenous education (White & Peters, 2009). These schools are now widely recognized as an intentional policy instrument to undermine Indigenous cultural, political, and linguistic systems and assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream society (TRC, 2015). While residential schools have now been closed, they have an enduring legacy in the form of widespread damage to Indigenous peoples' political, cultural, and linguistic systems, and the intergenerational trauma resulting from widespread abuse of students in these schools (Battiste, 2013; McGregor, 2010; TRC, 2015; White & Peters, 2009).

Indigenous students continue to be subjected to cognitive assimilation today, including through the attendance of many of these students at provincially-operated public schools. While simultaneously seeking to rebuild their own institutions, therefore, Indigenous thinkers also advocate for greater inclusion of Indigenous perspectives within the Canadian system of public education (Aquash, 2013; Cherubini & Hodson, 2008; Cherubini, Hodson, Manley-Casimir, & Muir, 2010; Dunning, 2018). In this regard, Battiste (2011) argues that: "Indigenous peoples must be involved at all stages and in all phases of education planning and future governing" (p. 308). In particular, Battiste (2011, 2013) critiques current curriculum policy development processes, including what she calls the "add and stir" approach of including tokenistic fragments of Indigenous cultural perspectives into the existing structures of provincial curriculum policies.

Like their political systems, Indigenous legal systems are deeply connected to their cultural reality within particular places (Christie, 2003; Borrows, 2017a; McCrossan, 2015). As a result, their relationship to the juridical dimension of citizenship, as a globalized imaginary of universal common status, is complex. As described in the previous chapter, the James Bay Cree

leveraged the global context of human rights for their own local political purposes (Jenson & Papillon, 2000). However, such efforts are often aimed at rebuilding their own place-based legal systems (Borrows, 2017b; Henderson, 2017). The economic dimension of citizenship, as another universalizing and individualizing imaginary, is also problematic, and Indigenous peoples' interactions with it are often in the form of resistance to the attempts of global capital to override their local and relational economies (Kennedy Dalseg, Kuokkanen, Mills, & Simmons, 2018; Wood & Rossiter, 2017). On the whole, therefore, Indigenous peoples have complex and contested relationships to the dimensions of citizenship I have described. My typology, being based in the Western tradition, is a useful tool to describe Canada's Eurocentric institutions and policies, but should not be expected to adequately describe Indigenous perspectives of citizenship.

Theoretical & Conceptual Framework

According to Imenda (2014), theoretical and conceptual frameworks are two distinct but complementary approaches. A theoretical framework is a single unifying theory that is derived from the literature and used to shape and understand a research project. A conceptual framework is a combination of different ideas from both theoretical and empirical sources that are brought together as an explanatory model for a research project. Imenda also links theoretical and conceptual frameworks, respectively, to deductive and inductive approaches to analysis. Following these definitions, this thesis incorporates both a theoretical and a conceptual framework. This aligns with my general analytic approach, which combines deductive and inductive research in what Wagenaar (2011) refers to as "a dialogue between theory and the empirical world" (p. 259). My theoretical framework is Charles Taylor's theory of social imaginaries, which forms an underlying ontological and epistemological grounding for my

research (Wagenaar, 2011). My specific analytic approach, however, combines several clusters of concepts into a conceptual framework. Where my theoretical framework was derived deductively from the theoretical literature, my conceptual framework emerged in an iterative manner as I brought my deductive reading of the literature into dialogue with my inductive analysis of the data. In this section, therefore, I first give an overview of the theory of social imaginaries that forms my theoretical framework. I then present two key elements of my conceptual framework: research on the different policy functions performed by curriculum policy documents, and frame analysis as a conceptualization of the rhetorical practices involved in policy documents. This is followed by the conceptual model I am using to combine these concepts with my typology of citizenship as a heuristic guide for my empirical analyses.

Theoretical Framework: Taylor's Social Imaginaries

In my analysis of citizenship education policies, I understand citizenship to be a social imaginary, in Charles Taylor's sense of the term. According to Taylor (2004), social imaginaries are much more than a set of ideas about society. Along with theoretical understandings, they also incorporate a wide range of implicit assumptions, expectations, and habits that shape our daily socio-cultural activities. Taylor's theory enables an understanding of citizenship that is broader than the common definitions that focus on more specific elements such as formal legal status, participation in democratic institutions, or affective identification with a community (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Banks, 2008a; Journell, 2010; Schneider & Ingram, 2006). As a social imaginary, citizenship can be understood as the complex network of relationships connecting the individual, the state, and the society in varying configurations (Butler, 2018; Cohen, 1999). Understood in this way, citizenship has multiple dimensions, operating across a range of institutional structures and geographic scales.

While Taylor (2004) does not specifically emphasize citizenship in his theory, there is a great deal of overlap, as can be seen in this explication of social imaginaries in terms of democratic elections:

Our social imaginary at any given time is complex. It incorporates a sense of the normal expectations we have of each other, the kind of common understanding that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life. This incorporates some sense of how we all fit together in carrying out the common practice. Such understanding is both factual and normative; that is, we have a sense of how things usually go, but this is interwoven with an idea of how they ought to go, of what missteps would invalidate the practice. Take our practice of choosing governments through general elections. Part of the background understanding that makes sense of our act of voting for each one of us is our awareness of the whole action, involving all citizens, each choosing individually but from among the same alternatives, and the compounding of these microchoices into one binding, collective decision. Essential to our understanding of what is involved in this kind of macrodecision is our ability to identify what would constitute a foul: certain kinds of influence, buying votes, threats, and the like. (p. 24)

As this example illustrates, *practices* play an important role in Taylor's presentation of social imaginaries. Taylor uses this term to refer to the practical ways in which we operationalize or enact our implicit understandings at various levels of activity. As Taylor (2004) notes: "Ideas always come in history wrapped up in certain practices, even if these are only discursive practices" (p. 33). In this sense, the underlying understandings give meaning to the practices, and the practices give shape to the understandings, and it is difficult to separate them out into any kind of linear causality. Following Taylor (1993, 2004, 2012), both policies and institutions can

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

be understood as sets of practices that become stabilized within particular communities, such as schools and school systems (Manzer, 1994, 2003).

Despite the close interconnection between ideas and practices in Taylor's (2004) theory, he also makes it clear that our ideological understandings are distinct from our lived reality, and that the two are not always in alignment:

Can an imaginary be false, meaning that it distorts or covers over certain crucial realities?

Clearly, the answer to this is yes, in the light of some of the examples above. Take our sense of ourselves as equal citizens in a democratic state; to the extent that we not only understand this as a legitimating principle but actually imagine it as integrally realized, we will be engaging in a cover-up, averting our gaze from various excluded and disempowered groups or imagining that their exclusion is their own doing. We regularly come across ways in which the modern social imaginaries, no longer defined as ideal types but as actually lived by this or that population, are full of ideological and false consciousness. (p. 184)

The analysis that follows particularly emphasizes this tension that can exist between our ideological narratives and our experience of reality. As I discuss below, this tension is particularly complex in the context of curriculum policies, which tend to explicitly separate their ideological narratives of schooling from the practical policy direction they provide (Westbury, 2008, 2016).

While Charles Taylor's theories provide a broad ontological context for this thesis (Wagenaar, 2011), the analyses that follows also specifically apply these theories to the policy context of schools (Lipman, 2011). In doing this, I follow the model of Manzer (1994), who

operationalizes Taylor's theories for the analysis of schooling through a typology of political ideas:

Thus, to follow the Hegelian argument as interpreted by Charles Taylor, the ideas that are incorporated in political institutions and public policies, and that make them what they are, may not be articulated in formal philosophical and theoretical language by participants in politics and public policy-making, but political institutions and policies are expressions of ideas that potentially can be translated into formal philosophical and theoretical language. Such translation requires, first, the construction of a set of relevant definitions of what political ideas might mean. This involves constructing typologies of the substantive meanings of political ideas to be found in institutions and policies. Next, careful study of specific institutional arrangements and policy designs is needed in order to determine which of the relevant sets of meanings of political ideas fits best. (pp. 6-7)

Where Manzer develops a typology emphasizing political philosophies, particularly varying forms of liberalism, I will be conducting my policy analysis based on the typology of forms of citizenship developed in the previous chapter. In the following sections, I describe two other elements that supplement the typology in my conceptual framework.

The Public Policy Functions of Curriculum Documents

In a study of children's understandings of ethnic diversity in Atlantic Canada, Peck, Sears, and Donaldson (2008) argue that the public policy goal of increasing students' acceptance of diversity is undermined by curriculum standards that are too vague and aspirational to be pedagogically practicable. However, they also acknowledge that such aspirational goals do perform another public policy function:

That the standards express lofty goals is no reason to completely reject them. They can be quite valuable as expressions of public policy and desire. We would like all Canadians to be able to “describe how culture is preserved, modified and transmitted,” and as social studies teachers, will work toward that goal. We would not, however, expect to check that off as accomplished at grade 6 and move on to another outcome. It is a lifelong standard on which we will focus and against which we will measure progress in broad terms. It is unlikely any will fully attain it. (p. 83)

Here, Peck and colleagues point to the public policy function of aspirational curriculum goals, even when these are pedagogically unattainable. This insight aligns with an emerging literature that emphasizes the public policy functions of state-created curriculum documents (Connelly & Connelly, 2010, 2013; Westbury, 2008, 2016; Westbury et al., 2016). According to Westbury (2008, 2016) the public policy function of curriculum documents is an underexplored topic in the Anglo-American world. However, this literature builds on decades of research from continental Europe, and particularly Germany, where the practices of state-based curriculum-making have a long history. With the increasing adoption of similar practices in countries around the world, the European tradition of research on these practices is an important resource for understanding state-created curriculum policies in various jurisdictional contexts (Westbury et al., 2016).

As Westbury and Sivesind (2016) explain, the key insight of the European literature is that the primary policy function of state-created curriculum policies is ideological rather than pedagogical:

Seen this way, the curriculum documents that are the outcomes of the state’s curriculum-making instantiate *in text* the cultural narratives that give, and support, public and professional ‘meanings’ of the idea of the school. The texts of the state’s curriculum offer

school owners and school people, as well as parents, interest groups and publics, authoritative answers to questions around the meaning in ‘our’ schools of, e.g. ‘cultural literacy’, gender equality, etc.; the ways and means by which STEM subjects can be taught so as to become the keys to the state or nation’s human resource and economic development; [...] etc. *In other words, curriculum-making commissions, the public processes around them, and the formal curricula-as-documents that are their outcomes are instruments whereby societal and cultural (and sub-cultural) narratives from within the political/public systems and within the school communities are precipitated into the formal institutional frameworks and narratives of school systems [...]* (p. 760; italics in original)

In this sense, curriculum policy documents serve as a tool for governments to project a rhetorical public consensus that incorporates and balances a range of competing societal perspectives on the meaning and purpose of schooling. This narrative function can be seen in the context of citizenship curriculum policies, which are commonly presented by governments as a policy response to problems such as low voter turnout, even though the evidence for the effectiveness of this policy solution is questionable (Lewis, 2011; Milner & Lewis, 2011). In order for curriculum policy documents to emphasize such public narratives, however, they must be at least partially detached from their formal policy function as directives guiding the pedagogical work of teachers. The European literature identifies two key policy tools that governments use to accomplish this: compartmentalization and licensing.

Compartmentalization is a term used to capture the practice of separating *curriculum policy*, understood narrowly as the specification of who should learn what and when, from broader *educational policy* concerns addressing the allocation and funding of education—even

though these broader concerns directly impact on who learns what and when (Westbury & Sivesind, 2016). This practice is so common as to seem unremarkable, but there is no apparent reason this separation *needs* to be made. It is noteworthy in this regard that when non-educationists analyze educational policy, they seem less likely to draw a clean distinction between curriculum content and administrative policy questions. For example, in Kymlicka's (1999) overview of citizenship education he discusses the portrayal of the nation in history curricula alongside the question of separate religious or cultural schools, treating these topics as two organic components of the complex policy question regarding how best to form future citizens (see also Lewis, 2011; Manzer, 1994, 2003). There is a sense in which curriculum policy is best understood as one element embedded within the complex policy ecosystem operating in and around schools (Connelly, 2013).

Licensing refers to the practice of giving teachers and schools control over how the curriculum is implemented (Westbury & Sivesind, 2016). This practice is also common, and is frequently promoted in the literature in terms of the pedagogical benefits of teacher professionalism (e.g., Clausen, 2016; Hughes & Sears, 2008; Luke, Woods, & Weir, 2013). However, from the European perspective this practice also serves a *political* function by distancing a government's policy decisions from the outcomes of the educational system. This practice, according to Westbury (2016), "allows the state's curriculum-makers to blame problems, or even failure, on teachers" (p. 809).

Through these two tools, compartmentalization and licensing, curriculum policy documents are abstracted from the messiness of the day-to-day operation of schools, and freed to serve as ideological statements about the public meaning of schooling. Such public statements operate in a similar way to legal statements, as described by Gusfield (1981):

The style in which legislation is announced and judicial results promulgated is public in the sense that it is visible and open, that of a body speaking for the society. In the process, that society as an objective “fact” is both assumed and created. In stating a general set of principles as publically held norms, laws grant an orderliness to the diversity of behaviors that enable us to “see” a society [...] (p. 142)

Gusfield’s account reinforces Westbury’s (2008, 2016) descriptions of the ideological function of curriculum policy texts. In this sense, the goal of analysis is to remove these documents from their assumed instrumental function, and look at how they operate in the symbolic realm, creating a public image of an orderly educational system that may have only a tangential relationship to what is happening in the classroom.

Connelly and Connelly (2013) adopt these insights from the European literature, but incorporate them into a more balanced perspective on the function of curriculum documents as public policy tools. They argue that:

[...] curriculum guidelines are policy documents that perform two sets of functions, one set political and one set practical. They are documents that play an important role in political, public discourse over the aims, purposes and accomplishments of education, and they specify what is to be taught in schools, in what order and in what relationship. (p. 54)

This is the perspective I adopt in this study. The insights of Westbury and the European tradition are important, but they emphasize just one of the policy functions of curriculum documents, which nonetheless continue to practically impact the pedagogical choices of teachers, however indirectly (Apple, 2004b; Engel & Ortloff, 2009). Luke (2013) states this well:

While the actual official curriculum – the syllabus or curriculum guideline – cannot determine the curriculum in any direct and unmediated way, it nonetheless provides grounds for constraint, delimitation and prescription and, in our current accountability-focused contexts, enforcement, surveillance and monitoring of what occurs in classrooms and, indeed, in student learning, knowledge and consciousness. (p. 2)

Luke's account of curriculum is helpful, in that it emphasizes the embeddedness of curriculum policy within the broader educational policy ecosystem. This is particularly the case in Ontario, which has explicit student assessment and evaluation policies requiring the direct use of the expectations (i.e. student learning outcome statements) in the curriculum policy documents to determine the grades for a student's report card (OME, 2010). In such a context, the tools of compartmentalization and licensing, and the subsequent use of curriculum policies to project public narratives, are interesting precisely because they create an artificial distinction between the ideological and the practical aspects of curriculum policy documents, and therefore create a potential tension within the policies themselves. In this thesis I am interested in citizenship curriculum policies both as *ideological narratives* and as *practical guidance*, as well as in the tensions that emerge between these two functions. I explore these policy functions as manifestations of what I have called the social imaginary of citizenship, understood through the typology I have presented.

Frame Analysis and the Rhetorical Practices of Policy Texts

In order to explore the relationship between the ideological narrative and practical guidance functions of citizenship curriculum policies, my analysis uses an approach inspired by the literature on frame analysis. While frame analysis can take many different forms, it is taken up here primarily as a basis to understand the explicit and implicit conceptualization of

citizenship in curriculum policies (Ortloff, 2005; Engel & Ortloff, 2009). The core idea for the purpose of my analysis, which is supported both by the theory of social imaginaries and the literature on frame analysis, is that there is a “natural” and expected coherence between the ideological narratives surrounding a policy and the practical direction it gives to practitioners. As Wagenaar (2011) describes, for frame analysts, the assumptions that enable policy practitioners to navigate the field of public policy “combine thought, valuation, action, and moral imperative in one more or less coherent framework of more or less self-evident understanding” (p. 83). Within this context of assumed coherence, the legitimacy and motivational force of a policy prescription is rooted in its demonstration of a coherent causality between its description of reality and its normative requirements for action (Gusfield, 1981). Empirically, of course, the ideological narratives and practical direction of a policy are often misaligned to varying degrees, as discussed above regarding curriculum policies. In such a case, the policy document will typically attempt to *rhetorically* create the impression of coherence.

In this regard, my analysis in Articles 2 and 3 emphasizes the ways in which curriculum policy documents frame the relationship between the ideological and practical functions of citizenship curriculum policy in order to create a sense of coherence. Rein and Schön (1996) give an initial sense of what is involved in such a policy document analysis:

Given such a text—a speech, memorandum, or journalistic essay, that may be produced by a politician, advocate, critic, journalist, or policy intellectual—the frame analyst must ask what gives the text its appearance of coherence, persuasiveness, and obviousness. In our terms, how does the writer make the normative leap from is to ought? In answering such questions, we look for evidence in the actual language employed in the text. (pp. 90-91)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

In searching for the coherence of the documents, I emphasized what I will refer to as *framing practices*. According to Entman (1993), framing involves the selection of what to include in a text (and implicitly what to exclude) and of what to emphasize (and implicitly what to de-emphasize). These decisions may be the product of explicit rhetorical choices, but they may also be guided by implicit assumptions rooted in the social imaginary of citizenship.

Along with these key concepts, the literature on frame analysis provides several heuristic principles that guided my analysis. Most importantly, the emphasis on framing practices translates into an analysis of the relevant documents in terms of actions—including the rhetorical actions of the document itself, along with the actions being normatively prescribed in its descriptions (Rein & Schön, 1996; Wagenaar, 2011). One specific type of action I watched for was what frame analysts call *diagnostic framing*, or the rhetorical creation of a problem in order to justify a policy intervention (Fernández, 2018; Park, Daly, & Guerra, 2012). I also followed Entman's (1993) advice to consider the message of a text holistically, rather than isolating specific sections. All this being said, however, I did not specifically follow frame analysis as an analytic methodology. Rather, as I describe in the methodology section of this chapter, my analytic approach to my empirical findings is best described as a qualitative inductive analysis that was guided by theoretical insights from frame analysis (Ocelík & Osička, 2014).

Conceptual Framework

The relationship between three groups of concepts—the typology of citizenship, the functions of curriculum policy, and the analysis of framing practices—is modeled in Figure 2. As can be seen here, I understand the social imaginary of citizenship (understood in terms of my typology of the dimensions of citizenship) to be practically manifested within the two functions of curriculum policy (ideological narratives and practical direction). The separation of these two

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

policy functions creates an artificial division within the social imaginary of citizenship, which can result in incongruities and tensions within particular policies. My analysis in Articles 2 and 3, then, specifically emphasizes the framing practices that are used to navigate the complex relationship between the two functions of a policy, in order to explain the coherence of the ideological narratives and practical direction of a policy, or else to rhetorically create the impression of such coherence. In explaining the elements of this conceptual framework, I have emphasized its relevance to the analysis of curriculum policy documents, which is my main subject of analysis. In Article 3, however, this same conceptual framework guides my analysis of practitioner interviews. In this context, I am following Connelly and Connelly (2010, 2013) in defining curriculum policy broadly to include not only the formal curriculum documents, but also the network of surrounding policy influences and the personal “policies” of practitioners that guide their implementation choices. All of these forms of curriculum policy similarly involve both ideological narratives and practical direction, and practitioners use similar framing practices to explain the tensions between these policy functions that emerge in their practice. Therefore, while the primary focus of this thesis is the framing practices within the curriculum policy documents themselves, the word “policy” in the model should be understood in this broader sense.

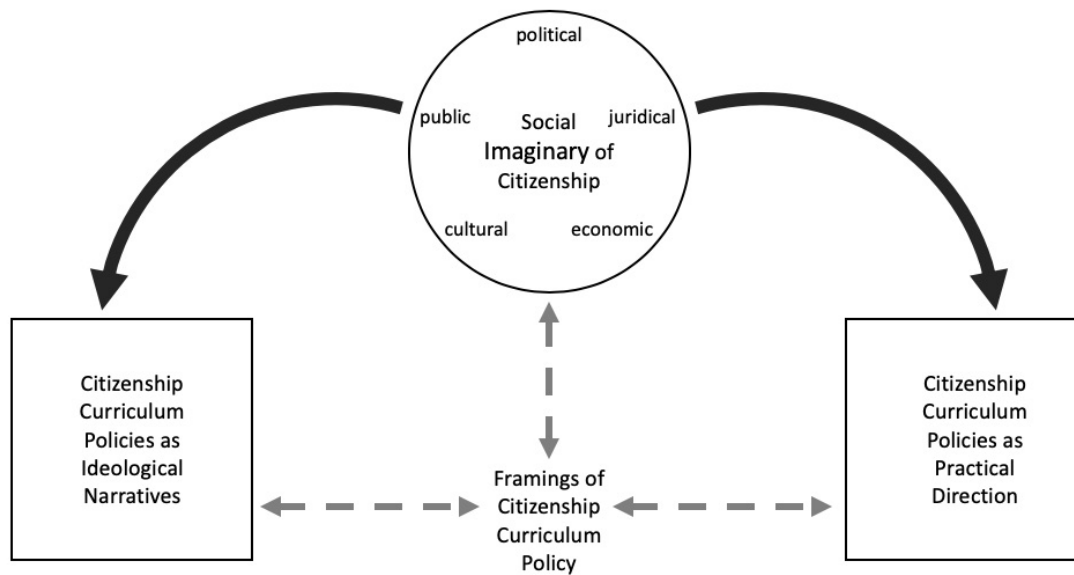


Figure 2. Overall conceptual framework for the thesis.

Research Questions

Building on the initial theoretical and exploratory work in Chapter 2 (Article 1), and the theoretical and conceptual frameworks described above, this thesis seeks to answer the following three research questions:

1. How is citizenship framed in the subsequent revisions of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document from 1999, 2005, 2013, and 2018?
2. How is citizenship framed by a selection of teacher candidates in urban secondary schools in relation to their use of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document?
3. Based on these empirical findings and the theoretical literature, how might future revisions of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document frame citizenship in a more complete and balanced manner?

My understanding of these research questions has evolved somewhat since I drafted them in my thesis proposal, in keeping with the shift from a pedagogical to a policy focus I describe above. I initially considered these three questions to be roughly equal in weight. However, through the experience of applying these questions during my research process, I have come to see Question 1 as my primary research question, and the other two as supplementary. This change reflects the relative weight of each question within my analysis, in terms of both the amount of work involved in answering it and the conceptual richness of the findings. On the whole, therefore, this thesis should be understood as a theoretically-informed policy document analysis that is supplemented by a small practitioner study based in qualitative interviews. Question 3, meanwhile, has shifted away from a pedagogical focus on reframing the curriculum in response to the teacher candidate interviews toward a broader focus on reframing the ideological and practical aspects of the curriculum policy based on a normative principle I developed in relation to the citizenship typology in Chapter 2 (Article 1). Building on Cohen (1999) I argued there that different dimensions of citizenship counterbalance each other in productive ways, and that a complete and balanced approach to citizenship curriculum policy should be based in approximate parity between these dimensions. This is the standard I will use to evaluate the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy based on my findings and to propose potential future revisions. Table 7 presents the research questions in relationship to the various parts of the thesis.

Table 7. Relationship of the research questions to various elements of the thesis.

Research Question	Where and how the question is answered	How it builds on Article 1	How it takes up the theoretical/conceptual framework
Question 1 (How is citizenship framed in the curriculum policy documents?)	Article 2 answers the question through a qualitative inductive analysis of the 4 versions of the CWS 9 & 10 documents	Expands on the exploratory comparative analysis of the curriculum policy documents in Article 1	Analyzes the coherence of ideological and practical dimensions in the documents' framing of citizenship
Question 2 (How is citizenship framed by selected teacher candidates frame in urban schools?)	Article 3 answers the question through a qualitative inductive analysis of interviews with 4 teacher candidates	Follows the suggestion in Article 1 that policy document analyses should be contextualized with studies of practice	Analyzes the coherence of ideological and practical dimensions in the teacher candidates' framing of citizenship
Question 3 (How might future curriculum revisions frame citizenship?)	Chapter 6 answers the question by drawing on the deductive findings from Article 1 to propose solutions to gaps found in the inductive findings of Articles 2 and 3	Takes up the normative principle proposed in Article 1 that the framing of citizenship should balance the five dimensions of the citizenship typology	Draws on the theoretical work on the social imaginary of citizenship to evaluate and propose changes to the citizenship curriculum policy

Methodology

As mentioned above, this study combines deductive and inductive analytical approaches. The deductive element, which has largely been presented already, consists of analysis of theoretical work from Charles Taylor and other political philosophers that resulted in my citizenship typology. The empirical portion of the dissertation, which follows in the subsequent chapters, consists primarily of a qualitative, inductive analysis of the subsequent versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document from 1999, 2005, 2013, and 2018, supplemented by a similar inductive analysis of a selection of interviews with teacher candidates who taught courses

from the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum in 2016 and 2017. My combined deductive and inductive analysis is based in an approach to interpretive policy analysis recommended by Wagenaar (2011). Wagenaar describes his approach as a heuristic use of techniques drawn from grounded theory, though he differentiates it from traditional grounded theory, which called upon the researcher to set aside all previously held beliefs on a research topic. Instead, the goal of much contemporary inductive analysis is to maintain reflexivity about one's initial understandings and openness to having them transformed by the data (Charmaz, 2008; Wagenaar, 2011). Wagenaar (2011) explains his analytic approach as follows:

Understanding isn't built up from data; rather, it results from the researcher struggling to understand the meaning of the data and, especially, how they relate to the researcher's questions and preliminary understandings. Qualitative researchers bring to their analysis of data everything they have acquired over the years in terms of experience with the research topic, experience with related topics, and experience with how to write research reports. The researcher not only has theories about his [sic] topic—and the richer and more accurate the theories, the better—but also is informed about the field of study within which his particular exploration belongs, and has a practical understanding of what will constitute an illuminating, convincing report. Furthermore he [sic] understands how to go about producing a good report that will communicate what he has learned from his study. All these understandings, brought to the analysis of the data, together constitute a combination of scholarship and craft. The more prepared the investigator, the more likely that the qualitative report will be useful. (p. 261)

In keeping with Wagenaar's approach, my deductive and inductive analyses, while initially separate, were ultimately brought into "dialogue" when the findings from the inductive analyses

were then analyzed against the typology. The typology provided a basis to analyze the implications of the empirical findings, and the empirical findings helped to clarify and refine the theoretical language of the typology. In this section, I focus on explaining my methodological approach to the inductive analyses, in preparation for the empirical portion of the thesis in the following chapters.

Data and Data Sources

My empirical analysis used two different data sources. This included, first, the four different versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document, which I downloaded in PDF form directly from the Ministry of Education website (<https://www.ontario.ca/page/ministry-education>), or, for the older versions, from archived versions of the Ministry website accessed through the Internet Archive's "Wayback Machine" (<https://archive.org/web/>). I then manually converted the PDF versions of these documents into word-processing documents for easy coding, by copying and pasting the text then editing the word-processing document against the PDF original.

The second data source was a series of interviews with teacher candidates who taught courses from the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document in 2016 and 2017. These interviews were derived through my participation in an ongoing research project, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, entitled: *Developing mobile media spaces for civic engagement in urban priority schools* (see Kane et al., 2017). I joined this research project in 2015, as one of several graduate students who would have their thesis research "embedded" in this larger project. The goal was to develop a collaborative model for thesis research, based on the model of "labs" in the physical sciences, in which graduate students would benefit from the institutional and financial support of the larger project, while using their thesis research to

expand the project's impact. Over the last five years, my involvement in this project has resulted in collaborative presentations at the Canadian Society for the Study of Education annual conference in 2016 and 2017, as well as collaborative academic publications in 2017 and 2019. Given my interest in the project's teacher candidate interviews in relation to my thesis research, I took an early leadership role in this aspect of the data collection, including co-authoring the interview protocol (Appendix B) to ensure it would reflect my research questions in addition to research questions relevant to the larger study. Along with several graduate student colleagues, I helped to coordinate and conduct the interviews with teacher candidates in 2016 and 2017. Of the twelve interviews used in this dissertation, I personally conducted four of them (the first two interviews with "Stephen" and the first two interviews with "Adam"). The other eight interviews were conducted by other members of our research team, using a common approach based in the same interview protocol. All of the interviews were transcribed verbatim for subsequent analysis. I used the same inductive analytic methods for the curriculum policy documents and the teacher candidate interviews. For the sake of clarity, I emphasize the document analyses here in explaining my approach, before noting the specific nuances involved in applying the same approach the interview analyses. Table 8 summarizes my data sources and analytic methods in relation to my research questions.

Table 8. Relationship of the research questions to methodological approaches.

Research Question	Data Sources	Data Collection Methods	Analytical Approach
Question 1 (How is citizenship framed in the curriculum policy documents?)	CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy documents from 1999, 2005, 2013, and 2018	downloaded PDF documents from government or archival sources; converted word-processing documents	qualitative, inductive coding – initial, process, in vivo, and focused coding (Saldaña, 2012)
Question 2 (How is citizenship framed by selected teacher candidates frame in urban schools?)	12 interviews with 4 teacher candidates who taught CWS 9 & 10 courses in urban secondary schools in 2016-2017	conducted 3 interviews each with 4 teacher candidates over a 1-year period, based on a semi-structured interview protocol; interviews were audio-recording and transcribed verbatim	qualitative, inductive coding – initial, process, in vivo, and focused coding (Saldaña, 2012)
Question 3 (How might future curriculum revisions frame citizenship?)	deductive, theoretical analysis (Article 1) and inductive, empirical analyses (Articles 2 & 3)	iterative analysis of deductive, theoretical findings in relation to inductive, empirical findings, captured through reading notes and analytic memos (Saldaña, 2012)	comparative analysis bringing theory and empirical findings into “dialogue” (Wagenaar, 2011)

Overview of the CWS 9 & 10 Curriculum Policy Document

In order to describe my coding methods in relation to the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document, it will be helpful here to briefly explain the structure of the document. As I have noted elsewhere, there is a remarkable degree of continuity in the overall structure of the document over the four subsequent versions from 1999, 2005, 2013, and 2018. All four versions contain the same five courses. This includes two versions each of the Grade 9 geography and Grade 10 history courses, which are offered in both “academic” and “applied” streams. The applied stream is very similar in content to the academic stream, but is intended to be less theoretical and more accessible, and to prepare students for entry into college or the workplace rather than university (though see Pinto [2012] on the questionable effectiveness of this approach). The fifth course in

the document is the civics half-credit course, which I discussed in the previous chapter. The courses are introduced and contextualized by several sections of explanatory text. This is often referred to as the “frontmatter”—although in the 1999 version part of this text is situated at the end of the document, after the courses. Specifically, the 1999 “frontmatter” contains four sections: a general introduction, an overview of the Canadian and World Studies program of study, a section on pedagogical considerations, and a section on the assessment and evaluation of students. The frontmatter in the subsequent versions maintains these same four sections, although all four sections are moved to the beginning of the document. It also expands them significantly, with the total frontmatter growing from 10 pages in 1999 to almost 60 pages in 2018. Beyond the general frontmatter for the document, each course also has its own frontmatter, which introduces specific considerations for the subject and course. The course-specific frontmatter has also been expanded over the subsequent versions of the document.

Throughout the four versions of the document, each geography or history course is divided into five thematic “strands,” while civics, as a half-credit course, is divided into three strands. Within the strands, the primary curricular content takes the form of a list of concise statements of student learning outcomes, called “expectations.” Each strand is broken down into a series of “overall expectations,” which the document emphasizes by linking them to student assessment. Each overall expectation is further divided into a series of “specific expectations.” After the 1999 version, the total number of expectations was reduced by approximately 20%. At the same time, the text of the individual expectations was expanded through the addition of examples and other contextualizing information. The distribution of the expectations across the various sections of the courses was also increasingly standardized. While the numbers of overall expectations per strand and of specific expectations per overall expectation varied quite

significantly in 1999, by 2018 all strands contain either two or three overall expectations, and most overall expectations have between three and five specific expectations.

The curriculum policy documents are also reinforced by parallel policy documents, particularly Ontario's policy on student assessment (OME, 2010). This policy reinforces the centrality of the expectations to Ontario educational policy by specifically requiring their use in the assessment and evaluation of students:

For Grades 1 to 12, all curriculum expectations must be accounted for in instruction and assessment, but *evaluation focuses on students' achievement of the overall expectations*.

A student's achievement of the overall expectations is evaluated on the basis of his or her achievement of related specific expectations. The overall expectations are broad in nature, and the specific expectations define the particular content or scope of the knowledge and skills referred to in the overall expectations. Teachers will use their professional judgement to determine which specific expectations should be used to evaluate achievement of the overall expectations, and which ones will be accounted for in instruction and assessment but not necessarily evaluated. (p. 38; italics in original)

The expectations, therefore, are central to the curriculum policy documents, both in the rhetorical presentation of the documents themselves and in the policy requirements that shape pedagogical practice in Ontario.

Qualitative Inductive Coding Methods

My empirical analyses utilized two broad methods of inductive coding—initial coding and focused coding (Saldaña, 2012). Initial coding is intended to provide a first survey of the data, which is both closely detailed and open-ended. Focused coding is then a process in which initial codes with particular explanatory power are identified and other codes are clustered under

them to form categories. This analytic process was carried out independently for each of the four versions of the curriculum policy document, starting chronologically with the 1999 version. The coding was a reflexive and iterative process, and the initial coding of the 1999 version was restarted several times before I felt that it had become a satisfactory representation of the data. In particular, I found I had a strong impulse to code in terms of thematic categories rather than in terms of actions, although my goal was to do the latter as Wagenaar (2011) recommends. After revisiting the 1999 version of the document several times, I became more comfortable with coding for actions, and found it to produce richer results. I explain this approach more below in relation to process coding. Since each subsequent version of the CWS document is a revision of the previous version, I constantly compared each version with the previous versions to ensure that similar or identical passages were coded consistently. At the same time, independent attention to each of the four documents allowed for specific analysis of the particular framing practices undertaken by the authors of each document. Analytic memos were used throughout the coding process as a way to both develop and document the ongoing process of dialogue between my own experiences and assumptions, my various empirical findings, and the research literature (Saldaña, 2012; Wagenaar, 2011). A sample of analytic memos are provided as Appendix C.

Round 1: Initial/in vivo coding. The initial coding of each version of the policy document involved two complete rounds of coding. The first round of coding primarily used in vivo codes to summarize passages of text with a brief quotation capturing a key phrase (Saldaña, 2012). This first round proved particularly important for the frontmatter of the documents, which contained some repetitive and redundant passages. I followed Wagenaar's (2011) advice to code "systematically and exhaustively" (p. 271), incorporating the full text of each version of the document into my analysis, excluding only glossaries and appendices. At the same time, I also

used Wagenaar's recommendation to code by open-ended "meaning units"—ranging from a single phrase to a whole paragraph (p. 270). This enabled a balanced approach that incorporated a holistic overview of the document, while producing meaningful units of analysis that would allow for a focus on coding for action in subsequent cycles. The curricular expectations (overall and specific) required a different approach than the document frontmatter, as they are already divided into ready-made meaning units. As a result, I consistently coded each expectation as a single meaning unit, summarizing each one with a single *in vivo* code.

This first round of coding was conducted using TAMS Analyzer, a free, open-source qualitative coding program for Macintosh computers (<http://tamsys.sourceforge.net>). Similar to other qualitative coding programs, TAMS Analyzer allowed me to highlight passages of text and code them using an identifying string and a rich qualitative code. The identifying string served to track the origin of a particular meaning unit for later analysis (e.g., identifying a meaning unit from a curriculum document by year, course, expectation-type, etc.). The rich qualitative code served as the first round of inductive coding that would be refined for later analysis. As I proceeded with my coding, I was able to alternate between the text view and a spreadsheet view that listed my coded meaning units. This enabled me to maintain a holistic view of the document as text, while starting to think in terms of the meaning units and potential categories. Meaning units and codes could easily be changed as I proceeded, enabling an iterative and reflexive approach to analysis. Once the first round of coding for each document was complete, I exported the spreadsheet view of the data into Microsoft Excel for further analysis.

Round 2: Initial/process coding. The second round of initial coding was where I explicitly emphasized the practice of coding in terms of action. This round of coding was conducted using spreadsheets, which listed each meaning unit in its own row with the round 1 in

vivo code, various columns of identifying data, and the raw version of the relevant text. In order to transform my initial in vivo codes into action terms, I used what Saldaña (2012) calls *process coding*, in which gerunds (“-ing” words) are used to code for the actions implicit in the data. As Charmaz (2008) describes, researchers can use such an approach “to see implicit processes, to make connections between codes, and to keep their analyses active and emergent” (p. 164). In this round, therefore, I began to develop descriptive codes that captured key actions in the texts. These actions sometimes described what the text required of students or teachers, sometimes captured the actions attributed to a theoretical ideal citizen, and sometimes captured the action the text itself seemed to be enacting (such as “downloading educational responsibility”). Following Saldaña’s (2012) advice, I kept a list of all codes used so far and referred to it constantly to avoid repetition and redundancy. I found helpful advice on how to maintain such a list (using a pivot table in a separate window) and other practical matters related to qualitative coding in Excel in Hahn (2008).

Round 3: Focused/process coding. The final round of coding involved focused coding, which began by exporting the round 2 codes into an Excel pivot table and copying them into various groupings to explore potential categories. Once satisfactory categories had emerged, a key code was selected, or a new code was developed, to summarize each. As Saldaña (2012) suggests, the key code was not always the one most frequently used, but rather the one with greatest explanatory power. These codes maintained the gerund format from the previous round, in order to keep the focus on action. Finally, the categories were analyzed in relation to the dimensions of the typology of citizenship. This step incorporated the deductive and inductive aspects of my research, and it was postponed until the inductive coding was complete. While I naturally had the typology in the back of my mind while I was coding, I found it very productive

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

to follow Wagenaar's (2011) advice to take the time to pay attention to the patterns in the data before imposing my own preconceived categories. This ultimately allowed the data to inform and shape my understanding of the typology, rather than being prematurely forced to fit into it. The relationship of the inductive coding to the typology was not always self-evident, and often required careful reflection on both the coding process and the theoretical scope of each dimension of the typology. The final categories for my analysis of the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document, with descriptions, examples, and code counts, are summarized in Appendices D through G.

Inductive Coding of the Teacher Candidate Interviews

I used the same coding process described above for my analysis of the teacher candidate interviews for Article 3. While my analysis included three separate interviews for each of the four teacher candidates, I grouped them together in the same document for the initial coding in TAMS Analyzer, to enable a holistic view of each teacher candidate's framing practices. At the same time, I used the identifying strings in the program to track where each meaning unit was derived to maintain a sense of how their framing changed over time. The four teacher candidates were notably consistent in their framing over the subsequent interviews, though in the cases of "Brianna" and "Adam" there were certain changes in their framing over time, which I note in Article 3. When it came to the coding process, the only major difference with the teacher candidate interviews compared to the curriculum documents was that I started using process coding right away in the first round, with only limited and supplementary use of in vivo coding. I had found the use of first-round in vivo coding to be necessary to break the curriculum policy document down into manageable meaning units, due to its dense and complex syntactic and semantic construction. The teacher candidate interviews, being conducted in more "natural"

language, were more conducive to the initial process coding recommended by Wagenaar (2011). The second and third round of coding on the teacher interview data followed the same methods as the curriculum document analyses described above. Tables 9 and 10 provide a summary of the coding process for the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 document and the four teacher candidate interviews, respectively.

Table 9. Summary of coding cycles for the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Document Version	Pages of Text Coded	# of Curriculum Expectations	Coding Cycle	Coding Method	# of Codes
1999	58	416	1	initial/in vivo coding	540
			2	initial/process coding	40
			3	focused/process coding	15
2005	67	333	1	initial/in vivo coding	577
			2	initial/process coding	48
			3	focused/process coding	14
2013	156	333	1	initial/in vivo coding	756
			2	initial/process coding	60
			3	focused/process coding	14
2018	164	343	1	initial/in vivo coding	782
			2	initial/process coding	63
			3	focused/process coding	14

Table 10. Summary of data sources and coding cycles for teacher candidate interviews.

Teacher Candidate	Interviews Analyzed (by month and length of audio)	Coding Cycle	Coding Method	# of Codes
Stephen	May 2016 - 0:16:31	1	initial/in vivo coding	184
	January 2017 - 0:43:13	2	initial/process coding	16
	April 2017 – 0:32:46	3	focused/process coding	5
Brianna	May 2016 - 1:07:47	1	initial/in vivo coding	248
	January 2017 – 1:02:39	2	initial/process coding	21
	April 2017 – 0:46:01	3	focused/process coding	7
Daniel	May 2016 - 0:17:27	1	initial/in vivo coding	185
	February 2017 – 0:40:32	2	initial/process coding	16
	April 2017 – 0:22:18	3	focused/process coding	5
Adam	May 2016 – 0:42:20	1	initial/in vivo coding	257
	January 2017 - 0:43:18	2	initial/process coding	23
	April 2017 – 0:20:28	3	focused/process coding	7

Supplementary Quantitative Analyses

While this study is primarily qualitative, I supplement my analysis with a number of small quantitative analyses. These include the content analysis in Chapter 2 (Article 1), along with an analysis of the scope of the successive revisions to the CWS 9 & 10 document, which I present in the next section. Following Saldaña (2012), I think there is value in supplementing qualitative research with quantitative measures in a heuristic manner, without necessarily needing to justify it in the language of mixed methods: “There are some methodological purists who object to combining qualitative data with quantitative measurement. But I feel that as researchers we should keep ourselves open to numeric representation – when appropriate – as a supplemental heuristic to analysis” (p. 63). I think it is particularly helpful to use quantification to verify and demonstrate that particular interpretations align with general patterns across a document, and are not merely what Entman (1993) terms “fugitive components of the message” (p. 56).

Measuring the Scope of the Successive Revisions to the CWS 9 & 10 Document

The CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document has been revised three times since its initial publication in 1999—in 2005, 2013, and 2018. These three revisions have been different in scope and effect. Figure 3 presents an attempt to quantify the changes in terms of how the curricular expectations articulated in the documents (overall and specific expectations combined) have been modified. To accomplish this, each expectation was compared to expectations in the previous version of the document to see if it had been maintained either unchanged or in a recognizable form. Defining which expectations were “recognizable” was obviously a subjective undertaking. However, a consistent heuristic was used, requiring that: a) the expectation should address the same subject matter, and b) at least three significant words (i.e. excluding articles, prepositions, etc.) should be identical. This heuristic enabled an approximate measure of the degree to which expectations were retained in an edited form, deleted from one document version to the next, or newly added in one of the revisions to the document. For this purpose, the 1999 version of the document is treated as entirely new, functioning as a baseline against which to measure the subsequent revisions.

Figure 3 presents a visualization of the findings from this comparative analysis. This takes the form of a standard stacked bar graph, with the slightly unusual feature of including negative values (the black bars below zero in 2005 and 2013). The negative values capture the number of expectations from the previous version of the document that were deleted in each revision. The stacked bars above zero combine to indicate the total number of expectations in each version of the document. This total includes the number of expectations that were retained unchanged from the previous version (the dark grey bar immediately above zero in 2005 and 2018), the number retained in a recognizable form (the lightest grey bar), and the number newly

added in each version (the medium grey bar at the top). As this graph illustrates, the 2005 revision was primarily characterized by revisions to existing expectations and a significant reduction in the total number of expectations (from 416 to 333), likely resulting from critiques that the curriculum was too demanding (Earl, Freeman, Lasky, Sutherland, & Torrance, 2002). Most expectations that were maintained were modified to some degree, but 15 were maintained unchanged from the previous document.

While the 2013 revision maintained the same *number* of expectations, it should be seen as a complete overhaul of the document, with 226 expectations deleted, 226 new expectations added, and no expectations retained unchanged from the previous version. This revision also featured substantial changes to the frontmatter and the layout of the document. The 2018 revision, meanwhile, was a relatively minor edit, with most expectations (along with the frontmatter and the layout) retained unchanged. The edits in this revision are confined almost entirely to the content of expectations in the History curriculum, which was revised to include more Indigenous content, following the recommendation of the TRC (2015). In general terms, therefore, the 1999 and 2013 revisions should be understood as the two most significant versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document, while the 2005 and 2018 versions should be understood as variations on these two major versions. Given that most existing studies have focused on the 2005 version, this highlights the value of approaching the study of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document in a systematic and chronological manner.

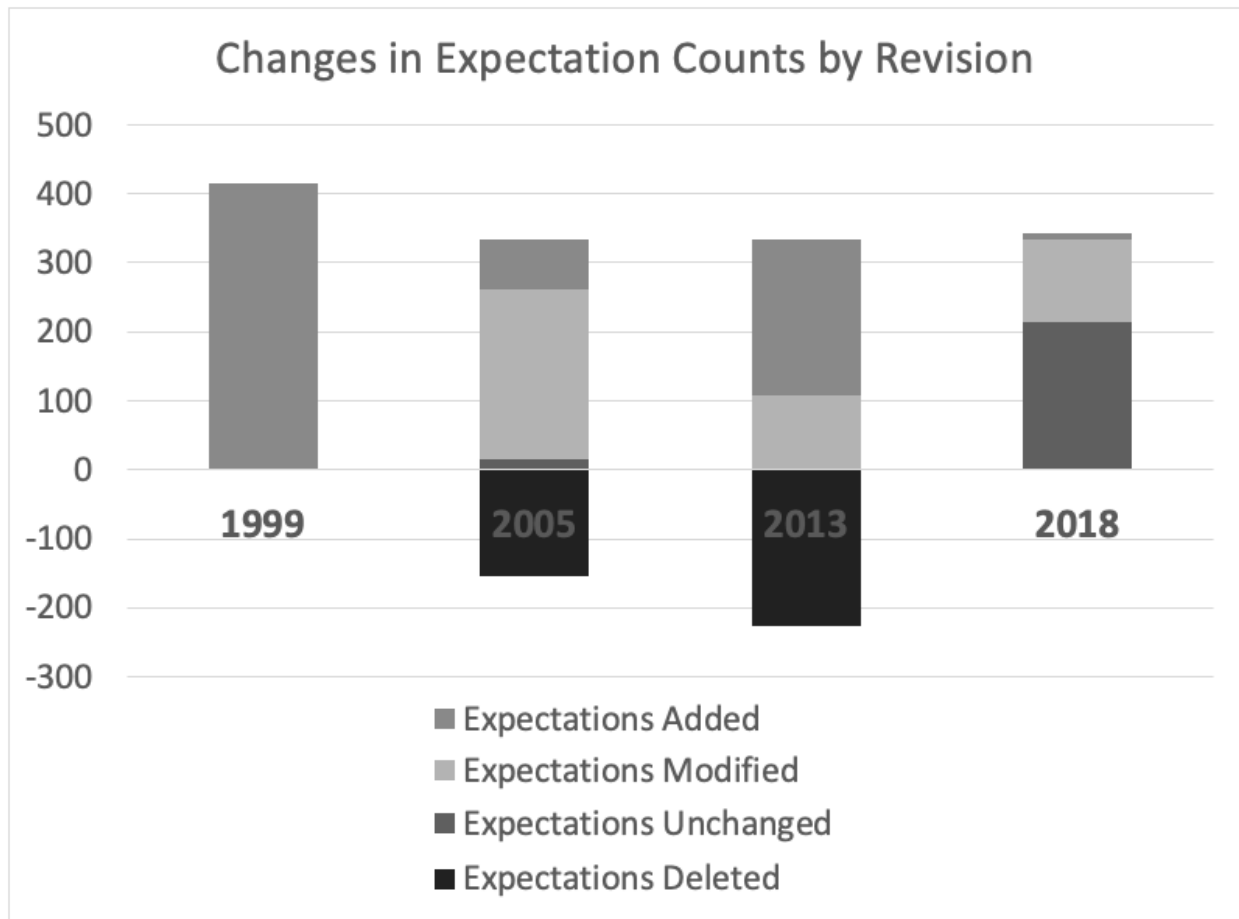


Figure 3. Count of modifications to expectations in successive edits of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Chapter 4 (Article 2):

An Inductive Analysis of the Framing of Citizenship in CWS 9 & 10

Resubmitted with minor revisions to the academic journal *Educational Policy Analysis Archives* as:

Butler, J. K. & Milley, P.³ Reframing citizenship education: The shifting portrayal of citizenship in curriculum policy in the Province of Ontario, 1999-2018.

Abstract

State-mandated curriculum policy documents have an important political function. Governments use them to make ideological statements about the role of schools and how the next generation of citizens are to be shaped. Beginning from this premise, we use a frame analysis methodology to examine how citizenship in the Province of Ontario, Canada is framed in four consecutive versions of the curriculum policy documents that prescribe citizenship education for secondary schools. Our analysis spans 20 years, during which two political parties – one conservative, the other liberal – held power. Our inductive analysis is presented using a typology of citizenship with five dimensions: political, public, cultural, juridical, and economic. We illustrate consistency across the decades, including a preoccupation with: 1) external and internal threats to the stability and unity of Canada (political); 2) fostering nationalistic identification (political); 3) developing transferrable skills for the globalized economy (economic); 4) establishing a pre-set role for the individual citizen, characterized by legal and ethical obligations (juridical). We

³ On the co-authorship of this article, see the Declaration of Contributions in Appendix A.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

reveal a gradual de-emphasis of opportunities for citizens to actively participate in reshaping their communities and society (public, cultural). This shift in the political and ideological meaning of citizenship conceives citizens as isolated individuals in a reified state and society.

Keywords: Canada, Ontario, Education, Secondary School, Curriculum, Policy, Politics, Citizenship, Citizenship Education, Frame Analysis

Curriculum guidelines are policy instruments for the ideological steering of school systems.

– Connelly & Connelly, 2013, p. 66

In its attempt to embody the hopes of society, [the curriculum] has been characterized by different, often contradictory aims and messages. The messages of one period were not replaced by the next; traces of former aims and older visions remained so that by the end of the century, there were many different visions of society and citizenship reflected in the curriculum.

– von Heyking, 2006, p. 151

Introduction

State-level curriculum policy documents have a *pedagogical function* in directing what is taught in schools and how it gets taught. When researchers directly analyze such documents they generally do so with this pedagogical function in mind—often resulting, for example, in critiques of the documents’ clarity and effectiveness as pedagogical instructions to teachers (e.g., Lavrenteva & Orland-Barak, 2015; Priestley & Sinnema, 2014). However, curriculum policy documents also have an important *political function* in making ideological statements about the role of schools in society and how the next generation of citizens should be shaped through education. This latter function has received less attention in the research literature (Connelly & Connelly, 2013; Westbury, 2008). No matter what their political stripe is, most governments care about these policy documents because of both of these functions: the instrumental role the documents play in shaping the content and form of teaching and learning, and the opportunity they provide for articulating a political vision and objectives for public schooling to the educational community and general public.

In this article, we invert the customary way of analyzing curriculum policy documents by emphasizing their political function over their pedagogical function. We focus on curriculum policy documents related to citizenship education, which is arguably the subject area where

political ideologies about what it means to be a citizen and about the role of the state in developing such citizens should be most pronounced. Specifically, we use a frame analysis methodology (Fernández, 2018; Park, Daly, & Guerra, 2012) to examine four consecutive versions of the Province of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* (CWS 9 & 10) curriculum policy document—which covers five courses central to citizenship education in secondary schools in the province. This analysis spans 20 years, during which five provincial elections took place, four different premiers were elected to lead the government, and two political parties—one conservative, the other liberal—were in power at different times.

Our analysis builds on Pinto's (2012) landmark study of the process of curriculum policy reform in Ontario as part of the Progressive Conservative (PC) government's 1995 to 2003 "Common Sense Revolution," which emphasized smaller government, lower taxes, and public accountability of public institutions and organizations. In her study, Pinto (2012) took up frame analysis to describe how the PC government justified their curriculum reform through a systematic effort to publicly frame education in business terminology:

This series of events framed the issue: the school system was 'broken' and could be 'fixed' through sweeping reforms, including a new and better curriculum policy. These repairs, the framing continues, would address the 'needs and wants' of education's 'customers.' (p. 56)

Pinto went on to describe how the PC government also attempted to balance this economic framing of education against appeals to the importance of education for citizenship. However, she concluded in a footnote that: "A closer examination of the resulting curriculum policy documents would be necessary to further define the citizenship aim, though such analysis is beyond the scope of this research" (p. 214). We directly take up Pinto's suggestion through a

close document analysis of the framing of citizenship in the original CWS 9 & 10 document introduced in 1999 by the PC government, while also expanding on this suggestion by studying how this framing has changed over the three subsequent revisions of the document up to 2018.

Citizenship Education Curriculum as Public Policy

While there is a great deal of research on “curriculum,” in a broad sense of the term, much of this work emphasizes pedagogy and classroom context, rather than how curriculum documents function as public policy instruments. Connelly and Connelly (2013) suggest that insofar as curriculum has been studied as public policy, the research has focused on the political context of curriculum creation and on classroom implementation, while the curriculum documents themselves remain a “black box” (p. 54). According to Connelly and Connelly (2013):

From the literature it is clear that many think curriculum policy guidelines per se are inconsequential. On the one side, they are seen as buffeted by political forces with little independent life of their own. On the other side, they are seen as documents that are mostly ignored in practice. (p. 65)

However, there is a growing body of literature that draws attention to curriculum policy documents as significant policy instruments in their own right (Connelly & Connelly, 2013; Luke, 2013; Westbury, 2008). This literature suggests that state-created curriculum documents should be understood not only as providing practical guidance on what should be taught in classrooms, but also as making ideological statements about the role of schools in society (Westbury, 2008).

The political function of curriculum documents is important in democratic societies because public schools are often subject to public controversy. On the one hand, schools are

central institutions, which play a significant role in the lives of most citizens (Levin, 2008). On the other hand, there is a lack of consensus on the overall purposes of schools and the means by which these purposes should be attained (Westbury, 2008). Schools in Ontario, as elsewhere, have been and are subject to repeated controversy about whether and how they are adequately preparing students for participation in society as adults (Gidney, 1999; Manzer, 1994). Such controversies are periodically and tentatively resolved through the formation of broad public consensus on the purposes of schooling (Luke, 2013; Manzer, 1994). It is in this context of recurrent public crises over the purposes of schooling that curriculum policy documents play an important political role as public statements that seek to periodically re-articulate a consensus.

As Westbury (2008) describes:

From this viewpoint the state's curriculum making is not an activity directed at the inner, educational work of schools but is directed instead at forming and reforming both the public's and teachers' canopy of understandings about schooling. It is an instrument for the construction and reconstruction of societal narratives around schools and school systems. (p. 58)

Curriculum policy documents serve as expressions of a new consensus over the role of schools in society, and as attempts to merge the new understanding with previous understandings, resulting in documents with many ideological layers (Broom & Evans, 2015; Luke, 2013; von Heyking, 2006).

Arguably, this political function is particularly important for studying citizen education curriculum as policy (e.g., Iacovino and Nootens, 2011). While there is significant public consensus around the need for the state to actively form future citizens, there are relatively few policy instruments to accomplish this work (Lewis, 2011). Civic education policy documents,

therefore, serve an important political function as symbolic gestures toward state-directed citizen formation, regardless of how effective civic education actually is in practice (Lewis, 2011; Ortloff, 2005). In Canada, the ideological role of citizen education policy has historically been centred on responding to the diversity of Canadian society through efforts to develop “social cohesion” by fostering a common national narrative and identity (Bickmore, 2014; Hughes & Sears, 2008; Sears, 2010). At the same time, there has been a longstanding tension between the role of schools in forming citizens as socio-political actors and as economic agents, with a trend toward emphasizing economic formation since the late 20th century (Manzer, 1994; Osborne, 2000). These two themes can also be related because, as Joshee (2007) notes, social cohesion policies in Ontario can be seen as reinforcing the government’s broader economic objectives.

In recent years, a new policy consensus has emerged in the form of citizen education curriculum policies that emphasize a generic form of individualized citizenship that is imagined as transferable between socio-political contexts (Hébert, 2009; Iacovino & Nootens, 2011; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011). In this new consensus, as Iacovino and Nootens (2011) describe:

Citizenship is akin to a vocation, something you learn to do, not as a member of a particular nation or culture, not through the lens of conflicting national identities, but as an individual endowed with faculties associated with critical thought. (p. 225)

This generic, individualized citizenship is being driven in a large part by external pressures related to globalization. In particular, globalized economies exert considerable pressure on states to foster “citizens” who are willing and able to relocate internationally and compete in a transnational marketplace (Mitchell, 2006; Rezai-Rashti, 2003). In this context, citizen education policies have displayed an increasing emphasis on global rather than national perspectives, although this often involves tensions between “ethical” global perspectives related to human

rights, social and environmental justice, respect and tolerance for diversity, and peace and sustainability versus “neoliberal” economic perspectives emphasizing liberalization of markets and trade as well as human capital and economic development (Bickmore, 2014; Evans, Ingram, MacDonald, & Weber, 2009; OECD, 2018; Toukan, 2018). Along with these external pressures, Peck and Sears (2016) suggest that the shift to a generic and individualized citizenship has also been driven by an emerging sense of the difficulty of fostering a single national Canadian identity:

Policymakers and educators were and are genuinely concerned that a focus on identity, particularly any sense of national or collective identity, marginalizes and excludes some people and groups. Approaches that recognize and attempt to include multiple understandings of identity and nation often get subverted because they are complex, difficult to deal with and have the potential to generate conflict. (p. 70)

While the causes of this shift have been complex, therefore, the shift toward a generic and individualized citizenship is a pattern that has been noted in numerous citizenship education policies across Canada (Hébert, 2009; Iacovino & Nootens, 2011; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011).

The Policy Context for the *Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10* Curriculum

Constitutionally, provincial governments in Canada hold exclusive jurisdiction over education. They are therefore commonly understood to have a mandate and an obligation to provide citizenship education to young people through their public systems of schooling (Hughes & Sears, 2008; Lewis, 2011). In the Province of Ontario, one of the key policy documents responding to this political imperative is the *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* (CWS 9 & 10) curriculum policy document. This document prescribes the goals, content, priorities for learning, and learning outcomes (uniquely termed “expectations” in all Ontario curriculum

documents since the late 1990s) for five courses that are central to citizenship education in public schools. These courses include Grade 9 geography, in both “academic” and “applied” streams; Grade 10 history, also in “academic” and “applied” streams; and Grade 10 civics. To graduate from secondary school, Ontario students must complete one of these two geography courses, one of these two history courses, and the civics course. These are the only mandatory secondary school courses in these subjects. The mandatory nature of the CWS 9 & 10 courses, along with the high relevance of their subject matter to citizenship education, signals the symbolic, if not the practical, significance of this policy document as part of the Ontario government’s engagement with the political task of citizenship education. The Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) has also portrayed this document as its key policy statement on citizenship education (e.g., OME, 2016).

The curriculum reform that produced the original CWS 9 & 10 document in 1999 was part of a comprehensive reform of secondary education in Ontario in the late 1990s. The PC government elected in 1995 made educational reform a central policy commitment, and pushed through a range of specific reforms, including the elimination of the fifth year of high school (Grade 13), a reduction in the number of secondary courses from approximately 1400 to 200, the introduction of compulsory community service hours as a graduation requirement, and a complete redevelopment of the curriculum policy documents (Anderson & Ben Jaafar, 2003; Levin, 2008; Pinto, 2012). The new curriculum policy documents were primarily developed by teams of teachers, but there also appears to have been a significant degree of political direction. This direction began, in what has become a common approach to curriculum development (Luke, 2013), with writing teams being given a standardized “template” specifying the structure of the document. This included a required number of “expectations” specifying student learning

outcomes, namely “overall” expectations broken down into a series of “specific” expectations, grouped under a set number of organizing “strands” specifying key topics (Pinto, 2012, p. 77).

However, even the content of this set structure was subjected to varying degrees of political control. Based on a series of interviews with writing team members and bureaucrats, Pinto (2012) describes:

Writers’ perceptions of how and whose power shaped policy texts varied. Some claimed they flew ‘under the radar’ (their words) and had autonomy to shape their policy texts. Others involved in subjects perceived to have higher political priority (such as English, mathematics, and history) reported they were closely monitored and their draft documents were often challenged or simply changed. (pp. 92-93)

Pinto adds elsewhere that the “mysterious” revisions seem to have been done by bureaucrats in the provincial ministry and political staffers. John Fielding, who was co-project manager of the *Canadian and World Studies* writing team, recounts similar experiences in a personal narrative published in the magazine *Our Schools/ Our Selves*. Fielding (2002) describes how political staff provided very specific direction, including the requirement that the courses describe the “contribution” of the Canadian Manufacturing Association, while forbidding the use of the word “contribution” in relation to Indigenous peoples, women’s groups, and labour unions. He suggests, furthermore, that the “final” versions of the documents were edited by political staff to ensure this direction was followed.

With such political imperatives overriding pedagogical concerns, the 1999 curriculum documents were rushed in both their development and implementation, leading to implementation problems (Pinto, 2012). In particular, the division of courses into “academic” and “applied” streams, combined with the compression of content resulting from the elimination

of Grade 13 and a political imperative for “high standards,” led to significant failure rates in applied courses (Anderson & Ben Jaafar, 2003; Levin, 2008; Pinto, 2012).

After the PCs were replaced by a Liberal government in 2003, Ontario curriculum policy was subjected to a process of cyclical review, in which a few subjects were reviewed and rewritten per year (Pinto, 2012). This practice, which still exists as of 2019, allows for revisions to be accomplished through a slower, more intentional policy process than the rushed and politically motivated process through which the documents were first written. The cyclical review typically takes more than a year, and involves consultation with a range of stakeholders and experts, along with careful review of policies and practices from other jurisdictions (Connelly & Connelly, 2013; Levin, 2008). Connelly and Connelly (2013) suggest this cyclical review process enables a better balance of the political and pedagogical functions of the curriculum policy documents. Bureaucrats interviewed by Pinto (2012), meanwhile, suggested the revisions under the Liberal government resulted in a change in tone, including more explicit references to equity and diversity. This became most explicit in the 2018 revision, which incorporated the perspectives of Indigenous peoples throughout the history courses, in response to Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (OME, 2017). However, the revisions to the documents have not altered the original structure (strands, overall expectations, specific expectations, etc.) established by the PC government in 1999.

The *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* document has been revised three times since its initial publication, but there is not a clear sense in the existing literature as to what the overall effect of these revisions has been in terms of content, and as related to their political function. Lewis (2011) briefly reviews the 2005 revision of the Civics course in comparison to the original, and concludes that “the main components have remained the same” (p. 187). The

remainder of the existing research has tended to focus on a single version of the curriculum document (mostly the 2005 revision) in comparison to policy documents from other jurisdictions. In this regard, Clausen, Horton and Lemisko (2008) and Pashby, Ingram and Joshee (2014) suggest the 2005 version of the curriculum emphasizes a historical progress toward a unified and inclusive Canada, with divisions and injustices confined to the past. Hébert (2009) and Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011), meanwhile, find the 2005 version undermines any thick sense of civic belonging and instead places significant responsibilities on the individualized “neoliberal” citizen. In one of the few studies of the 2013 revision, Broom (2015) suggests that the revised History curriculum should be understood as a social history of Canada that introduces a greater sense of collective responsibility for past injustices. We add to this knowledge base a chronological perspective on how the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document has developed and changed over time, and with changes in the political context, including the most recent 2018 revision.

Theoretical Framework

Our study is broadly framed in relation to Charles Taylor’s (2004) theory of social imaginaries, which he conceives as broad collective understandings that give shape to particular societies. Social imaginaries incorporate both ideas and practices, but these elements are complexly entangled. According to Taylor (2004): “Ideas always come in history wrapped up in certain practices, even if these are only discursive practices” (p. 33). The underlying understandings give meaning to the practices, and the practices give shape to the understandings, and it is difficult to separate them out into any kind of linear causality. In a previous paper (Butler, 2018), we drew on Taylor’s analysis of modern social imaginaries to expand on previous typological analyses of citizenship proposed by Marshall (1964), Cohen (1999), and Banks

(2008). This typology attempts to look beyond analyses of citizenship as either a purely legal matter of a person's institutional status or as a purely affective domain of identity and belonging. The typology provides for an understanding of citizenship as a social imaginary through which we imagine and enact our relationship to society. The typology includes five dimensions of citizenship: political, public, cultural, juridical, and economic.

The *political dimension* incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as participating in collective decision-making, with particular emphasis on formal democratic structures at the level of the nation-state, and on formal processes within or beyond the nation-state (e.g. municipal politics).

The *public dimension* incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as constituting a shared realm of social interaction and communal participation beyond any particular situated community, with particular emphasis on the nation-state as an "imagined community" in Anderson's (2006) sense. While the public realm blurs into the political realm, the public dimension captures the mechanisms of collective action that operate beyond or outside of formal state-enforced structures, such as through civil society organizations.

The *cultural dimension* is related to the public dimension, but emphasizes smaller-scale and more organic communities, whether these are localized, face-to-face communities or transnational, mediated communities (Banks, 2008). The organic communities of the cultural dimension can also be understood as the experiential basis from which the imagined community of the public realm is projected (Anderson, 2006; Taylor, 2004).

The *juridical dimension* incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as operating within a universalized moral order that both endows us with inherent rights but also imposes ethical obligations on us (Cohen, 1999; Taylor, 2004). The juridical dimension

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

incorporates the formal legal status of citizenship, but also looks beyond it to the philosophical assumptions that underpin contemporary legal structures, including a sense of individualism. In her analysis of different models of citizenship, Cohen (1999) contrasts a juridical to a political approach, and notes that: “when dominant, the juridical model seems to be depoliticizing and desolidarizing” (p. 249).

The *economic dimension* is similar to the juridical dimension in its emphasis on individualism. It incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as autonomous actors operating within a universalized realm of mutually-beneficial exchange (Taylor, 2004). Like the juridical dimension, the economic dimension is universalizing but also individualizing, as opposed to the political dimension (and, to a lesser degree, the public and cultural dimensions), which imagine delimited and exclusive communities but also enable “thicker” forms of participation and belonging.

To apply this typology to the analysis of curriculum documents, we operationalize it through a frame analysis methodology. While frame analysis can take many different forms, we employ it primarily as a basis to understand the discursive practices used in policy texts (Fernández, 2018; Ortloff, 2005). A key element of this is analysis of how a policy document links its descriptions of society to normative requirements for action (Wagenaar, 2011). As Rein and Schön (1996) describe:

Given such a text—a speech, memorandum, or journalistic essay, that may be produced by a politician, advocate, critic, journalist, or policy intellectual—the frame analyst must ask what gives the text its appearance of coherence, persuasiveness, and obviousness. In our terms, how does the writer make the normative leap from is to ought? In answering

such questions, we look for evidence in the actual language employed in the text. (pp. 90-91)

For frame analysts, therefore, the effectiveness and motivational force of a policy text lie largely in the internal coherence between its descriptions and its prescriptions (Gusfield, 1981). This core premise of frame analysis aligns closely with Taylor's (2004) theory of social imaginaries, which similarly emphasizes a "natural" and expected coherence between the ideological narratives we use to explain our reality and the concrete practices through which these ideological narratives are enacted. In this sense, frame analysis can be understood as an operationalization of Taylor's political philosophy within a social science context.

For frame analysts, one of the key devices through which a policy text creates a sense of internal coherence between its descriptions and its prescriptions is through a presentation of the policy domain in terms of problems and proposed solutions (Fernández, 2018; Park et al., 2012; Rein & Schön, 1996). In this regard, frame analysis builds on research suggesting that public policy does not simply respond to problems that are objectively present and universally acknowledged. Rather, it must first rhetorically establish that a problem exists, and that it requires a collective response, in order to justify an intervention by the government into the lives of citizens (Bacchi, 1999; Gusfield, 1981). Following Fernández (2018), our analysis takes up this analysis through the identification of *diagnostic* and *prognostic* frames. Diagnostic frames, in this context, are passages of the policy text that are identified as *framing* the policy domain in question by rhetorically presenting a societal problem that requires public intervention. Prognostic frames, then, are passages of the policy text that are identified as proposing policy interventions as solutions to the identified problem(s).

Methodology

This article focuses on a qualitative, inductive frame analysis of the original CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document and its three subsequent revisions over a 20-year period. This frame analysis involved a combination of inductive and deductive analysis of the policy texts based on the theoretical framework and methodological guidance from Wagenaar (2011) and Saldaña (2012). We began with two rounds of initial coding to develop a first survey of the data that was both closely detailed and open-ended. We followed this with a round of focused coding to develop theoretical categories. All coding was conducted on the entire text for each version of the document, involving an exhaustive analysis of the frontmatter, the course descriptions, and the curriculum expectations for each course. These rounds of coding are summarized in Table 11, which includes the total number of pages and the total number of curriculum expectations for each version.

Table 11. Summary of coding cycles for the four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Document Version	Pages of Text Coded	# of Curriculum Expectations	Coding Cycle	Coding Method	# of Codes
1999	58	416	1	initial/in vivo coding	540
			2	initial/process coding	40
			3	focused/process coding	15
2005	67	333	1	initial/in vivo coding	577
			2	initial/process coding	48
			3	focused/process coding	14
2013	156	333	1	initial/in vivo coding	756
			2	initial/process coding	60
			3	focused/process coding	14
2018	164	343	1	initial/in vivo coding	782
			2	initial/process coding	63
			3	focused/process coding	14

The first round of coding primarily used *in vivo* codes to summarize passages of text with a brief quotation capturing a key phrase (Saldaña, 2012). Following Wagenaar's (2011) advice, we coded "systematically and exhaustively" (p. 271) and by open-ended "meaning units," ranging from a single phrase to a whole paragraph (p. 270). The curriculum expectations in the documents provided natural units of analysis, and each was summarized with a single *in vivo* code. The frontmatter of the documents, however, was often repetitive and redundant, and variable meaning units enabled us to extract the most relevant passages and create meaningful units of analysis for subsequent cycles.

The literature on methods for inductive frame analysis calls upon researchers to focus on actions at this stage in the coding process. Doing so keeps the analysis on what problems are being diagnosed and what solutions are being proposed, rather than jumping too quickly to the construction of theoretical categories (Wagenaar, 2011). Our second round of coding thus employed what Saldaña (2012) calls process coding, in which gerunds are used to code for the actions implicit in the data. In the second round, then, we began to develop descriptive codes that captured key actions in the texts. These actions sometimes described what the text required students or teachers to do. Sometimes the process coding captured actions attributed to a theoretical ideal citizen (such as "transferring skills"), and even actions the text itself seemed to be enacting (such as "downloading educational responsibility"). It was at this stage that we explicitly drew on the frame analysis literature to identify diagnostic framing as one specific type of action enacted by the text, using a standard gerund construction that started with "problematizing ..." (see Table 12). Prognostic framing was not specifically identified at this stage, but we considered potential relationships between diagnostic frames and potential

prognostic frames in an ongoing, iterative manner throughout the coding process through analytic memos.

Finally, in our third round, we used focused coding to identify theoretical categories with particular explanatory power, using these to cluster other codes (developed during the previous round of coding) under them (Saldaña, 2012). We carried out this analytic process separately for each of the four policy documents, starting chronologically with the 1999 version. The coding process was reflexive and iterative, and we constantly compared each version with the previous versions to ensure that similar or identical passages were coded consistently. As the categories became clear, along with the codes subsumed by them, we created brief narrative summaries that described the categories. As a final step, the categories were organized according to the dimensions of the typology of citizenship and the two frame types.

Findings

The inductive coding of the four successive versions of the CWS 9 & 10 document captured more nuances of framing than can be described in a single article. As an entry point, we offer Figure 4 which provides a basic quantification of the weight given to each dimension of the citizenship typology in each successive revision of the document, based on the number of curriculum expectations (overall and specific expectations combined) coded under each dimension. As we explain below, we found the diagnostic framing in CWS 9 & 10 to be concentrated in the political dimension. Figure 4 thus subdivides the political dimension into diagnostic and prognostic framing. In deriving this figure, we elected to use the data on curriculum expectations, and not data from the frontmatter, because the expectations provided a consistent and comparable unit of analysis across all four document versions. As the total number of expectations varies across the documents (e.g., the quantity decreased significantly

from 1999 to 2005), we calculated the expectations coded for each dimension as a percentage of the total expectations within each of the four documents, to provide a more meaningful comparison than a raw count.

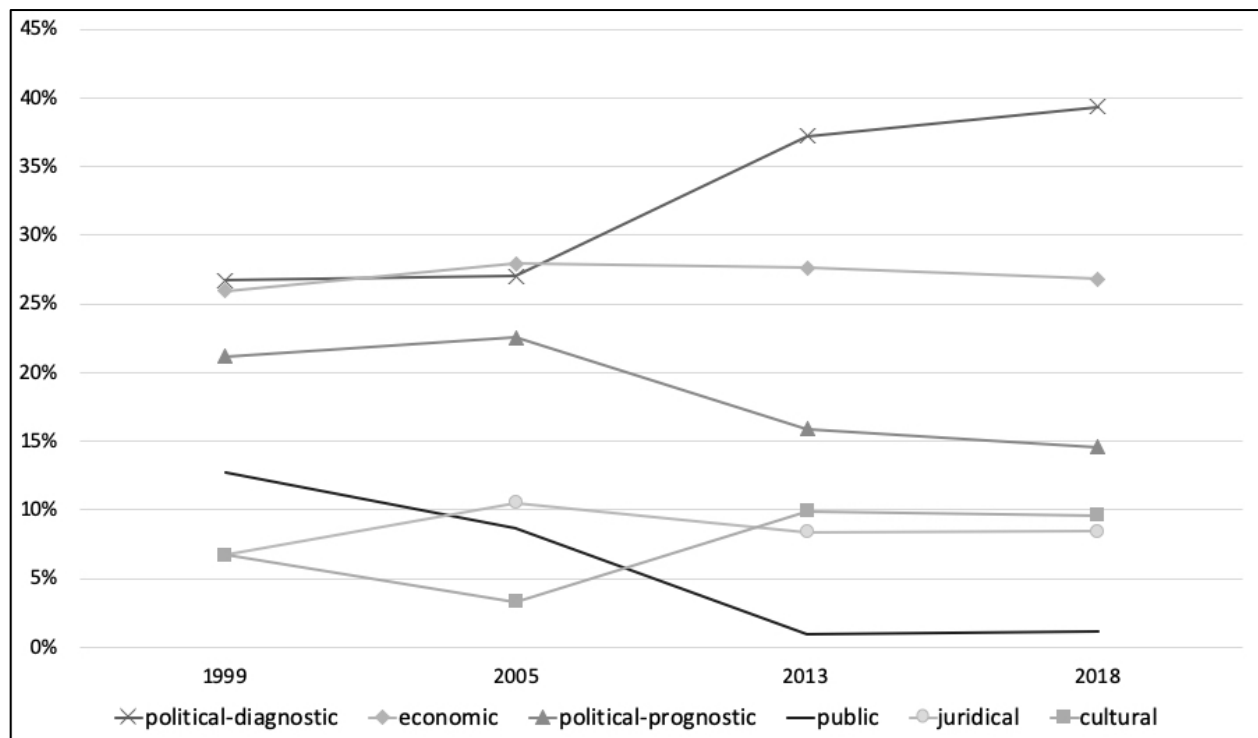


Figure 4. Expectations coded under each citizenship dimension, expressed as a percentage of total number of expectations in each of the four versions of CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

As can be seen in Figure 4, based on this ratio, the economic and juridical dimensions are quite stable over time, and therefore are treated as relatively unproblematic for the sake of this quantitative aspect of our analysis. The two aspects of the political dimension diverge, with an increase in diagnostic framing that corresponds with a decrease in prognostic framing. The most noteworthy transformations are in the public dimension, which witnesses a decline in the relative

number expectations across the four revisions, and in the cultural dimension, which sees sizeable fluctuations over time.

In what follows, we break the findings down according to the five dimensions of citizenship (political, economic, juridical, public, and cultural) and the two frame types (diagnostic and prognostic). Because all of the diagnostic frames fell within the political dimension of citizenship, these are presented first. We then present the prognostic frames according to all five dimensions.

Diagnostic Framing of the Political Dimension

The problem framing in the 1999 version of the document can be summarized narratively into an overall problem statement, as follows: *Rapid global change and increasing internal pluralism present threats to national unity and the integrity of Canada as a nation-state*. The challenges to the nation-state include both external pressures (e.g., economic globalization and ecological degradation) and internal pressures (e.g., divisions within an increasingly pluralistic citizenry), as can be seen in the following expectations. Note how the curriculum explicitly problematizes these external and internal challenges as “concerns” and “challenges”:

- “research and report on global concerns that affect Canadians (e.g., wilderness protection, economic impact of globalization)” (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training [OMET], 1999, p. 13)
- “demonstrate an understanding of the challenges of governing communities or societies in which diverse value systems, multiple perspectives, and differing civic purposes coexist” (OMET, 1999, p. 50)

While the problems described here extend beyond the borders of the nation-state, the diagnostic framing nonetheless falls within the political dimension, because the problem is framed in terms

of its effect on the nation-state, and the nation-state is the primary locus of identification and action in responding to these problems.

Table 12. Results of coding for diagnostic framing in the political dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Docum.	Category	Narrative Summary of Diagnostic Framing	Segments Coded		
			Ov.	Sp.	Oth.
1999	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents a threat to the integrity and unity of Canada as a nation-state	19	67	23
	problematizing national pluralism	Canada's increasing internal pluralism presents a threat to national unity	7	18	4
2005	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents Canada with new challenges, and with new responsibilities as a member of the global community	18	51	37
	problematizing national power disparities	Canada's internal pluralism presents new challenges, including power disparities between groups	4	17	7
2013	problematizing balance of inclusion & cohesion	Canada needs to become more ethical and inclusive while still fostering a cohesive national society	20	49	15
	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents new challenges to the global community, and Canada must contribute to solutions	10	45	19
2018	problematizing balance of inclusion & cohesion	Canada needs to resolve the inequities of its past, including colonialism, while still fostering a cohesive national society	20	61	25
	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents new challenges to the global community, and Canada must contribute to solutions	10	44	19

As can be seen in Table 12, the diagnostic framing from 1999 remains similar across the three revisions of the document. However, there is an increasing use of ethical language, which contrasts with the self-conscious “value-neutrality” (Pinto, 2012, p. 140) of the 1999 document. This becomes particularly pronounced in the 2018 revisions relating to Indigenous peoples, which contain an explicit sense of Canada's colonial history as a problem in itself. For example:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “Students learn about the historical and contemporary impact of colonialism, the Indian Act, the residential school system, treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (OME, 2018, p. 11)

This limited change in the diagnostic framing leads to some apparent internal discrepancies or tensions. For example, compare the appeal to “systemic racism” above with the “challenges” of cultural diversity presented in the following expectation:

- “...assess the opportunities and challenges presented by immigration and cultural diversity in Canada (e.g., ... neighbourhood segregation and lack of social integration, hate crimes)” (OME, 2018, p. 82)

This discrepancy is due in part to the limited scope of the 2018 edits, which focused on the history curriculum but left the geography curriculum completely unchanged. On the whole, therefore, the diagnostic framing is similar across the four documents, and the prognostic framing across the five dimensions of citizenship can be understood as various responses to this framing of the central problem.

Prognostic Framing of the Political Dimension

The prognostic framing of the political dimension in the 1999 version of the document is largely characterized by attempts to develop students’ identification with a unitary nationalistic narrative:

- “demonstrate an understanding of how individual Canadians have contributed to the development of Canada and an emerging sense of Canadian identity” (OMET, 1999, p. 32)

It also attempts to foster a sense of personal responsibility for Canada’s continuing economic prosperity:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “demonstrate an understanding of the challenges associated with achieving resource sustainability, and explain the implications of meeting or not meeting those challenges for future resource use in Canada” (OMET, 1999, p. 20)

This framing is changed in several ways in the subsequent revisions to the document (see Table 13). First, the focus on national economic prosperity is maintained, but becomes gradually nuanced with a sense that economic development needs to be balanced against ethical responsibilities, including environmentalism. See, for example:

- “describe Canada’s major exports and imports, and assess some of the environmental, economic, social, and political implications of Canada’s current export and import patterns” (OME, 2018, p. 97)

Identification with Canada, meanwhile, becomes increasingly focused on developing a sense of pride for Canada’s diversity and inclusion. The focus on a unitary Canadian identity is maintained until the 2013 version, where it is manifested through repeated references to Canada’s “identity, citizenship, and heritage” (e.g., OME, 2013, p. 118). One of the broader changes in the 2018 revision is the systematic replacement of the term “identity” with the pluralized “identities.” The point of this change appears to be an increased emphasis on pluralism, and therefore a critique of the idealization of a unitary “Canadian identity” that exists in the 2013 revision as a holdover from the original 1999 version. The effect is to reinforce the emphasis on Canadian pluralism as the sole source of nationalistic pride.

Table 13. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the political dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Docum.	Code	Narrative Summary of Prognostic Framing	Segments Coded		
			Ov.	Sp.	Oth.
1999	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	8	48	16
	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	8	13	0
	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in, and influence, Canada's political institutions	6	26	9
2005	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	8	42	13
	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	7	10	0
	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in, and influence, Canada's political institutions	5	20	15
2013	identifying with nationalistic narratives of pluralism	Canadians' national pride should emphasize the inclusion in Canadian society of many diverse groups	7	19	5
	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	5	17	5
	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	1	14	15
	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in Canada's political institutions	1	11	16
2018	identifying with nationalistic narratives of pluralism	Canadians' national pride should emphasize the inclusion in Canadian society of many diverse groups	8	23	10
	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	5	17	5
	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in Canada's political institutions	1	11	16
	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	0	3	4

The political dimension in the 1999 version is also characterized by the desire to foster citizens who are informed about Canada's democratic processes, primarily through the civics curriculum. This theme is retained through the subsequent revisions, but is gradually reduced in weight. As can be seen in Table 13, the category "informing democratic citizenship" declines from 6 overall expectations and 26 specific expectations in 1999 to 1 and 11 in 2018. There is also a change in content. The 1999 version emphasizes participation in the nation-state through both the political and the public realm. While the public realm will be discussed in more detail below, it is noteworthy that the 1999 version presents the public and political realms together as a relatively continuous realm of citizen action, rather than the discrete (and limited) realms of citizen action they become in the later revisions. See, for example, the following edit of an expectation from 1999 to 2005. Note the change from "conflict resolution" to "policy formation," indicating the reification of the political realm as a space of formal democratic structures but not of broader public citizen engagement and interaction:

- "analyse important historical and contemporary cases that involve democratic principles in the public process of conflict resolution and decision making" (OMET, 1999, p. 52)
- "analyse important contemporary cases and issues that have been decided or resolved through the public process of policy formation and decision making (e.g., mandatory retirement, censorship, racial profiling), taking into account the democratic principles that underlie that process" (OME, 2005, p. 69)

The reification of the political realm continues in the 2013 and 2018 revisions. There, what remains of this theme is largely focused on understanding formal political structures, with very little connection to the public realm or space for grassroots citizen action.

Prognostic Framing of the Economic Dimension

In the 1999 version of the document, the economic dimension is characterized primarily by an emphasis on transferable skills that can be learned in the subject courses but that are intended for application in the broader globalized economy. These skills are mostly related to forms of decontextualized critical analysis, including “research, critical thinking, problem solving, and decision making” (OMET, 1999, p. 3). The connection between globalization and the necessity of developing transferable skills is explicit: “As the world undergoes continual change, students need many different kinds of knowledge and skills to be successful” (OMET, 1999, p. 7). While students are encouraged to develop an affective and active connection to their nation-state, therefore, they are simultaneously encouraged to develop a detached awareness of their career potential within the globalized economy. These two ideas are not necessarily contradictory—a contemporary nation-state will strengthen its economic position by advancing the global marketability of its citizens—but they do exist in a certain degree of tension.

Table 14. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the economic dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Docum.	Code	Narrative Summary of Prognostic Framing	Segments Coded		
			Ov.	Sp.	Oth.
1999	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	11	66	8
	transferring skills to changing workplace	Canadians need to be prepared with the skills to adapt to a rapidly changing workplace	3	6	9
2005	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	11	60	19
	transferring skills to changing workplace	Canadians need to be prepared with the skills to adapt to a rapidly changing workplace	0	5	16
2013	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	5	45	59
	transferring skills to everyday contexts & future careers	Canadians need to be able to apply their core skills across a range of workplaces and other contexts	5	15	36
2018	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	5	45	59
	transferring skills to everyday contexts & future careers	Canadians need to be able to apply their core skills across a range of workplaces and other contexts	5	15	36

As Table 14 helps reveal, there is a high degree of continuity in the economic dimension across the four versions of the document. However, starting in the 2013 revision, the relationship between citizenship and participation in the globalized economy becomes more direct. Citizenship is seen explicitly (at least in part) as an economic activity: “Finally, to become responsible citizens in the global economy, they will need to understand the social, environmental, and ethical implications of their own choices as consumers” (OME, 2013, pp. 49-50). This idea of “citizens in the global economy” is nonsensical in terms of a traditional understanding of citizenship as official membership in a nation-state. However, as an expression of the idealized relationship between the person and society, this framing can be understood as a vision of the autonomous, disembedded individual who defines their personhood largely as self-

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

directed agents within a transnational economic marketplace (Taylor, 2004), whether as workers or consumers. Practically, this is manifested in the curriculum largely through a continued emphasis on transferable skills. See, for instance, this expectation from civics, which has a parallel in each of the other four courses in the 2018 revision:

- “describe some ways in which political inquiry can help them develop skills, including the essential skills in the Ontario Skills Passport (e.g., skills related to reading texts, writing, computer use, oral communication, numeracy, decision making, problem solving) and those related to the citizenship education framework, that can be transferred to the world of work and/or to everyday life” (OME, 2018, p. 158)

Aside from the explicit emphasis on transferable skills, this expectation is notable for its reference to the “Citizenship Education Framework,” which was added in the 2013 revision and is presented in the document frontmatter as a source of “the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship” (OME, 2013, p. 9). However, in both the 2013 and the 2018 revisions, this single curriculum expectation in civics is the only one that mentions the framework. Furthermore, this expectation de-emphasizes any substantive understanding of citizenship by framing the framework as a way to foster “essential skills” (as opposed to, say, belonging or participation).

Prognostic Framing of the Juridical Dimension

The juridical dimension in the 1999 version is characterized by the core idea that there is a specific, pre-defined “role” students are expected to step into as citizens. This is expressed clearly in the following quotation: “It is important that students understand the role of the citizen, and the personal values and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions” (OMET, 1999, p. 46). This role is partially prescribed through legally-defined rights and responsibilities, but it

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

also captures a broader range of cognitive and affective characteristics that the citizen is expected to internalize and enact:

- “describe fundamental beliefs and values associated with democratic citizenship (e.g., rule of law, human dignity, freedom of worship, respect for rights of others, work for common good, sense of responsibility for others, freedom of expression)” (OMET, 1999, p. 50)

While the primary emphasis of the 1999 version is the citizen’s position in the nation-state, there is also some discussion of global citizenship. Similar to the national context, the role of the global citizen is defined both in terms of legal constructs (e.g., human rights as defined by the United Nations) and a broader range of ethical obligations (particularly in terms of personal ecological responsibility).

As Table 15 illustrates, the subsequent revisions of the policy text place greater emphasis on global citizenship. Ultimately, they position global citizenship as essentially interchangeable with national citizenship, as in this expectation:

- “analyse key rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship, in both the Canadian and global context, and some ways in which these rights are protected” (OME, 2018, p. 152)

The 2013 and 2018 revisions also build on a shift that begins in the 2005 version, away from the value-neutrality of the 1999 version and toward positioning citizenship, and global citizenship in particular, as a type of ethical imperative.

Table 15. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the juridical dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Docum.	Code	Narrative Summary of Prognostic Framing	Segments Coded		
			Ov.	Sp.	Oth.
1999	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	3	5	23
	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens also have certain legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	1	19	3
2005	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens have legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	4	23	8
	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	2	6	72
2013	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens have legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	1	14	12
	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	1	4	109
2018	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens have legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	1	14	13
	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	1	4	110

This process of establishing a standardized role for the citizen aligns practically with the rigid policy imperatives laid out in the frontmatter of the curriculum document, which similarly establish fixed roles for teachers and students. As with the broader curriculum reform enacted by Ontario's PC government in the late 1990s, the 1999 version of the document signals a strong turn toward prescriptive, centralized control over teachers' pedagogical practice in classrooms (Anderson & Ben Jaafar, 2003). The document lays out a highly structured policy framework around the course content, including course requirements in the form of outcome-focused expectations, compulsory and prerequisite courses, and an achievement chart intended to provide "a standard province-wide method for teachers to use in assessing and evaluating their students' achievement" (OMET, 1999, p. 56). These policy imperatives are enforced through a combination of accountability structures and exhortative policy language. At the same time, the

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

1999 version allowed for some carefully delineated areas of local policy flexibility, such the option to teach certain courses as a half-semester course.

The effort to delineate teachers' agency through exhortative policy imperatives can be seen in the following passage that cautions about the dangers of leaving the school building:

Out-of-school fieldwork provides an exciting and authentic dimension to students' learning experiences. It also takes the teacher and students out of the predictable classroom environment and into new settings. Teachers must preview and plan expeditions carefully to protect students' health and safety. (OMET, 1999, p. 55)

This passage is repeated with only minor edits in each of the three subsequent revisions. Indeed, all of the policy imperatives established in the 1999 document have remained with remarkable consistency through the three subsequent revisions of the CWS policy document overseen by the Liberal government that held power from 2003 to 2018. As with the juridical dimension more broadly, the primary change during this time has been a strengthening of the document's exhortative language through moralistic framing that presents teachers' policy compliance as a type of ethical imperative.

Prognostic Framing of the Public Dimension

The 1999 version places a strong emphasis on the public dimension of citizenship, which is reduced in the subsequent revisions. The public dimension incorporates 8 overall expectations and 45 specific expectations in the 1999 version, but by the 2018 version this is reduced to 2 and 11. Arguably, the public dimension is central to the overall framing of the 1999 document, setting out one of the key domains of action in which to move from the core problem (socio-political fragmentation) to the desired end result (collective political identification). This process begins with situating oneself within the field of diversity:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “articulate clearly their personal sense of civic identity and purpose, and understand the diversity of beliefs and values of other individuals and groups in Canadian society”

(OMET, 1999, p. 50)

However, while the later revisions retain this initial step, the 1999 version goes farther in placing a responsibility on citizens to actively participate in resolving social divisions. The following expectation and others like it are systematically removed in the 2005 version:

- “describe ways citizens can be involved in responding to issues in which contrasting value systems, multiple perspectives, and differing civic purposes coexist, and determine their own sense of responsibility in relation to these opportunities for involvement”

(OMET, 1999, p. 51)

The 1999 version, therefore, presents an active public realm, in which citizens engage with each other to resolve conflicts with the overall goal of overcoming the socio-political fragmentation of the Canadian nation-state.

Table 16. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the public dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Docum.	Code	Narrative Summary of Prognostic Framing	Segments Coded		
			Ov.	Sp.	Oth.
1999	identifying through common public issues	Canadians develop shared understandings through common encounter with national concerns	6	14	6
	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	2	17	1
	identifying with regional communities	Canadians form their identities through thick belonging in specific, localized communities	0	14	8
2005	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	2	9	0
	identifying with regional communities	Canadians form their identities through thick belonging in specific, localized communities	0	10	11
	identifying through common public issues	Canadians develop mutual understanding through common encounter with national concerns	0	8	7
2013	positioning individual values in multi-level pluralism	Canadians need to clarify their opinions on civic issues at multiple levels, and develop empathy for other perspectives	2	6	38
	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	0	3	3
2018	positioning individual values in multi-level pluralism	Canadians need to clarify their opinions on civic issues at multiple levels, and develop empathy for other perspectives	2	7	43
	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	0	4	3

As Table 16 helps to reveal, in the subsequent revisions, what remains of the public dimension becomes more detached from the political dimension and draws closer to the juridical dimension, with the citizen understood more as an autonomous individual within a globalized community. This is manifested in several ways. First, there is a shift away from emphasizing the national public realm as the primary sphere of citizen identification and action, and toward an open-ended form of citizenship that extends to the global realm. See, for instance, the following expectation:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “communicate their own position on some issues of civic importance at the local, national, and/or global level [...], explaining how their position is influenced by their beliefs/values” (OME, 2018, p. 161).

Secondly, there is a shift away from “civic issues” being treated as somehow commonly defined within the public realm toward them being defined by the autonomous individual based on “personal interest” (e.g., OME, 2018, p. 165). Relatedly, and building on the shift that began in 2005, there is a shift away from the public realm being understood as a forum for overcoming diversity through processes of conflict resolution. Instead, the goal of the public realm is simply to build understanding and appreciation of diversity, primarily through developing affective and moral traits, such as empathy: “Students develop empathy as they analyse events and issues from the perspectives of people in different parts of Canada or the world, or from different historical eras” (OME, 2018, p. 47). In the 2013 and 2018 revisions, therefore, understanding diversity is no longer an initial step toward resolving divisions in the nation-state. Rather, acknowledging and appreciating diversity becomes an end in itself.

Prognostic Framing of the Cultural Dimension

The cultural dimension of citizenship in the 1999 version is primarily characterized by an emphasis on civic participation in relation to the local community. Most of these expectations are limited to learning *about* the local community. However, in spite of the warning about the danger of leaving the schoolgrounds discussed above, there are a few key expectations that require students to take civic *action* in relation to the local community. This is most explicit in the following specific expectation:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “participate effectively in a civil action or project of interest to them and of importance to the community (e.g., attend public hearings, plan religious or cultural event, join special interest group, write letters to editor)” (OMET, 1999, p. 53)

Note how the selection of a project is defined not only in terms of personal interest but also in terms of “importance to the community.”

Table 17. Results of coding for prognostic framing in the cultural dimension in four versions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document.

Docum.	Code	Narrative Summary of Prognostic Framing	Segments Coded		
			Ov.	Sp.	Oth.
1999	enabling local learning	civic education should include learning about and in the local community	2	20	7
	enabling local civic participation	civic education should include direct participation in local civic affairs	1	3	1
	identifying with multi-level citizenship	citizenship should include affective identification with communities at different geographic scales	0	3	6
2005	enabling local learning	civic education should include learning about the local community	1	7	23
	participating in multi-level citizenship	civic education should include self-directed activities in relation to chosen issues and communities	1	2	16
2013	planning for sustainable communities	civic education should foster sustainability in local communities through planning potential actions	3	15	46
	planning critical multi-level participation	civic education should foster critical engagement in various communities through planning potential actions	3	12	45
2018	planning for sustainable communities	civic education should foster sustainability in local communities through planning potential actions	3	15	46
	planning critical multi-level participation	civic education should foster critical engagement in various communities through planning potential actions	3	12	45

As Table 17 helps illustrate, starting in the 2005 revision, the cultural dimension is modified in two significant ways. First, the emphasis on it is substantially reduced, including a fairly systematic removal of expectations related to civic engagement in the community.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Secondly, where discussion of civic engagement is maintained it is mostly in relation to what might be called “multi-level citizenship”—that is, citizenship as open-ended engagement in “communities” at local, national, and global scales. References to multi-level citizenship in the 1999 version were mostly in the frontmatter, and arguably were intended to be vague and open-ended in order to capture the varied content of the expectations. In the 2005 revision, this language starts to move into the expectations, and multi-level citizenship becomes operationalized as something students must engage with directly, as can be seen in the revision of the main specific expectation requiring civic action:

- “demonstrate an understanding of their responsibilities as local, national, and global citizens by applying their knowledge of civics, and skills related to purposeful and active citizenship, to a project of personal interest and civic importance (e.g., participating in food and clothing drives; visiting seniors; participating in community festivals, celebrations, and events; becoming involved in human rights, antidiscrimination, or antiracism activities)” (OME, 2005, p. 69)

Note that where students were required to “participate effectively” in 1999, the 2005 revision only asks them to apply their knowledge and skills to a project. There is no requirement that the project should be effective or even complete.

The de-emphasizing of civic action in the 2005 revision appears to align with the concerns raised about risks relating to students leaving the school, which also parallels the emergent policy network around “safe schools” in Ontario over this period (Winton, 2012). However, this results in a tension in the curriculum: the internal logic of the curriculum points in the direction of civic engagement as a natural and necessary outcome of its vision of citizenship, but such civic engagement becomes problematic when student activity outside of the school is

seen as a liability. The 2013 and 2018 revisions resolve this tension by limiting student civic activity to *planning* actions that they could potentially undertake at some point in the future. The key specific expectation calling for civic action is expanded into a full overall expectation, but the requirement for action is removed:

- “analyse a civic issue of personal interest and develop a plan of action to address it”
(OME, 2018, p. 164)

This overall expectation is followed by a series of specific expectations that call on students to analyze an issue and develop a plan of action along with a plan to *evaluate* successful implementation, but never to actually implement the plan.

Along with the forms of local civic engagement discussed here, our understanding of the cultural dimension of citizenship, drawing on Banks (2008), explicitly includes ethnocultural and other identity-based communities, whether localized or dispersed (see Butler, 2018). It is a noteworthy negative finding that participation in such communities was not a significant emphasis of the framing practices we identified.

Discussion

Since the initial creation of the Ontario *Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10* curriculum in 1999, the three subsequent revisions to the document have maintained a great deal of continuity. Throughout the different versions, the diagnostic framing has emphasized the political dimension of citizenship through a focus on the challenges presented to Canada as a nation-state by globalization and by the pluralization of the population. This problem-framing underscores the political function of the curriculum, as a public statement by the government about – and a symbolic gesture toward – the utilization of the school system for the formation of Canadian citizens prepared for the challenges of the 21st century (Lewis, 2011; Westbury, 2008).

In response to the core problem, the subsequent versions of the document present prognostic framing across the five dimensions of citizenship. Politically, the curriculum suggests that citizens must develop both an affective identification with Canada and a sense of personal responsibility for Canada's economic prosperity. Economically, the curriculum positions the citizen outside the boundaries of the nation-state, preparing them with skills that can be transferred throughout the globalized marketplace. Juridically, the curriculum establishes a pre-defined role for the citizen within both the nation-state and the global community (and, on a pedagogical level, within the school), through both legal and ethical obligations. The prognostic framing across these three dimensions highlights a tension in the 1999 version of the curriculum between the preparation of citizens for strong identification with and participation in the nation-state and the preparation of citizens as economic and ethical actors within a globalized community. In relation to the problem-framing, this tension suggests that responding to the challenges of globalization requires the formation of Canadian citizens who are both nationalistic in their identification and transnational in their activities. In the subsequent revisions, this tension is somewhat resolved through an increasing emphasis on participation in the global realm as an end in itself and a concomitant de-emphasizing of nationalistic identification except insofar as Canada exemplifies juridical and globalistic ideals of pluralism.

Within this context, we can return to the question raised earlier about the shifting emphases on the cultural and public dimensions. As illustrated in Figure 4, the cultural dimension declined in emphasis from 1999 to 2005, before rising back above the 1999 level in 2013 and 2018. This fluctuation can be explained, at least in part, by the complex positioning of civic action. In the 1999 document, the cultural dimension plays a small but important role in encouraging civic action within the local community. In 2005, civic action is significantly de-

emphasized, and what remains is situated more vaguely in relation to an open-ended form of multi-level citizenship. In 2013 and 2018, there is a renewed emphasis on civic action, but now it is limited to *planning* potential civic actions. In this sense, the fluctuation of the cultural dimension in Figure 4 is somewhat superficial, and the change is perhaps best understood as a consistent de-emphasizing of genuine civic action over the subsequent revisions. As discussed above, the internal evidence of the curriculum policy documents suggests that these changes can be explained at least in part by concerns about liability related to student activities outside the school, which aligns with the broader policy emphasis on student safety (Winton, 2012). However, there were likely other factors at work in this complex policy shift, possibly including concerns about the initial difficulty of the revised curriculum and desires to decrease student workload in order to raise graduation rates (Pinto, 2012).

So far, however, this analysis of the changes in the cultural dimension is primarily focused on practical, pedagogical factors. In keeping with the focus of this article, we also want to consider the broader political and ideological implications of how civic action is reframed throughout subsequent revisions of the curriculum. For this purpose, we turn now to the changes in the public dimension of citizenship. As illustrated in Figure 4, the emphasis on the public dimension is significantly reduced over the successive revisions of the document. The general de-emphasizing of the public dimension aligns with a significant transformation of its content. In the 1999 version, the public dimension is an important domain of citizen action, in which citizens encounter the problematic diversity of society, then undertake public action, primarily involving forms of conflict resolution, to help build a new public consensus within the nation-state. The subsequent revisions maintain the first step of the process laid out in the 1999 document—positioning oneself within the field of diversity—but then eliminate the public action

that followed. In the later revisions, therefore, diversity is primarily framed as a feature to be acknowledged and valued, rather than an obstacle to be overcome, and recognizing diversity becomes an end in itself.

Considering the changes in the cultural and public dimensions together, we get a broader picture of the ideological changes across the subsequent revisions of the curriculum. While the cultural dimension, considered alone, suggested that student action was de-emphasized due to practical and pedagogical concerns, the context of the public dimension suggests a more systematic de-emphasizing of citizen action. Where citizenship in the 1999 version is characterized by participation in collective actions, it is gradually transformed through the three revisions to become more of an individual and cognitive activity. This may also explain the increased emphasis on problem framing, as intellectual consideration of societal problems moves from an initial step toward encouraging citizen actions to become a significant citizen activity in itself.

In the 2018 document, therefore, citizenship involves building awareness of the ethical complexities of contemporary societies, accepting personal responsibility for societal problems (including accounting for the past wrongs of one's nation), reflexively positioning oneself within the field of globalized diversity, engaging in critical analysis of contemporary problems, and carefully planning potential actions within this ethical complexity. In this sense, the obstacles to student action are not only practical concerns about liability, but also ideological concerns reflecting the complexity of ethical action in a pluralistic public sphere (Peck & Sears, 2016).

Conclusion

This article has presented the findings of a frame analysis of the four subsequent versions of the Ontario *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document. The initial

1999 version of the document was created under a conservative and populist PC government, while the three subsequent revisions were created under a Liberal government in 2005, 2013, and 2018. These two political parties position themselves as ideologically opposed, and in certain ways the findings of the frame analysis mirror this ideological divergence. Most notably, the three revisions completed under the Liberal government have systematically removed the initial emphasis of the document on citizen action, both in relation to participation in the local community and in relation collective action in the national public realm. We have suggested that this parallels the new emphasis in the documents on diversity and inclusion, and that the removal of civic action reflects an ideological liberal concern over the complexity of ethical action within a pluralistic public sphere.

At the same time, however, there is a remarkable degree of continuity across the different versions of the document. The three revisions maintain some major themes of the initial document, including its strong emphasis on developing individualized transferable skills for participation in the globalized economy. This accent on preparing students as economic actors is consistent with Rogers' (2018) critical discourse analysis of curriculum policies over a similar timeframe and across four successive governments of differing political stripes in Nova Scotia, another Canadian province. The revisions have also maintained the emphasis on forming the individual citizen to fit a predefined role based in relation to both legal and ethical obligations, along with the rigid accountability structures embedded that similarly position teachers and students in relation to rigidly predefined roles. Following the typology of dimensions of citizenship that provides the theoretical framework for this article, these areas of continuity reflect the economic and juridical dimensions of citizenship, which are universalistic and inclusive but also tend to individualize the citizen and reify social structures (Cohen, 1999;

Taylor, 2004). This emphasis on the individualized citizen within a reified globalistic society, therefore, can be understood as the new consensus on citizenship education in Ontario, which has remained remarkably stable over the last twenty years.

Following the most recent revision of CWS 9 & 10, the PC party was returned to power in the 2018 Ontario election. This government takes a similar populist tone to the PC government of the late 1990s, and it will be interesting to see what, if any, further changes they make to the curriculum. It is almost certain that they will seek to remove the emphasis on diversity and inclusion that the Liberal government gradually incorporated. They have already cancelled curriculum writing sessions intended to continue revising CWS 9 & 10 in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Desmarais, 2018). However, it is less certain that they will seek to restore other aspects of the curriculum that the Liberal government removed, particularly the emphases on civic action in the public realm. While the PCs are unlikely to share the Liberals' ethical concerns about the complexity of civic action in a pluralistic public sphere, they may have other reasons to keep these elements out. In her analysis of the Common Sense Revolution, Pinto (2012) suggests that the emphasis on economic formation in the curriculum reflected a genuine ideological concern of the PC government, but that the emphasis on the formation of citizens as socio-political actors was more likely a politically-motivated response to a perceived public desire for a balance between economic and civic preparation. Now that the elements of civic action and public participation have already been removed, the PCs may find it unnecessary to restore them, and may instead follow a more ideological path toward citizenship as primarily, if not exclusively, economic formation.

References

- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.
- Anderson, S. E. & Ben Jaafar, S. (2003). *Policy trends in Ontario education: 1990-2003*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto.
- Bacchi, C. L. (1999). *Women, policy and politics: The construction of policy problems*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher*, 37(3), 129-139.
- Bickmore, K. (2014). Citizenship education in Canada: 'Democratic' engagement with differences, conflicts and equity issues? *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 9(3), 257-278.
- Broom, C. (2015). Social studies in three Canadian provinces: A comparative exploration. *Comparative and International Education*, 44(1), Article 4.
- Broom, C. & Evans, R. W. (2015). Social studies within and across borders: Exploring the transfer of ideas in time and space. *Citizenship Education Research Journal (CERJ)*, 4(1), 56-69.
- Butler, J. K. (2018). Heterogeneous practices and homogenizing policies: Towards a typological analysis of Canadian citizenship education in Ontario. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 13(1), 61-81.
- Clausen, K. W., Horton, T. A., & Lemisko, L. S. (2008). Democracy and diversity: A content analysis of selected contemporary Canadian social studies curricula. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 4(1), 35-49.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Cohen, L. G. (1999). Changing paradigms of citizenship and the exclusiveness of the demos. *International Sociology*, 14(3), 245-268.
- Connelly, F. M. & Connelly, G. (2013). Curriculum policy guidelines: Context, structures and functions. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, Syllabus Design and Equity: A Primer and Model* (pp. 54-73). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Desmarais, A. (2018, July 17). Ontario curriculum cuts a “major setback” to reconciliation: Indigenous educators. *iPolitics*. Retrieved from: <https://ipolitics.ca/2018/07/17/ontario-curriculum-cuts-a-major-setback-to-reconciliation-indigenous-educators/>
- Evans, M., Ingram, L. A., MacDonald, A., & Weber, N. (2009). Mapping the “global dimension” of citizenship education in Canada: The complex interplay of theory, practice and context. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 5(2), 17-34.
- Fernández, M. B. (2018). Framing teacher education: Conceptions of teaching, teacher education, and justice in Chilean national policies. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 26(34), 1-37.
- Fielding, J. (2002). Tales from the crypt or writing the Ontario Canadian World Studies Curriculum. *Our Schools / Our Selves*, 11(3), 77-84.
- Gidney, R. D. (1999). *From Hope to Harris: The reshaping of Ontario's schools*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Gusfield, J. R. (1981). *The culture of public problems: Drinking-driving and the symbolic order*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hébert, Y. (2009). Responsibility and citizenship education: Shifting meanings, policy and curricula. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 5(2), 4-15.

- Hughes, A. S. & Sears, A. (2008). The struggle for citizenship education in Canada: The centre cannot hold. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of education for citizenship and democracy* (pp. 124-138). London, UK: SAGE.
- Iacovino, R. & Nootens, G. (2011). A clash of ideals? Federalism, citizenship and education in the multinational state. In M. Behiels & F. Rocher (Eds.), *The state in transition: Challenges for Canadian federalism* (pp. 217-238). Ottawa, ON: Invenire Books.
- Joshee, R. (2007). Opportunities for social justice work: The Ontario diversity policy web. *The Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations*, 18(1&2), 171-199.
- Kennelly, J. & Llewellyn, K. R. (2011). Educating for active compliance: Discursive constructions in citizenship education. *Citizenship Studies*, 15(6-7), 897-914.
- Lavrenteva, E. & Orland-Barak, L. (2015). The treatment of culture in the foreign language curriculum: An analysis of national curriculum documents. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 47(5), 653-684.
- Levin, B. (2008). Curriculum policy and the politics of what should be learned in schools. In F. M. Connelly, M. F. He, & J. Phillion (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of curriculum and instruction* (pp. 7-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Lewis, J. P. (2011). *The unavoidable struggle of Canadian citizenship education: An analysis of historical and contemporary challenges of producing a cohesive policy narrative* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Carleton University, Ottawa, ON.
- Luke, A. (2013). Introduction: The practical problem of curriculum making. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, syllabus design and equity: A primer and model* (pp. 1-5). New York, NY: Routledge.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Manzer, R. (1994). *Public schools and political ideas: Canadian educational policy in historical perspective*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Marshall, T. H. (1964). *Class, citizenship, and social development*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: Education, training, and technologies of citizenship. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, 389-407.
- OECD. (2018). *Preparing our youth for an inclusive and sustainable world: The OECD Pisa Global Competence Framework*. Paris: Directorate for Education and Skills. Retrieved from: <https://www.oecd.org/education/Global-competency-for-an-inclusive-world.pdf>
- Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) (2005). *The Ontario curriculum grades 9 and 10: Canadian and world studies*. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education.
- Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) (2013). *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 and 10: Canadian and world studies*. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from: <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2013.pdf>.
- Ontario Ministry of Education (2016). *21st century competencies: Foundation document for discussion*. Retrieved from: http://www.edugains.ca/resources21CL/About21stCentury/21CL_21stCenturyCompetencies.pdf
- Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2017, November 8). *Ontario ensuring students learn Indigenous histories and cultures: Province equipping educators to teach Indigenous contributions and perspectives*. Retrieved from:

<https://news.ontario.ca/edu/en/2017/11/ontario-ensuring-students-learn-indigenous-histories-and-cultures.html>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2018). *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 and 10:*

Canadian and world studies. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2018.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (OMET). (1999). *The Ontario curriculum grades 9*

and 10: Canadian and world studies. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education and Training.

Ortloff, D. H. (2005). Becoming European: a framing analysis of three countries' civics

education curricula. *European Education*, 37(4), 35-49.

Osborne, K. (2000). Public schooling and citizenship education in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic*

Studies, 32(1), 8-37.

Park, V., Daly, A. J., & Guerra, A. W. (2012). Strategic framing: How leaders craft the meaning

of data use for equity and learning. *Educational Policy*, 27(4), 645-75.

Pashby, K., Ingram, L.-A., & Joshee, R. (2014). Discovering, recovering, and covering-up

Canada: Tracing historical citizenship discourses in K-12 and adult immigrant citizenship

education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 37(2), 1-26.

Peck, C. L. & Sears, A. (2016). Canada. In Chong, K. M., Davies, I., Epstein, T., Peck, C. L.,

Peterson, A., Ross, A., Schmidt, M. A., Sears, A., & Sonu, D. (Eds.), *Education,*

Globalization and the Nation (pp. 59-80). Houndmills, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

Pinto, L. E. (2012). *Curriculum reform in Ontario: 'Common sense' policy processes and*

democratic possibilities. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Priestley, M. & Sinnema, C. (2014). Downgraded curriculum? An analysis of knowledge in new

curriculum in Scotland and New Zealand. *The Curriculum Journal*, 25(1), 50-75.

- Rein, M. & Schön, D. (1996). Frame-critical policy analysis and frame-reflective policy practice. *Knowledge and Policy*, 9(1), 85-104.
- Rezai-Rashti, G. M. (2003). Educational policy reform and its impact on equity work in Ontario: Global challenges and local possibilities. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 11(51), 1-17.
- Rogers, P. (2018). *Tracing neoliberal governmentality in education: Disentangling economic crises, accountability, and the disappearance of social studies* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON. Retrieved from: https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/37232/3/Rogers_Pamela_2018_thesis.pdf
- Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Sears, A. (2010). Possibilities and problems: Citizenship education in a multinational state: The case of Canada. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen* (pp. 191-205). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Toukan, E. V. (2018). Educating citizens of ‘the global’: Mapping textual constructs of UNESCO’s global citizenship education 2012–2015. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 13(1), 51–64.
- von Heyking, A. J. (2006). *Creating citizens: History and identity in Alberta’s schools, 1905-1980*. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.
- Wagenaar, H. (2011). *Meaning in action: Interpretation and dialogue in policy analysis*. Oxon, UK: ME Sharpe.

- Westbury, I. (2008). Making curricula: Why do states make curricula, and how? In F. M. Connelly, M. F. He, & J. Phillion (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of curriculum and instruction* (pp. 45-65). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Winton, S. (2012). Positioning Ontario's character development initiative in/through its policy web of relationships. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 58(1), 1-16.

Chapter 5 (Article 3):

An Inductive Analysis of Teacher Candidates' Framings of Citizenship

Submitted to the *Journal of Curriculum Studies* as:

Butler, J. K. & Milley P.⁴ “Anything that the Ministry puts out is more of a guideline”: Teacher candidates’ policy agency to reframe the meaning of citizenship in the Ontario curriculum.

Abstract

Curriculum policy implementation occurs within a network of state, district, school, and classroom level policies that operate within and around educators’ use of formal curriculum policy documents. Starting from this observation, we report a study of teacher candidates’ policy framing activities in their use of citizenship education curriculum policy documents in the Province of Ontario, Canada. We use a frame analysis methodology to examine how four teacher candidates from one Teacher Education Program in Ontario 1) frame citizenship, 2) perceive their use of the curriculum policy document, and 3) perceive the influence of a network of curriculum policy influences in their schools. Findings reveal the candidates each have unique ways of framing citizenship, which align to varying degrees with how the documents frame citizenship. Candidates portray themselves as able to work around policy requirements and pressures where those are misaligned with their own framings of citizenship. On balance, however, broader policy pressures appear to reinforce formal curriculum policy that does not explicitly encourage civic engagement. We conclude the formal curriculum should incorporate a

⁴ On the co-authorship of this article, see the Declaration of Contributions in Appendix A.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

specific requirement in this area to provide policy leverage to educators interested in teaching through student civic action.

Keywords: Curriculum; Policy; Politics; Citizenship; Citizenship Education; Frame Analysis; Canada; Secondary School; High School

We cannot characterize policy making for schooling, including of course curriculum making, as an activity framed within common understandings of ends and means. Instead, schooling is best characterized as a site of struggle and negotiation and of constant translation of perspectives.

– Westbury, 2008, pp. 52-53

Schools constitute Anglo-American democracy in part by realizing in practice what were the intentions of policy designers; but educational policies also have unanticipated outcomes, thus reshaping or reforming democracy and, over time, giving the political ideas and practices of democracy new meaning.

– Manzer, 2003, p. 3

Introduction

In 2012, an article in the well-known and widely-read Canadian news magazine *Maclean's* caused controversy by accusing teachers of “brainwashing” students to advocate for social justice causes (Reynolds, 2012). The article portrayed the public school curriculum as having been increasingly politicized, a shift it attributed in part to policy decisions by both provincial governments and school boards. However, the primary source of this supposed politicization of the curriculum, according to the article, was teacher education programs. In a memorable phrase, teacher education programs were described as the “architects” of the educational system (Reynolds, 2012, para. 2). While the public controversy around this article focused on whether students’ civic engagement should include explicitly political activities, this portrayal of a direct causality between the curriculum of teacher education programs and the curriculum of public schools is also potentially problematic. As is well-established in the academic literature, educational policy is complex, with many competing policy influences and only loose coupling between particular inputs and outputs (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012; Westbury, 2016). Within this context, it is rarely clear to policy actors, including those involved in designing, delivering and studying in teacher education programs, as to where they should exert pressure to effect the intended policy direction in the system.

This article addresses the complex relationship between these two issues raised by the *Maclean's* article: 1) the policy problem of how best to prepare students as citizens within public schools; and 2) the agency of teacher candidates as policy actors to shape citizenship education in relation to the state-mandated curriculum. More specifically, we present a study of teacher candidates' policy framing activities in relation to the Province of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* (CWS 9 & 10) curriculum policy document (Ontario Ministry of Education [OME], 2013). The CWS 9 & 10 document contains five courses—two versions of Grade 9 geography (i.e. academic and applied streams), two versions of Grade 10 history (i.e. academic and applied), and Grade 10 civics (on “streaming” students through these two curricular tracks in Ontario, see Pinto, 2012). All students must complete one of these geography courses, one of these history courses, and the course on civics to graduate from secondary school in Ontario.

In what follows, we use frame analysis (Engel & Ortloff, 2009; Park, Daly, & Guerra, 2012) to examine the framing activities of four teacher candidates from one Teacher Education Program in Ontario, who taught courses from the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy in 2016 and 2017. The teacher candidates were part of a cohort who specialized in teaching in “urban” secondary schools—defined by the Ontario government as schools in urban neighbourhoods with “high rates of poverty, criminal and gang activity, a lack of community resources and student achievement issues” (OME, 2012, p. 1). In the Canadian context, the neighbourhoods characterized as “urban” are not necessarily located in city centres, but are low-income neighbourhoods with concentrated populations of immigrants and other racialized minorities (Butler, Kane, & Cooligan, 2019; Daniel, 2010). The four teacher candidates involved in this

study were placed at five different urban secondary schools across their two mandatory practicum experiences during their teacher education program.

Our findings illustrate the complex ways in which these teacher candidates use their professional judgement in navigating the relationships between their own values and ideals of citizenship and the official curriculum policy documents and other policy influences at work in urban schools. Building on existing research on teacher candidates as policy actors (Hara, 2017; Heineke, Ryan, & Tocci, 2015), we argue the participants in this study demonstrate a high degree of policy agency, including the willingness and ability to creatively reimagine the curriculum when it is misaligned with their own perspectives on citizenship education. At the same time, we explore how their efforts to engage students in forms of civic action encountered various obstacles, in particular with respect to the complex network of competing or non-complementary policies and procedures in Ontario urban secondary schools.

Literature Review

Curriculum Policy and Teacher Agency

Several years ago in the *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Connelly (2013) pointed to a surprising lack of research studying the official curriculum from a public policy perspective. More recently, however, Westbury and colleagues (2016) gave an overview of the small but growing research literature emerging in this important area. One of the key contributions in recent years to understanding curriculum-as-policy has been Connelly and Connelly's (2013) distinction of three different but interrelated types of curriculum policy. The curriculum policy document itself—especially its directive statements as to what should be taught—is what they call *formal curriculum policy*. An important aspect of formal curriculum policy is what Luke, Woods, and Weir (2013) call its “technical form,” or the degree to which it prescribes classroom

practice (p. 18). The technical form of curriculum policies can vary significantly, from providing highly prescriptive and detailed directions, to offering high-level goals that leave teachers significant leeway to shape instructional practice in the classroom. Formal curriculum policy, meanwhile, should also be understood as situated in a wider policy network. According to Connelly and Connelly (2013):

Guidelines [i.e., curriculum policy documents] are poised between what we call *implicit curriculum policy* in the form of contextual pressures on the matter of what should be taught in schools, and *prudential curriculum policy* in the form of practical adaptations, modifications and interpretations of guidelines. (p. 61; italics in original)

Implicit curriculum policy, therefore, incorporates the myriad other policies produced by ministries (or departments) of education and school boards, and by various other implicit policy actors (e.g., non-governmental or private sector organizations that prepare pedagogical resources as a way to influence civic education), that influence the enactment of curriculum policies in schools. Prudential curriculum policy incorporates school-level influences, as well as individual values and practices, which shape classroom-level instructional planning and delivery, and the assessment, evaluation, and reporting of learning in relation to formal and implicit curriculum policies.

Within this range of policy pressures and influences, teachers can practice varying degrees of policy agency. As Datnow (2012) notes: “The agency of teachers is part of a complex dynamic, interwoven with the structural and cultural features of the school, district, and the larger policy environment” (p. 194). In this sense, teachers’ policy agency is embedded in a range of policy forces, including the formal curriculum policies from which they are mandated to teach, but also other implicit and prudential curriculum policy pressures that variously constrain

and enable their choices about content and instruction. We use “policy agency” in this paper to refer to the degree to which teachers, and teacher candidates in particular, are able to work with and around these policy pressures to shape instruction according to their own professional judgement, values, and beliefs.

The policy agency of teacher candidates is an important field of study, as there is a gap in the literature addressing the role of teacher candidates as policy actors (Heineke et al., 2015). Among the few studies to address this question, Ball and colleagues (2012) describe how newly qualified teachers tend to “exhibit ‘policy dependency’ and high levels of compliance” (p. 63). Hara (2017), meanwhile, finds that teacher candidates treat policy compliance as a simple, binary choice—that is, one can be either *in* or *out* of compliance, and there are no grey areas or room for appropriating policy in ways that provide for agency. However, Heineke and colleagues (2015) found a great deal more agency in the teacher candidates they surveyed, emphasizing the ways in which teacher candidates in urban schools can take on the role of “advocating on behalf of diverse children” (p. 383). There is a need for further studies to enrich this developing research topic—hence, the research we report here.

Formal, Implicit, and Prudential Citizenship Curriculum Policy in Ontario

Historically, formal curriculum policies in Ontario shifted from being highly prescriptive of teachers’ practices in the early twentieth century to being very open-ended in the post-war period (Clausen, 2016; Gidney, 1999). The current, outcomes-based technical form of the Ontario curriculum policy documents, including the CWS 9 & 10 document that is the focus here, was established in a major curriculum reform undertaken in the late 1990s (Pinto, 2012). While the current formal curriculum policies are clearly more prescriptive than the “general statements of advice” provided by curriculum policies in the 1960s (Clausen, 2016, p. 216), the

overall effect of the current policies on teachers' policy agency is somewhat disputed. Bickmore (2014) and Broom (2015) find Canadian citizenship curriculum policies to be relatively flexible to local adaptation by teachers, while Hughes and Sears (2008) and Luke, Woods, and Weir (2013) link the outcomes-focused technical form of the policies to international best practices that respect teacher professionalism. However, viewing the post-1990s curriculum policies in Ontario from a historical perspective, Gidney (1999) and Clausen (2016) see them as a return toward the highly prescriptive policies of the early twentieth century.

Anderson and Ben Jaafar (2003) acknowledge that the outcomes-based format of Ontario's curriculum policy documents can support teacher professionalism, but suggest that these policies should also be understood with reference to the wider policy network surrounding them: "This 'professionalization' argument is countered by increased measures to hold teachers accountable for student learning, and to regulate the working conditions in which teachers do their work" (p. 42). There is a tension, therefore, between the open-ended technical form of the formal curriculum policy and the restrictive network of *implicit curriculum policies* that surround it. This includes, in particular, the policies on student assessment and evaluation that significantly constrain teachers' agency in using the formal curriculum policies (see OME, 2010). Pinto (2015) describes the emergence of the network of implicit curriculum policies:

Since 2003, policy layers have accumulated with regulation of areas previously not governed by any provincially sanctioned policy, including prescriptive mandates for assessment and evaluation in classrooms, environmental practices, mandated daily physical activity, mental health policy, narrow equity mandates, changes to English-language learning and financial literacy, to name a few. (p. 143)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

In relation to citizenship education, Winton (2012) draws particular attention to the emergence of a network of “safe schools” and “character development” policies in the early twenty-first century. According to Joshee and colleagues (2016), these policies are reactions to the perception of various threats to student safety, including bullying and other forms of violence, and attempt to control student actions by making students individually responsible for the school environment. Because these policies are connected to Ontario’s citizenship education policies, they can also be understood as implicit policy pressures that push citizenship education away from any form of collective civic action and toward individualized compliance with the status quo (Winton, 2012).

Within this contradictory context of formal and implicit curriculum policies, teachers’ policy agency with respect to citizenship education is reportedly highly variable. For example, Evans (2006) finds a significant gap between the self-reported values of teachers and their pedagogical practices, and particularly notes that teachers value engaging students in civic action beyond the classroom but rarely do this in practice. Llewellyn, Cook and Molina (2010) attribute this problem in part to excessive formal and implicit policy pressures in Ontario: “Teachers pointed to long lists of content and assessments as the reason why essays and tests took precedence over interactive lessons that may encourage students to engage in democratic reform, such as running meetings and even civil protest” (p. 802). On the other hand, Schweisfurth (2006) presents a case study of several highly engaged teachers who creatively interpret the civics curriculum to present their own model of global citizenship to students, as an act of prudential curriculum policy at the school-level. More recently, Evans, Evans, and Vemic (2019) suggest that practices of civic engagement have become increasingly directed away from institutional politics and toward informal engagement through social media. Despite the growing

emphasis on mediating civic engagement through the internet, some scholars still advocate the unique advantages of students undertaking direct civic action in their communities (Banks, 2017; Broom, Di Mascio, & Fleming, 2017). McLean and colleagues (2017), meanwhile, argue that students often desire to engage in collective civic action but are only given opportunities to participate in individual activities such as volunteering to work with civil society organizations. This article further explores the complex network of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies around citizenship education in Ontario through the perspectives of teacher candidates learning to navigate this network.

Theoretical Framework

In our study of citizenship education policy, we understand citizenship as a holistic network of beliefs and practices connecting the person, the state, and society (Butler, 2018; Cohen, 1999). Such an approach to the concept of citizenship incorporates a wide range of possible perspectives on citizenship, including such elements as legal status, affective identification, and transformative action. In a previous paper (Butler, 2018), we drew on the work of Charles Taylor (2004) and other political philosophers to develop a typology of five dimensions of citizenship—political, public, cultural, juridical, and economic—that we draw on here to understand the framing of citizenship in formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies.

The political dimension of citizenship incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as participating in collective decision-making, with particular emphasis on formal democratic structures at the level of the nation-state, but also on similar formal structures within or beyond the nation-state (e.g. municipal politics). The public dimension, meanwhile, incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as constituting a shared realm of social

interaction and communal participation beyond any particular situated community, with particular emphasis on the nation-state as an “imagined community” in Anderson’s (2006) sense. While the public realm blurs into the political realm, the public dimension captures the mechanisms of collective action that operate beyond or outside of formal state-enforced structures, such as through civil society organizations. The cultural dimension is related to the public dimension, but emphasizes smaller-scale and more organic communities, whether these are localized, face-to-face communities or transnational, mediated communities (Banks, 2008). The organic communities of the cultural dimension can also be understood as the experiential basis from which the imagined community of the public realm is projected (Anderson, 2006; Taylor, 2004).

The juridical dimension incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as operating within a universalized moral order that both endows us with inherent rights but also imposes ethical obligations on us (Cohen, 1999; Taylor, 2004). In this sense, the juridical dimension incorporates the formal legal status of citizenship, but also looks beyond it to the philosophical assumptions that underpin contemporary legal structures. As Cohen (1999) notes in her analysis of the elements of citizenship, the assumptions of the juridical realm are fundamentally different from those of the political realm: “Apparently the juridical and democratic components of the citizenship principle are in tension: the former universalizing and inclusive but apolitical and individualistic, the latter political, internally egalitarian and uniform but externally exclusive and particularizing” (p. 250). The economic dimension is similar to the juridical dimension in this regard. It incorporates the ways in which we imagine ourselves as autonomous actors operating within a universalized realm of mutually-beneficial exchange (Taylor, 2004). Like the juridical dimension, the economic dimension is universalizing but also

individualizing, as opposed to the political dimension (and, to a lesser degree, the public and cultural dimensions), which imagine delimited and exclusive communities but also enable thicker forms of participation and belonging.

To make sense of how policy actors engage with these dimensions of citizenship within particular policy contexts, we take up frame analysis as a methodological approach (Engel & Ortloff, 2009; Park et al., 2012). Frame analysis studies the language of policy actors to understand how they make sense of a policy context, including what aspects they include and exclude from their descriptions (Entman, 1993). A common focus is how they articulate the problem for which a particular policy is presented as a solution (Gusfield, 1981). Public policy frame analysts refer to the rhetorical work of framing problems as *diagnostic framing*; while, the work of framing solutions is known as *prognostic framing* (Fernández, 2018; Park et al., 2012). Overall, the emphasis is on finding the coherence within the policy actor's worldview. As Wagenaar (2011) describes, for frame analysts, the assumptions that enable policy practitioners to navigate the field of public policy “combine thought, valuation, action, and moral imperative in one more or less coherent framework of more or less self-evident understanding” (p. 83). This assumption of internal coherence in human actions aligns well with the philosophical approach of Taylor (2004), whose work underpins our typology of the dimensions of citizenship, and we therefore bring these different theories together in our analysis in a heuristic manner.

In this article, therefore, we use frame analysis to find the internal coherence of each teacher candidates' approach to citizenship, in terms of how they frame the problem to which citizenship education is a solution, and what dimensions of citizenship they emphasize. We then track the indirect and recursive manner in which they negotiate this framing within and around the significant demands and impositions of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies

on their practice. As Park, Daly and Guerra (2012) describe: “framing works as a tool to organize experiences by giving them meaning but frame analysts also suggest that it is a contested and negotiated process, mediated by relationships of authority and power” (p. 648). Park and colleagues were writing about the framing practices of educational administrators, but their comment on power relations takes on a very different meaning in relation to teacher candidates, who are subject to multiple and often conflicting authorities, both within the context of their teacher education program and the schools within which their practicum placements take place. Nonetheless, frame analysis enables a focus on their agency as policy actors. As Ocelík and Osička (2014) suggest, “framing is a policy-making activity itself” (p. 99). It is this “policy-making activity” of framing that is the focus of our analysis, with particular attention to how the teacher candidates engage with what Westbury (2008, 2016) calls the public narratives of schooling promoted by various curriculum policies.

Methodology

This article reports on a frame analysis of data collected through interviews with teacher candidates in urban schools in relation to their understandings of citizenship and their engagements with the CWS 9 & 10 document. These findings were drawn from a multi-year research project which studied teacher candidates’ engagements with citizenship education and digital technologies in urban secondary schools in Ontario (Kane, Ng-A-Fook, Radford, & Butler, 2017). Teacher candidates from one urban education program who agreed to participate were interviewed three times over the course of their two-year teacher education program—once after each practicum and once at the end of the program. These interviews followed a semi-structured interview protocol, which asked a series of questions about their experience in their school, their understanding of citizenship in relation to the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum, and their

engagement with “digital citizenship,” an approach to citizenship education being promoted by various levels of government, including the local school boards (Kane et al., 2017). Following common practice for semi-structured interviews, the protocol provided a guideline but the interviewee was given significant leeway to direct the conversation (Wagenaar, 2011). As a result, the length of interviews varied considerably, from under 20 minutes to over an hour. Full verbatim transcriptions were produced for each interview.

Among the teacher candidates who participated in 2016-2017, four were selected for the study reported in this article based on the inclusion criteria that they had taught at least one course from the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum in their practicum placements. Between them, these four teacher candidates had taught in five different urban schools administered by two school boards. Because each candidate was interviewed three times, the data set consisted of 12 interview transcripts.

These data were subjected to a qualitative frame analysis, involving three separate rounds of inductive coding. Throughout this process, the three interviews for each teacher candidate were analyzed together to study overall patterns in each teacher candidate’s framing, but the origins of codes and passages were tracked to observe any changes in each candidate’s framing over time.

The first two rounds of coding followed the practice of initial coding, which is intended to provide a first survey of the data that is both closely detailed and open-ended (Saldaña, 2012). In particular, the coding during those two rounds used what Saldaña (2012) calls process coding, which involves using gerunds (i.e. verbs ending in “-ing”) to capture key actions in the data. Wagenaar (2011) advises that using gerunds to code for actions is a helpful way to keep the coding focused on what interviewees are *doing*, either verbally or in their described actions,

rather than jumping too quickly to theoretical categories. In keeping with the practice of frame analysis, particular attention was paid at this stage to the act of diagnosing policy problems (Entman, 1993; Fernández, 2018).

The third round used focused coding, a process in which initial codes with particular explanatory power are identified and other codes are clustered under them to form categories (Saldaña, 2012). The focused coding began by copying the initial codes onto a page and organizing them into various groupings to explore potential categories (Saldaña, 2012). Once satisfactory categories had emerged, a key code was selected, or a new code was developed, to capture each category. As Saldaña (2012) suggests, the key code was not always the one most frequently used, but rather the one with greatest explanatory power. The data and the rounds of coding for the twelve teacher candidate interviews are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18. Summary of data sources and coding cycles for teacher candidate interviews.

Teacher Candidate	Interviews Analyzed (by month and length of audio)	Coding Cycle	Coding Method	# of Codes
Stephen ⁵	May 2016 - 0:16:31	1	initial/in vivo coding	184
	January 2017 - 0:43:13	2	initial/process coding	16
	April 2017 – 0:32:46	3	focused/process coding	5
Brianna	May 2016 - 1:07:47	1	initial/in vivo coding	248
	January 2017 – 1:02:39	2	initial/process coding	21
	April 2017 – 0:46:01	3	focused/process coding	7
Daniel	May 2016 - 0:17:27	1	initial/in vivo coding	185
	February 2017 – 0:40:32	2	initial/process coding	16
	April 2017 – 0:22:18	3	focused/process coding	5
Adam	May 2016 – 0:42:20	1	initial/in vivo coding	257
	January 2017 - 0:43:18	2	initial/process coding	23
	April 2017 – 0:20:28	3	focused/process coding	7

⁵ All names are pseudonyms.

Findings

This section begins with an overview of key features of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document, in order to provide some context for the findings. We then turn to our analysis of the framing activities of the four teacher candidates. Each teacher candidate is presented individually, to highlight their unique framing practices. In each case, our objective is to present: 1) the teacher candidate's framing of citizenship in relation to diagnostic framing as well as the typology of the dimensions of citizenship; and 2) the teacher candidate's reflections on their experiences of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies in teaching citizenship in urban schools.

The Canadian and World Studies 9 & 10 Curriculum Policy Document

Similar to other curriculum policy documents in the Province, the CWS 9 & 10 document is centred on a series of discrete statements of student learning outcomes, which are uniquely called "overall expectations." According to provincial policy, teachers are responsible for planning and delivering classroom learning based on these overall expectations, and for assessing, evaluating and reporting on student learning relative to them (OME, 2010). Each overall expectation is supported in the curriculum policy documents with several "specific expectations," which provide more detail and specificity on the desired learning outcomes. These specific expectations are intended to support detailed planning for classroom delivery and assessment, but teachers are not required to incorporate any or all of them. Each curriculum policy document also includes an introductory section, commonly referred to as the "frontmatter," which presents higher-level guidance on various pedagogical issues.

One of the key elements in the frontmatter of the CWS 9 & 10 document is the "Citizenship Education Framework," which is presented as a resource to help teachers

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

incorporate citizenship education into all five of the courses addressed in the document (OME, 2013 p. 10). The framework is portrayed visually as three concentric circles divided into four quadrants. The surrounding text describes the main features: “the outer circle lists the four main elements of citizenship education – active participation, identity, attributes, and structures” and “the second circle outlines ways in which students may develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship” (OME, 2013, p. 9). On the whole, this framework presents what many would consider a reasonably holistic and balanced approach to citizenship education (e.g., Evans, Evans, & Vemic, 2019), incorporating a combination of elements of what we have called the political, public, juridical, and cultural dimensions of citizenship. However, as we have argued elsewhere, the framing of citizenship presented in this framework does not align with the framing of the curricular expectations, which present a narrower emphasis on the economic dimension of citizenship at the expense of other dimensions (Butler, 2018).

Stephen: Framing Citizenship as Fostering Social Integration

Stephen framed citizenship primarily in terms of the political and public dimensions of citizenship, which centre on developing a sense of shared belonging within the nation-state. With this ideal in mind, Stephen focused on the idea of social integration, in the sense of bringing all legal citizens into a shared sense of affective identification, belonging, and participation. As he described:

But to be a Canadian citizen means we're all living in this society together. We have to respect one another, we have to empathize with one another, we have to just support each other, I think. And I realize different people have different conceptions of that, but for me it means we need to help each other out. That's kind of the cost of living in a society.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Stephen's diagnostic framing of citizenship, therefore, related to a lack of social integration, particularly as he perceived it through his experience as a teacher in an urban school with a high population of new immigrant students. His prognostic framing of citizenship education emphasized fostering the integration of students in various communities, scaling from the school up to the nation-state:

A lot of the students, their families are from different countries. They may be recent arrivals. And so I think this idea that we have to support each other, and we have to understand each other, that takes on a higher level of prominence, when we're talking about people who are coming from Sudan or Somalia or wherever they're coming from, because we need to help these students integrate into the society.

His implicit theory of action about how to address this problem with integration started with active participation in community-building activities, which then leads to the development of affective identification.

In terms of his engagement with curriculum policy, Stephen taught History 10 courses in both of his practicum experiences. He presented himself as having a complex relationship to the formal curriculum policy. On the one hand, he spoke of a history teacher in his school who did not use the curriculum documents at all in his lesson planning and instruction. Stephen characterized this as "bizarre." On the other hand, he described himself as ignoring the Citizenship Education Framework in the CWS 9 & 10 document:

I know every document has the citizenship section in it. I haven't really looked at that because I feel like with my own experiences ... I've spent some time thinking about what it means to be a citizen in modern Canada. So I feel like: I haven't looked at it, but I have an idea already. So anything that the Ministry puts out is more a guideline in that respect.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Elsewhere he described himself as on a “spectrum” between ignoring the curriculum and following it by rote. Rather than either of these two extremes, he creatively used the curriculum to achieve his own ideas of citizenship education: “I can take little bits from different expectations and craft a narrative that will enhance citizenship and enhance critical thinking skills within the students.” In line with his broader framing of citizenship, he saw the creation of these historical narratives as primarily serving to foster social integration among his diverse students:

From the historical context, me teaching two Grade 10 history classes, I try to emphasize certain things in the curriculum that might help students integrate today. So I talk about racism in the past, I talk about how for a long time Canadian society really didn’t accept newcomers. And my hope by doing that is that we can all learn together, we can all learn from the past and we can try to make our future and our present better.

As mentioned above, the overall framing of the CWS 9 & 10 document emphasizes the economic dimension of citizenship. Stephen, however, illustrates the importance of prudential curriculum policy in translating formal curriculum policy into the classroom. Stephen selectively drew on the formal curriculum policy, emphasizing particular expectations that allowed him to focus on the political and public dimensions of citizenship, in order to bring it into alignment with his own objective of fostering social integration.

Brianna: Framing Citizenship as Creating Inclusive Spaces

Brianna’s diagnostic framing of citizenship centred on her experience as a Black woman. The core problem she described was systemic, institutionalized racism, extending from the level of the school up to level of the nation-state. A key concern that she returned to repeatedly was the exclusion of minorities from positions of authority, particularly the teaching profession in

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Ontario. She described how minority students confided in her that they were not comfortable approaching white authority figures: “Whether it’s concerning race or religion, and they told me blatantly, they are afraid to approach other teachers because of what they will say or them undervaluing or invalidating their feelings.” She also problematized institutional efforts to create a sense of common culture by obscuring cultural differences in favour of homogeneity. In this sense, her framing ran counter to Stephen’s, in that she challenged the validity of social integration as an objective. Instead, she advocated for schools and other institutions to explicitly recognize, cultivate, and celebrate their diverse communities.

In this context, Brianna’s prognostic framing of citizenship explicitly required active individual and collective efforts to counteract institutionalized racism and to foster inclusion. Interestingly, she expressed this using a language of social roles:

For me, it usually comes after respect and having different roles. Understand your role, and be willing to embrace the environment around you. But that’s citizenship for me in general. How well can you be inclusive in welcoming others, respecting others, and understand that you do have a role in your society or in your place. And can you follow through with that role.

Brianna’s framing of citizenship, therefore, combined the cultural and juridical dimensions. She saw the primary objective of citizenship education as strengthening organic cultural communities, but she saw this goal as significantly constrained by the power of institutional structures, including both schools and nation-states, to impose cultural homogeneity. In order to counteract institutionalized racism, she suggested a need for overarching structures of juridical responsibility in order to create expectations for individuals to prioritize inclusion and diversity over institutionalized homogeneity.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Brianna's engagement with citizenship curriculum policy was largely indirect in her first year in the teacher education program. While she had volunteered in a civics class, her first practicum experience was exclusively focused on a separate teaching subject. Nonetheless, she strongly identified as a scholar and teacher of history, and spoke at length in her first interview about the history curriculum, critiquing it for a lack of minority representation:

The curriculum is not inclusive, I don't find. They have made a change to include women a lot more. But even then it's western European women, because when they talk about women's suffrage, who are the few ladies who got women to vote for their rights? But then again, if you look at who was allowed to vote, it was white women and white men. So is this inclusive? You have to own that, but you can't own that if you're a person of colour.

She went on to describe her planned approach to teaching history, which would significantly adapt the curriculum expectations with the goal of teaching more inclusive historical content. Even while creatively adapting the curriculum for her own purposes, however, she was critical of the unintended consequences of teacher agency in the curriculum. Asked about the openness of the curriculum, she reiterated her concern with the impact of systemic racism on teachers' choices: "Yes, and that is a problem because we have the choice in many ways and we decide to choose things that I'm not entirely happy about." Here and elsewhere, she seemed to advocate for a curriculum that would be more prescriptive about teaching for inclusion.

After teaching civics in her second practicum experience, Brianna spoke more approvingly of the curriculum, particularly for the way it encouraged civic engagement beyond the school: "Because of the Grade 10 civics class and the content that we were discussing, it was impossible not to make the connection inside and out." Brianna's positive experience of the

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

civics curriculum, however, was filtered through the advocacy of a local educational non-governmental organization (NGO), whose programming she used in her classroom. The Ontario civics curriculum requires students to “develop a plan of action” to address “a civic issue of personal interest,” but not to actually implement that plan (OME, 2013, p. 156). The NGO translates the civics curriculum into a program that requires both developing a plan *and* implementing it. Brianna’s resulting description of the curriculum as encouraging civic action, despite the actual content of the document, illustrates the potential power of implicit curriculum policies to reframe formal curriculum policies in practice.

While Brianna advocated the importance of fostering civic engagement in students’ communities, she also described the obstacles to actually engaging students directly in their urban neighbourhood:

The people who are not from the community might feel: “I’m scared, I don’t know this community, I don’t know what’s going on.” And then the kids who are from the community, I feel like they have a sense of belonging because this is where they’re from, but it’s also a sense of shame because: “This is where I’m from. This is what happens when I leave after school. Police cars are prevalent. Yes, sometimes I get stopped.”

She avoided these issues by having students research and develop an anti-racism campaign through digital media. She tried to maintain a local focus to this assignment, by emphasizing the relevance of these issues to students’ communities: “I wanted them to see current issues, but issues that were directly affecting their school, [their city], and then Canada, and then the entire world.” However, the lessons she described largely emphasized more of a global citizenship perspective, based both on the globalized nature of digital technologies and the transnational connections of her diverse students. Here again, Brianna’s framing of citizenship bridged the

cultural dimension (engaging with students' urban neighbourhoods) to the juridical dimension (global citizenship mediated through digital technology). The political and public dimensions, including the nation-state but also other institutional structures, were presented primarily as obstacles to the enactment of citizenship, due to the systemic nature of institutionalized racism.

Daniel: Framing Citizenship as Building Common Understandings

Daniel's framing of citizenship emphasized the juridical dimension. He was focused on interpersonal communication, rather than more concrete forms of civic action, and on the development of common understandings between individuals in a globalized field of activity mediated by digital technologies. His diagnostic framing, therefore, emphasized biases or prejudices that prevent interpersonal understanding: "Obviously you can't get rid of bias. We all have our own bias but if you try to limit it then you're being a good citizen. You're trying to be more open to other people, other citizens." A key example of this bias was the prejudice he perceived against his school and its urban neighbourhood. Daniel himself described his school's neighbourhood as "really rough." Asked for more detail, he explained:

During my practicum, we had a couple of secure schools [i.e., school lock-down procedures] because there was a shooting or stabbing on the street in the surrounding neighborhood. But see, that's what we try as a school, we show them that we're safe here. It's different out there, but we're safe here, and we want to show [the city] that this community's still good. You know what I mean? You can't just have your prejudice over us because we're in a bad neighborhood that you've heard everything about. So we try to bring active citizenship in defending our community.

He went on at some length to separate the safe school from the unsafe neighbourhood. When asked about whether there are any school-based programs that involve students in their

immediate community, he dismissed that as a possibility, saying: “We obviously stay on the school grounds.”

Daniel taught Grade 9 geography in both of his practicum experiences. Of the four teacher candidates included here, Daniel appeared to be the most comfortable with the direction of the formal curriculum policy. However, his comfort seemed to result from a basic alignment between his own prudential curriculum policies and what he found in the curriculum documents. Where this alignment was not present, he portrayed himself as willing to work outside the bounds of the formal curriculum policy. Asked about the place of citizenship in the curriculum, he said: “It is there but it’s not obvious. It’s kind of the teacher’s job to make it obvious.” Practically, this primarily involved having his students engage in digital interactions (e.g., through the comments on YouTube videos) with the goal of building mutual understanding within a globalized community—what he referred to as “active citizenship in the online world.” While he emphasized a form of global citizenship over citizenship in the nation-state, he discussed Canada as providing a space of safety within which citizens could be free to engage in globalized communications through digital media. Daniel’s emphasis on digital media in teaching citizenship reinforced his framing of citizenship as primarily a matter of communication in the juridical realm, but he also explicitly described his use of digital technologies as complying with a school board policy initiative. As we have discussed elsewhere, various Ontario school boards have a network of implicit curriculum policies on “digital citizenship,” which are communicated to teachers and students through such devices as posters displayed in school hallways (Kane et al., 2017).

Adam: Framing Citizenship as Acting For Collective Progress

Adam's diagnostic framing of citizenship focused on the fragmentation of society into individuals pursuing selfish goals. He described this problem particularly within the educational system: "I think that a lot of times when I'm reading curriculum documents and when students understand assignments, it's for their own benefit and it's something that they're doing to really push their own careers or their own education further." His prognostic framing of citizenship education, therefore, was focused on redirecting the individual toward collective purposes:

I got into the education field because I whole-heartedly believe in the progression of humanity. And that's my number one drive. To become a teacher. And so, as a teacher I want to shape the next generation. Kind of push them in the right direction.

Adam's prognostic framing included an explicit theory of action regarding how to move from the problem of fragmentation to the goal of contributing to collective progress. This process starts with an affective incentive ("inspiration"), then building awareness, then involvement with the local community (e.g., partnering with local charities), then finally engagement at the global level. On the whole, Adam's framing of citizenship presented a hybrid of the juridical and public dimensions of citizenship—incorporating the global scale and moral weight of the former with the large-scale collective identification of the latter.

Adam taught History 10 in his first practicum. At that point, he spoke approvingly of the potential of the formal curriculum policy to foster civic action:

It's good because they give you a little bit more freedom that way to sculpt your lessons. And throw in your own ideas. Within the history curriculum, they have a whole section on the Citizenship Framework. And they expect you to implement that throughout your lessons. That's a super, super important thing to have within the curriculum.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

He went on to explicitly link the Citizenship Education Framework to his framing of the purpose of citizenship: “That’s the really important thing about establishing that whole Citizenship Framework within your teaching. To make a difference. To try your best to progress.” In Adam’s later interviews, however, a misalignment appeared to have developed between Adam’s prudential curriculum policies and his perception of the formal curriculum policies. He became critical of the curriculum’s failure to direct students beyond awareness to action:

It’s difficult to try and push students to actually act on their own without giving them a solid assignment or solid game plan. Student agency is something that is very hard to structure because you want to let them do their own thing but at the same time if you let them do their own thing they have no guidance whatsoever. I definitely think my opinion has changed and I think that the curriculum should reflect some kind of concrete action plan rather than just looking at the issues.

Here and elsewhere, he seemed to advocate not just including civic action in the curriculum as a pedagogical option, but actually requiring it as a policy directive.

Despite Adam’s explicit goal of moving students beyond awareness to civic action, he seemed to encounter a recurrent challenge in which his projects got stuck at the level of awareness. While he spoke highly of the value of digital media for engaging students in citizenship, he also described how students “get caught in that social media hole” of discussing a problem but never acting on it. A similar problem can be seen in an attempt he made to reconstruct a local greenhouse as an environmental education project:

Unfortunately, the reconstruction of the greenhouse was kind of put on the backburner because there was a lot of paperwork to fill out and it seemed like it was too much of a task to handle. But going along with the revamp of the greenhouse we had an idea to start

this [club] where we would basically bring up environmental issues that the students might want to get involved in or at least bring awareness to. [...] It's basically just getting together with the students and talking about local environmental issues, global environmental issues, and just kind of making the school a little bit more aware of some of these dilemmas that we have on the environmental side.

In the context of his broader framing of citizenship, these examples illustrate Adam's perception of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policy influences that impacted his ability to enact his own prudential curriculum policy goal of engaging students in civic action.

Discussion

In keeping with the findings of Heineke and colleagues (2015), the four teacher candidates in our study demonstrated a high degree of policy agency in navigating the complex influences of citizenship curriculum policies in urban schools. Each of the teacher candidates had their own clearly articulated framing of citizenship, which aligned with their perception of the framing in the *formal curriculum* in the CWS 9 & 10 document to varying degrees. The four teacher candidates, meanwhile, framed citizenship in terms of *prudential curriculum* policies that emphasized different aspects of the typology: Stephen's can be described as political-public, Brianna's as cultural-juridical, Daniel's as juridical, and Adam's as juridical-public. Where there was a misalignment between their own prudential curriculum policies and their perception of the framing of the formal curriculum policy, all four teacher candidates demonstrated the willingness and the ability to creatively reimagine the curriculum to achieve their own policy goals.

A key area of tension between the formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies described here is in the area of student civic engagement. All four teacher candidates emphasized active civic engagement beyond the school as part of their prognostic framing of citizenship,

though they all framed this objective in subtly different ways. Stephen and Daniel framed civic engagement as more of a cognitive activity (see Llewellyn et al., 2010), with Stephen emphasizing the development of students' identification with Canada and Daniel emphasizing interpersonal communication through digital technologies. Brianna and Adam, meanwhile, both expressed a desire to engage students in more transformative forms of civic action (McLean et al., 2017). These different *prudential curriculum* policies resulted in different experiences of the *formal curriculum* policy. While Adam was initially enthusiastic about the Citizenship Education Framework as a resource to encourage students to move from awareness of social issues to direct action, he later became more critical of the lack of clear direction in the curriculum for student civic action. On the whole, however, the teacher candidates did not view the formal curriculum policy as a significant impediment to active citizenship. The teacher candidates felt comfortable working around it, whether ignoring the Citizenship Education Framework as an act of *prudential curriculum* policy, as Stephen reported doing, or supplementing it with *implicit curriculum* policies, as Brianna described doing in relation to the NGO resources.

At the same time, there were a range of implicit and prudential policy influences the teacher candidates observed as actively discouraging student civic engagement. These ranged from Brianna's concerns about the ethical complexities of engaging students in a marginalized urban neighbourhood (Daniel, 2010) to Adam's experience of his greenhouse plans being thwarted by administrative obstacles and "paperwork" (Llewellyn et al., 2010). Daniel's rejection of the possibility of leaving the schoolgrounds seems to combine these two obstacles, suggesting both his own fears about the "rough" urban neighbourhood and the policy pressures linking citizenship education to safe and orderly school environments (Winton, 2012). Meanwhile, a range of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies operate to redirect

civic engagement online (Kane et al., 2017; Evans et al., 2019). While the teacher candidates, particularly Daniel, portray online communication as a positive form of civic engagement, Adam raises a valid concern about whether excessive online engagement is a further incentive toward endless talk about social issues with no space for transformative action (Kane et al., 2017).

Brianna's experience with the NGO resources indicates that implicit curriculum policies can both encourage and enable civic engagement outside the classroom. Nonetheless, the evidence presented here suggests that, on balance, the overall effect of the complex network of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies in Ontario urban schools is to discourage student civic action, particularly where it involves physically leaving the school grounds.

Both Brianna and Adam seemed to suggest that the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum should be reformed to include stronger policy directives toward the inclusion of minority perspectives and active civic engagement, respectively. Notably, since these interviews were conducted, the Ontario Ministry of Education (2018) released a new revision of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum, in which the history courses were edited with the explicit purpose of including more Indigenous perspectives. This revision can be seen a small step toward satisfying Brianna's concerns, although the changes were limited in that they did not include the geography and civics courses. More work is needed in this regard. Meanwhile, Adam's concerns about the lack of encouragement toward civic engagement remain highly relevant. Within the current CWS 9 & 10 formal curriculum policy, we believe that the inclusion of expectations that more directly encourage civic action would be a positive step. This must be understood within the wider policy context described here—there are many other policy pressures discouraging active civic engagement, and teachers who have hesitations about such activities would have the agency to work around the requirements. Within this policy context, however, more direct expectations

relating to civic engagement would serve two purposes. First, they would encourage teachers to at least consider these activities as possibilities. More importantly, they would give teachers like Adam policy leverage to justify such activities in the face of the implicit policy pressures discouraging them. Such a reform may be necessary to bring Ontario citizenship education into greater balance, if one believes that civic engagement within students' neighbourhoods and communities is a policy option that should be enabled in public schools (Banks, 2017; Broom et al., 2017).

Conclusion

This article has analyzed the framing activities of a group of teacher candidates in relation to Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document, drawing on a theoretical lens that combines a typology of citizenship education (Butler, 2018) with an understanding that teacher agency takes shape within a network of formal, implicit, and prudential policies. Viewed from this theoretical vantage point, the teacher candidates demonstrated a high degree of policy agency, including the willingness and ability to creatively reimagine the curriculum to bring it into better alignment with their professional judgement, values, and knowledge relating to citizenship and citizenship education. At the same time, this article illustrated the barriers they encountered in their efforts to engage their students in forms of civic action. The network of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies operating within and around Ontario schools exerts contradictory pressures on teachers and students, and we have noted that some of these pressures encourage and enable student civic engagement. Nonetheless, our findings here suggest that the overall balance of policy pressures in Ontario schools currently serves to discourage student engagement in civic action, particularly when it involves physically leaving the school grounds.

In our introduction, we presented an example of a magazine article that positioned teacher education programs as the “architects” of an effort to “brainwash” students to advocate for social justice issues. Based on the research presented here, it appears the policy forces at work in relation to civic education in public schools are more complex than that article suggested. Our findings report on a small sample of teacher candidates, who were part of the same cohort of the same urban education program, and taught in some of the same schools. Yet, they framed citizenship education in remarkably different ways. This suggests that teacher candidates are not the uniform politicizing influence suggested in the magazine article. It also suggests that teacher candidates have more policy agency than the article implied, and that the power of teacher education programs to direct their pedagogical choices is limited at best. At the same time, the teacher candidates described a range of formal, implicit, and prudential curriculum policies that variously constrained their pedagogical choices, particularly in relation to integrating authentic civic engagement activities. In this regard, their policy agency has limitations, and it would be overly simplistic to assume that new teachers, or their teacher education programs, could single-handedly implement a widespread change in the educational system. If there has been a widespread and uniform politicization of the curriculum—which our findings suggest is unlikely—the explanation for it will be embedded in a much more complex and interconnected network of policy influences.

Acknowledgement

This research was funded through a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Insight Development Grant.

References

- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.
- Anderson, S. E. & Ben Jaafar, S. (2003). *Policy trends in Ontario education: 1990-2003*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto.
- Ball, S. J., Maguire, M., & Braun, A. (2012). *How schools do policy: Policy enactments in secondary schools*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher*, 37(3), 129-139.
- Banks, J. A. (2017). Failed citizenship and transformative civic education. *Educational Researcher*, 46(7), 366-377.
- Bickmore, K. (2014). Citizenship education in Canada: 'Democratic' engagement with differences, conflicts and equity issues? *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 9(3), 257-278.
- Broom, C. (2015). Social studies in three Canadian provinces: A comparative exploration. *Comparative and International Education*, 44(1), Article 4.
- Broom, C., Di Mascio, A., & Fleming, D. (2017). Citizenship education in Canada, past and present. In C. Broom (Ed.), *Youth civic engagement in a globalized world: Citizenship education in comparative perspective* (pp. 15-36). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Butler, J. K. (2018). Heterogeneous practices and homogenizing policies: Towards a typological analysis of Canadian citizenship education in Ontario. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 13(1), 61-81.

- Butler, J. K., Kane, R. G., & Cooligan, F. R. (2019). The closure of Rideau High School: A case study in the political economy of urban education in Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 191, 83-105.
- Clausen, K. W. (2016). From vigour to rigour: *Tensionality* and Ontario's unbalanced curriculum, 1963-2013. In N. Ng-A-Fook, A. Ibrahim, & G. Reis (Eds.), *Provoking curriculum studies: Strong poetry and the arts of the possible in education* (110-128). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cohen, L. G. (1999). Changing paradigms of citizenship and the exclusiveness of the demos. *International Sociology*, 14(3), 245-268.
- Connelly, F. M. (2013). Joseph Schwab, curriculum, curriculum studies and educational reform. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 45(5), 622-639.
- Connelly, F. M. & Connelly, G. (2013). Curriculum policy guidelines: Context, structures and functions. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, Syllabus Design and Equity: A Primer and Model* (pp. 54-73). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Daniel, B.-J. (2010). Reimagining the urban: A Canadian perspective. *Urban Education*, 45(6), 822-839.
- Datnow, A. (2012). Teacher agency in educational reform: Lessons from social networks research. *American Journal of Education*, 119(1), 193-201.
- Engel, L. C. & Ortloff, D. H. (2009). From the local to the supranational: Curriculum reform and the production of the ideal citizen in two federal systems, Germany and Spain. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 179-198.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Evans, M. (2006). Educating for citizenship: What teachers say and what teachers do. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(2), 410-35.
- Evans, M., Evans, R., & Vemic, A. (2019). Youth civic engagement and formal education in Canada: Shifting expressions, associated challenges. In A. Peterson, G. Stahl, & H. Soong (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Citizenship and Education*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fernández, M. B. (2018). Framing teacher education: Conceptions of teaching, teacher education, and justice in Chilean national policies. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 26(34), 1-37.
- Gidney, R. D. (1999). *From Hope to Harris: The reshaping of Ontario's schools*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Gusfield, J. R. (1981). *The culture of public problems: Drinking-driving and the symbolic order*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hara, M. (2017). Rethinking equity: Preservice teachers' perceptions and practice around policy. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 92(4), 466-85.
- Heineke, A. J., Ryan, A. M., & Tocci, C. (2015). Teaching, learning, and leading: Preparing teachers as educational policy actors. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 66(4), 382-394.
- Hughes, A. S. & Sears, A. (2008). The struggle for citizenship education in Canada: The centre cannot hold. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of education for citizenship and democracy* (pp. 124-138). London, UK: SAGE.
- Joshee, R., Peck, C., Thompson, L. A., Chareka, O., & Sears, A. (2016). Multicultural education, diversity, and citizenship in Canada. In J. L. Bianco & A. Bal (Eds.), *Learning from*

- difference: Comparative accounts of multicultural education* (pp. 35-50). Cham, CH: Springer.
- Kane, R. G., Ng-A-Fook, N., Radford, L., & Butler, J. K. (2017). Conceptualizing and contextualizing digital citizenship in urban schools: Civic engagement, teacher education, and the placelessness of digital technologies. *Citizenship Education Research Journal (CERJ)*, 6(1), 24-38.
- Llewellyn, K. R., Cook, S. A., & Molina, A. (2010). Civic learning: Moving from the apolitical to the socially just. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(6), 791-812.
- Luke, A., Woods, A., & Weir, K. (2013). Curriculum design, equity and the technical form of the curriculum. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, syllabus design and equity: A primer and model* (pp. 6-39). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Manzer, R. (2003). *Educational regimes and Anglo-American democracy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- McLean, L., Bergen, J. K., Truong-White, H., Rottmann, J., & Glithero, L. (2017). Far from apathetic: Canadian youth identify the supports they need to speak about and act on issues. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 12(1), 91-108.
- Ocelík, P. & Osička, J. (2014). The framing of unconventional natural gas resources in the foreign energy policy discourse of the Russian Federation. *Energy Policy*, 72(1), 97–109.
- Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2010). *Growing success: Assessment, evaluation, and reporting in Ontario schools: First edition, covering grades 1 to 12*. Retrieved from: <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/growsuccess.pdf>
- Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2012). *UPHS connections*. Retrieved from: <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/safeschools/UPHS2012.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2013). *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 and 10:*

Canadian and world studies. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2013.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2018). *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 and 10:*

Canadian and world studies. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2018.pdf>

Park, V., Daly, A. J., & Guerra, A. W. (2012). Strategic framing: How leaders craft the meaning of data use for equity and learning. *Educational Policy*, 27(4), 645-75.

Pinto, L. E. (2012). *Curriculum reform in Ontario: 'Common sense' policy processes and democratic possibilities*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Pinto, L. E. (2015). Fear and loathing in neoliberalism: School leader responses to policy layers. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 47(2), 140-54.

Reynolds, C. (2012, October 31). Why are schools brainwashing our children? *Maclean's*.

Retrieved from: <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/why-are-schools-brainwashing-our-children/>

Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Schweisfurth, M. (2006). Education for global citizenship: Teacher agency and curricular structure in Ontario schools. *Educational Review*, 58(1), 41-50.

Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wagenaar, H. (2011). *Meaning in action: Interpretation and dialogue in policy analysis*. Oxon, UK: ME Sharpe.

- Westbury, I. (2008). Making curricula: Why do states make curricula, and how? In F. M. Connelly, M. F. He, & J. Phillion (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of curriculum and instruction* (pp. 45-65). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Westbury, I. (2016). Talk, decisions, and action in curriculum-making: Reflections on the *ILS* and *L97* case studies. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48(6), 803-14.
- Westbury, I., Aspfors, J., Fries, A.-V., Hansén, S.-E., Ohlhaver, F., Rosenmund, M., & Sivesind, K. (2016). Organizing curriculum change: An introduction. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48(6), 729-743.
- Winton, S. (2012). Positioning Ontario's character development initiative in/through its policy web of relationships. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 58(1), 1-16.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter concludes my thesis by bringing the deductive analyses from Chapters 2 and 3 back into “dialogue” with the inductive analyses from Chapters 4 and 5 (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 259). In the next section, I return to the research questions, in particular Question 3, which was not directly addressed in the articles. In addressing Question 3, I reflect on the empirical findings through the lens of my theoretical work, in order to recommend potential future policy directions for the Ontario *Canadian World Studies, Grades 9 and 10* (CWS 9 & 10) curriculum policy. Finally, I conclude the thesis with sections on contributions to the literature, limitations of the study, lessons learned from the research process, and next steps for related research.

Revisiting the Research Questions

This thesis has been built around the following three research questions:

1. How is citizenship framed in the subsequent revisions of Ontario’s *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document from 1999, 2005, 2013, and 2018?
2. How is citizenship framed by a selection of teacher candidates in urban secondary schools in relation to their use of Ontario’s *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document?
3. Based on these empirical findings and the theoretical literature, how might future revisions of Ontario’s *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document frame citizenship in a more complete and balanced manner?

Table 19. Key findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions.

Research Question	Key Findings from the Thesis that Answer the Research Questions	Chapters Containing Findings
Question 1 (How is citizenship framed in the curriculum policy documents?)	- The four versions of CWS 9 & 10 have some consistent emphases: 1) external and internal threats to the stability and unity of Canada as a nation-state; 2) fostering citizens' nationalistic identification; 3) developing citizens' transferrable skills for the globalized economy; and 4) establishing citizens' legal and ethical obligations. - The successive revisions also gradually de-emphasize the avenues for transformative and collective civic action, both locally and nationally, resulting in a framing of the citizen as an isolated individual in a reified state and society.	Primary: Chapter 4 Supplementary: Chapters 2, 5, & 6
Question 2 (How is citizenship framed by selected teacher candidates frame in urban schools?)	- The four teacher candidates all frame citizenship in unique ways, which align to varying degrees to the framing of the curriculum. - Where they perceive a misalignment, the teacher candidates are willing and able to creatively work around the policy requirements of the curriculum, including to foster student civic action. - They also report on various other policy pressures that combine with the framing of citizenship in the curriculum to complicate efforts to engage students in civic action, particularly outside the school.	Primary: Chapter 5 Supplementary: Chapter 6
Question 3 (How might future curriculum revisions frame citizenship?)	- My theoretical and deductive analysis suggests the normative principle that citizenship education should frame citizenship in a way that balances its five dimensions—political, public, economic, juridical, and cultural. - The current CWS 9 & 10 curriculum frames citizenship in an unbalanced way that favours the economic and juridical dimensions at the expense of the public and cultural dimensions. - Interviews with teacher candidates suggest that the broader policy network reinforces and exacerbates this imbalanced framing. - Future curriculum revisions should place greater emphasis on the public and cultural dimensions, including student civic action, to bring the framing of citizenship into greater balance.	Primary: Chapter 6 Supplementary: Chapters 2, 3, 4, & 5

Table 19, first presented in Chapter 1, is a summary of the key findings of the thesis in relation to these research questions. Question 1 was primarily answered in Chapter 4, while Question 2 was primarily answered in Chapter 5. While Question 3 has been addressed in various ways throughout the thesis, my primary answer to this question is addressed below. In answering Question 3, I naturally also address Questions 1 and 2, which inform it.

Research Question 3: Potential Future Policy Directions for CWS 9 & 10

In Chapter 2 (Article 1), I introduced my typology of the dimensions of citizenship, and also suggested the normative principle that citizenship education should seek to balance these five dimensions. This principle was inspired by Cohen (1999), who argues forcefully for the need to balance the political and juridical elements of citizenship. As she states:

We will avoid the Scylla of foundationalism and the Charybdis of democratic despotism only if we acknowledge that substance and process, justice and democracy are in a recursive relationship to each other. The assertion of basic rights in civil public spaces requires moral justification through the giving of substantive reasons and free argumentation. An independent judiciary to protect rights is crucial. But so are democratic political institutions that legislate and make policy in light of publicly justifiable reasons [...] Democracy cannot guarantee justice, but neither can moral justification appeal to some absolute truth that exists independently of consensus. (p. 265)

The underlying idea here is that each dimension of citizenship has flaws, but that a multi-dimensional approach to citizenship can counterbalance and correct for some of these flaws. An overly political approach to citizenship can foster a tyranny of the majority resulting in the oppression or exclusion of minorities, but a rights-based approach to juridical citizenship can counterbalance this tendency (Banks, 2008a). An overly juridical approach to citizenship will

tend to reify a particular moral order and undermine the capacity of individuals for collective identification and action, but a strong sense of public citizenship with an active civil society can counterbalance this tendency (Taylor, 1993). Each of the five dimensions of citizenship has its own strengths and shortcomings, and they all can counterbalance each other in productive ways.

A balanced approach to citizenship provides a range of avenues for citizen participation, providing diverse entry points to citizens who prefer to engage as, for instance, an economic agent or a member of an active and localized cultural community. Just as importantly, a balanced approach to citizenship provides a range of potential recourses for people who do not identify with *any* of the dimensions of citizenship. This latter point is particularly relevant for colonized minorities within modern nation-states (Veracini, 2010). As I discussed in Chapter 3, the Indigenous scholarship on citizenship suggests that the five dimensions I have presented are based in a European understanding of citizenship that does not fit Indigenous peoples' experiences. Nonetheless, history suggests that Indigenous peoples in Canada have effectively utilized the available dimensions of citizenship in pursuit of purposes rooted in their own sense of nationhood. In Chapter 2 I presented the example of the James Bay Cree, who successfully carved out a space for their own model of citizenship by strategically leveraging the political, public, juridical, economic, and cultural dimensions of citizenship at provincial, national, and international scales (Jenson & Papillon, 2000). Henderson (2002) describes such a pragmatic approach to citizenship from an Indigenous perspective:

Aboriginal heritages and teachings protected in the constitution of Canada will take my family and children forward with human dignity into an uncertain future. The ones who matter most, my children, who have been lent to me by the Creator, will be intercultural people. They will have to live with a contested, intertwining identity firmly grounded in

their ancestors' teachings and legacies with postcolonial belonging (in Cree *miskâsowin*, finding one's sense of origin, centre, and belonging) in a globalized Canadian society.

They will have many belongings and homes from which to generate an improved Canadian society revealing Canada as an innovative transnational and intercultural model for the unfolding global order. (p. 423)

While it is certainly problematic that the primary dimensions of citizenship available to Canadian citizens are of European origin, a balanced approach incorporating all five dimensions at least can provide a degree of flexibility, in which historically oppressed minorities can begin to carve out a space for their own expressions of citizenship (Banks, 2008a). In this regard, there is genuine danger in one dimension of citizenship being overemphasized at the expense of others. In particular, this can be seen in terms of an overemphasis on the economic dimension in a range of contexts, including: in the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy document (Butler, 2018; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011), in educational policy more generally (Manzer, 1994; Osborne, 2000), and throughout the historical development of the modern social imaginary (Taylor, 2004).

Aside from the overemphasis on the economic dimension, the application of this principle of balance to my empirical findings suggests both some promising and some problematic developments. One major shift over the 20-year history of the CWS 9 & 10 document is in the balance between the political and juridical dimensions of citizenship. These shifts are subtle and neither of the quantitative methods I used to generate Figure 1 in Chapter 2 or Figure 4 in Chapter 4 adequately capture the increased influence of the juridical dimension over time. This increase partially takes the form of new expectations, such as the new expectations in 2018 that raise questions about Canada's record on human rights in relation to Indigenous peoples, but it more broadly functions through subtly shifting the language of

existing expectations within the political dimension. The 1999 version of CWS 9 & 10 arguably placed an excessive emphasis on the political dimension, primarily in the form of fostering affective identification with the nation-state. Not only is this theme slightly de-emphasized in the subsequent revisions but the *content* of it also changes to increasingly emphasize Canada's pluralism as the sole source of national pride.

At the same time, the 2018 revision in particular opens up space to critique Canada's historical treatment of Indigenous peoples. The overall result of this increasing influence of the juridical dimension of citizenship is a more nuanced and balanced presentation of the nation-state, including the acknowledgement of certain external standards of justice against which the state can be evaluated. This approach aligns more closely to the balance of the political and juridical dimensions advocated by Cohen (1999), as well as to the work of Banks (2008a, 2008b) and Kymlicka (1998, 1999), who both warn against the dangers of one-sided nationalistic narratives that exclude minority experiences. For instance, after debunking the arguments for teaching students an idealized picture of the nation-state, Kymlicka (1999) concludes:

For these reasons schools should, I think, teach history truthfully. But that doesn't mean that history should not play a special role in the curriculum. There is, I think, a legitimate role for schools to promote an emotional identification with our history. Students should view the nation's history as their history, and hence take pride in its accomplishments, as well as shame in its injustices. This sense of identification with the nation's history is one of the means available to maintain social unity in a pluralistic state, and may be needed if citizens are to embrace their responsibilities for upholding just institutions and rectifying historical injustices. (p. 97)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

The shift in the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy toward a more balanced portrayal of the nation-state, particularly in the 2018 version, can also be seen as a small step toward correcting for the concerns raised by Brianna in Chapter 5 about the exclusion of minority perspectives from the history curriculum. However, much more work is required in this area, including completing the work of revising the geography and civics curricula to include Indigenous perspectives, as was done in 2018 with the history curriculum (Ontario Ministry of Education [OME], 2017).

At the same time, the principle of balance suggests that the de-emphasizing of the public and cultural dimensions of citizenship over time in the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy represents a more problematic change. As I discussed in Chapter 4, the progressive removal of these dimensions through the subsequent revisions of the curriculum policy effectively removes the main avenues for student civic action. The original 1999 version of the document actively encouraged student civic engagement, both through participation in activities in their local community and through engagement in practices of conflict resolution within a more broadly defined public realm. Through the 2005, 2013, and 2018 revisions, these themes were systematically removed, resulting in a shift toward framing citizenship as a cognitive activity. As is stated in the 2018 revision: “Through the critical analysis of issues and the creation of plans of action, students can contribute to the common good” (OME, 2018, p. 156). Beyond these changes in the formal curriculum, a network of implicit curriculum policies has been developed that further discourage active civic engagement. Even before the publication of the 2013 revision of CWS 9 & 10, Llewellyn, Cook, and Molina (2010) reported that teachers and students they interviewed in Ontario felt that active civic engagement was effectively discouraged:

These feelings are a reflection of a curriculum that is situated in the hypothetical, without student understanding of the resultant consequences of their actions. This was a

frustrating reality for most teachers, who expressed a lack of resources, time, and support for shared experiential learning in the civic arena. (p. 803)

My findings, including the interviews with teacher candidates reported in Chapter 5, suggest that the curriculum has continued this shift toward being “situated in the hypothetical.”

In terms of the cultural dimension of citizenship, I believe that Adam’s suggestion in Chapter 5 that the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy should more explicitly require student action is worthy of attention. That is, if we accept that civic action within student’s neighbourhoods and communities is qualitatively different from civic action online, and is worth enabling as a policy objective in its own right (Banks, 2017; Broom et al., 2017), then the formal curriculum policy is likely a vital policy lever for this purpose. The original version of the CWS 9 & 10 document contained several specific expectations along these lines, including one requiring students to “participate effectively in a civil action or project of interest to them and of importance to the community” (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training [OMET], 1999, p. 53). There may well have been significant concerns that led to this expectation being removed from subsequent revisions, such as concerns about student workload, or about how to measure effective participation, or about liability and student safety outside the school. However, in a complex and loosely-coupled policy system, the primary question for policy makers is not what the direct effects of a policy directive will be, but what possibilities it may enable or constrain.

In the context I have described, with multiple policy pressures discouraging student action (Llewellyn et al., 2010), and significant agency for teachers to reinterpret the formal curriculum policy in light of their own objectives (Schweisfurth, 2006), an expectation “requiring” students to engage in civic action could enable teachers to promote such activities, while having little impact on teachers who are not motivated to do so. An example of this

implicit policy context can be seen in the field trip policy of one of the Ottawa school boards, which requires teachers to justify: 1) that the planned outing does not present a “high risk” as defined through a standardized risk assessment form using definitions from the school board’s insurance provider, and 2) that the planned activities “relate directly to the expectations as stated in the appropriate Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum document” (Ottawa Catholic School Board, 2019, p. 1). Within such an implicit policy context, where the fear of liability is a primary driver of pedagogical choices, a curriculum policy that directly “requires” active civic engagement would be limited in its practical effect, but could provide motivated teachers with policy leverage to justify civic engagement activities in the face of various policy pressures discouraging such activities. On the whole, therefore, I believe that the re-introduction of such expectations in CWS 9 & 10 could be a positive step toward a more balanced citizenship curriculum policy.

The significant reduction in emphasis on the public dimension of citizenship over subsequent revisions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy is also a clear case of imbalance. In this case, however, there is not an obvious policy recommendation to restore balance. In the 1999 version of the curriculum policy, the expectations related to the public realm played a significant role in the overall framing of citizenship, setting out the domain of action in which to move from the core problem (socio-political fragmentation) to the desired end result (collective political identification). This domain of action specifically required students to situate themselves in relation to the “differing civic purposes” of their fellow citizens, and develop a “sense of responsibility” to build a common consensus, particularly through practices of conflict resolution (OMET, 1999, p. 68). However, this framing of the public dimension of citizenship was closely aligned to the document’s diagnostic framing, which presented one of the core problems facing

citizenship education as “the challenges of governing communities or societies in which diverse value systems, multiple perspectives, and differing civic purposes coexist” (OMET, 1999, p. 50). This again suggests an overemphasis on the political realm, in terms of idealizing a unitary nation-state that is characterized by “social cohesion” (Joshee et al., 2016, p. 43).

In the subsequent revisions of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy, the expectations related to the public realm were systematically removed. While the responsibility of students to understand the diversity around them is maintained, there is no longer any sense of working together to forge common understandings. Instead, consistent with the cognitive emphasis of the later revisions, understanding diversity is presented as a goal in itself. The goal becomes the development of empathy as a moral trait: “Students develop empathy as they analyse events and issues from the perspectives of people in different parts of Canada or the world, or from different historical eras” (OME, 2013, p. 47). While empathy is certainly a worthwhile goal, the presentation of the public dimension of citizenship in this case seems problematically superficial, in that it glosses over the real conflicts that can arise in a pluralistic society. Bickmore (2014) describes this challenge well in her review of the citizenship education literature:

The recent Canadian research reviewed here points to a paradox of peace-building citizenship: multiculturalism in education cannot succeed in building support for just and mutually respectful inter-group relationships without naming and affirming difference, while naming and resisting inequities. Well-intended denial or papering over of specific social differences and social remedies in multicultural citizenship education evidently has been ineffective at improving inter-citizen relations. (p. 273)

As Bickmore suggests here, I believe there is a need for a more robust engagement with the public dimension of citizenship in CWS 9 & 10, in order to present a more balanced overall

framing of citizenship. However, this should not take the form of a return to the narrowly nationalistic emphasis on the political dimension in the 1999 version of the curriculum. A properly balanced framing to the public dimension will likely require a hybrid approach that combines the openness to diversity of the 2018 revision with the active encouragement of working together to build new understandings from the 1999 version.

Contributions to Research

This thesis has made several specific contributions to the research literature. First, as I have noted, the study of curriculum policy from a public policy perspective is still a new and underexplored topic in the Anglo-American world (Westbury, 2008, 2016). As Connelly and Connelly (2013) note: “We found that there is little literature on curriculum policy per se. Literature summaries emphasize curriculum policy input (politics and context) and curriculum policy output (implementation), while curriculum policy per se remains mostly a black box” (p. 54). Close analyses of state-created curriculum documents from a public policy perspective, therefore, represent an important contribution to this emerging field.

More specifically in relation to the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy, there is a significant gap in the existing research around the 2013 and 2018 revisions of the document. Both in terms of document analyses (Clausen, Horton, & Lemisko, 2008; Hébert, 2009; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011; Pashby, Ingram, & Joshee, 2014), and studies of teachers’ use of these documents (Lewis, 2011; Milner & Lewis, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2006), the existing research overwhelmingly emphasizes either the 1999 or the 2005 versions of the document. Aside from my own exploratory studies on the topic (Butler, 2018; Butler, Ng-A-Fook, Vaudrin-Charette, & McFadden, 2015), I have been able to locate only a single study of the 2013 revision (Broom, 2015), and nothing so far on the relatively recent 2018 revision. Additionally, the existing

document analyses have been comparisons to contemporary curriculum policies in other jurisdictions, rather than chronological studies of how this single policy has developed. As I demonstrate in my findings, the 2013 revision in particular should be seen as a major change to the overall direction of the policy, and close study of the 2013 and 2018 revisions, therefore, represents an important contribution to the field. Finally, while my interviews with teacher candidates are primarily intended to support my policy document analysis, Chapter 5 also makes a separate contribution to the under-researched question of how teacher candidates operate as policy actors (Hara, 2017; Heineke, Ryan, & Tocci, 2015).

Limitations of the Study

The research I have presented in this thesis has a number of limitations. Most notably, this relates to the scope of my research in relation to the scale of my research problem. As I discussed in Chapter 3, while situating my research in relation to policy analysis and curriculum studies, a complete analysis of curriculum policy must encompass both the societal issues the policy is engaging with at the jurisdictional scale and the complex ways in which the policy is enacted in particular schools (Milner & Lewis, 2011). I also set out an ambitious scope for a “complete” approach to this research in Chapter 2 (Article 1), while situating CWS 9 & 10 in relation to the citizenship curricula for both the lower and upper grades: “A complete analysis of the citizenship curriculum in Ontario, of course, would encompass all three of these policy documents, along with other related curricula and policies, as well as the ways in which the curriculum is enacted in schools” (Butler, 2018, p. 72). The research I have presented here falls short of that comprehensive scope, and should be seen as a first step in a large and complex research program. In particular, in both my document analyses and teacher candidate interviews I emphasized depth rather than breadth, focusing on careful inductive coding over comprehensive

review of other documents or detailed classroom studies of curriculum implementation. My small sample size of teacher candidates in Chapter 5, in particular, is certainly not generalizable to the provincial scale (Milner & Lewis, 2011). Nonetheless, within the scope of this thesis, I believe I have adequately compensated for these limitations by careful review of existing literature that engages with this larger context.

Finally, as this thesis is primarily a document analysis, it is also subject to the limitations inherent in studying documents, including the subjective nature of reading (Hodder, 1994). However, I also believe that this limitation of document analysis is often overstated, particularly when a rigorous methodology is used to ensure a holistic understanding of the documents in question. As Entman (1993) states in his overview of frame analysis:

A framing paradigm cautions researchers not to take fugitive components of the message and show how they *might* be interpreted in ways that oppose the dominant meaning. If the text frame emphasizes in a variety of mutually reinforcing ways that the glass is half full, the evidence of social science suggests that relatively few in the audience will conclude it is half empty. (p. 56; italics in original)

I believe that my methodological approach, involving close inductive coding across the entirety of the documents in question combined with quantitative surveys of the documents to confirm patterns found through my qualitative analysis, results in a reading of the documents in question that is reasonably “objective.” Nonetheless, as I have already indicated, a complete study of this subject would fully triangulate the document analysis through detailed classroom-level studies of policy implementation.

Lessons Learned through the Research Process

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the process of writing this thesis has aligned with a progression in my personal and professional interests from pedagogy to policy. As a result of this progression, the thesis project I present here has evolved in certain ways from the project I initially presented in my thesis proposal in early 2017. Reflecting on my research process now, I can see several aspects of my original proposal that I wish I had presented differently, as this would have enabled a more direct and organic development of this project from proposal to final product. These aspects are interrelated, and connect to what I now recognize as the poor placement of my typology of citizenship in my proposal. When I wrote the first draft of my thesis proposal, this five-part typology of citizenship was a central element of my thinking, and was originally included as my conceptual framework. Over successive edits, my conceptual framework was redeveloped to focus on frame analysis. As a result, the typology I'd developed was displaced, and reduced to a fairly marginal position in the literature review. The uncertain final position of the typology in my thesis proposal is related to interconnected challenges I later encountered in relation to my proposed conceptual framework and methodology.

In terms of conceptual framework, I now see the framework I proposed in my proposal as being unnecessarily convoluted. I believe this was a result of the way I cobbled together two middle-range theories (Ball, 2006)—frame analysis and policy implementation—without providing a clear overarching theory to explain how I see them as connected. I effectively tried to bridge them through a conceptual model based in a third middle-range theory, drawn from work I had done with some colleagues on curriculum implementation as knowledge mobilization (Ng-A-Fook, Kane, Butler, Glithero, & Forte, 2015). The result was the diagram at the end of my conceptual framework section, which attempted to bring together aspects of these different

theories and in the process became so complicated as to ultimately become unworkable. I abandoned this particular model early in my research process, when it became clear to me that its complexity created more problems than it solved. Through my research process, however, it has become clear to me that my research proposal *did* have an overarching theoretical framework, though this was only implicit in the proposal. This was Taylor's (2004) conceptualization of social imaginaries, which I referenced at various points in the proposal. My typology of citizenship drew heavily on Taylor's work, and can therefore be understood as a set of social imaginaries at work in the particular domain of citizenship education policy—an idea that I developed further in the process of writing and publishing my first article (Chapter 2). By establishing Taylor's theory of social imaginaries as the overarching theory guiding my conceptual framework, I have been able to develop a more coherent overall conceptual approach to this research. I encountered a similar challenge in relation to my research questions, which were worded in an unnecessarily convoluted manner in order to incorporate my different theoretical influences. I have maintained the substance of my initial research questions, in order to maintain overall alignment of my thesis to my proposal, but I have simplified and clarified the wording of these questions. In addition, my research questions were originally worded a little too broadly, but gradually became more focused as I proceeded through my study.

A related problem has been the difficulties I have encountered with using frame analysis as a methodological approach. I incorporated frame analysis into my thesis proposal based on the belief that my methodology needed to be based in a carefully delineated and branded methodological school. I believe this presupposition on my part resulted from my late entry into the social sciences from a humanities background. I had become frustrated with the lack of methodological clarity in much work in the humanities, and I was excited by the explicit focus

on methodology in educational research. However, this excitement translated into preoccupation with a series of “-isms” rather than simply focusing on learning the basics of good qualitative research. Frame analysis has a complex history, and brings with it some significant theoretical shortcomings. Wagenaar (2011) summarizes these as follows:

First, the concept of frame is frustratingly ambiguous. Despite Rein’s eloquent conceptualizations and the elaborate methodological prescriptions in the Gamson and Modigliani paper, it is still unclear when to call a frame a frame. The frame concept does not contain recognition rules that unambiguously hook it into the world of policy contestation. This then raises the question, what is it exactly that the analyst identifies when he [sic] “finds” frames? Differently put, the epistemic status of frames is unclear. Are frames actually in social reality to be discovered and found by the analyst who uses the proper methods? Or are frames a conceptual shorthand for an interpretation about social reality; an interpretation we impose on an otherwise formless flow of events? (p. 88)

I encountered similar problems in delineating “frames” through my coding process. Initially, I was quite preoccupied with searching for diagnostic and prognostic framing, but my analytic process caused me to realize that this focus created two problems: 1) it resulted in trying to force the data into a narrow framework that did not always suit them; and 2) it caused me to overlook important patterns in the coding that did not fit this set of presuppositions. I still believe that coding in terms of problems was a useful heuristic, and my thesis has benefited from this and other heuristics suggested by the frame analysis literature. However, I have redefined my methodological approach as a qualitative, inductive analysis informed by frame analysis. In retrospect, I believe my research process would have progressed more organically if my thesis

proposal had presented my methodology more in terms of doing solid, qualitative, inductive analysis, rather than tying my approach to a particular “-ism.”

Finally, I now recognize that my proposal did not adequately explain the relationship between inductive and deductive analysis in my research. While I quoted Wagenaar (2011) to explain my approach as “a dialogue between theory and the empirical world” (p. 259), I then described an inductive approach to my data that did not adequately account for the role of theory in the analysis. For my analysis to be a dialogue between theory and data, as Wagenaar suggests, the analysis must incorporate deductive methods along with inductive methods. If the goal of analysis is to describe the social imaginaries related to citizenship that are embedded in policy documents, then inductive analysis of the empirical data must be paired with deductive analysis of the social imaginaries relevant to citizenship education policy as found in existing theory.

Social imaginaries are not fixed and timeless, but they develop very slowly through history and across entire societies (Taylor, 2004). The inductive analysis, therefore, should not expect to find new social imaginaries emerging in the empirical findings, but rather local variations in the broader social imaginaries that can be identified from theory. In this sense, I eventually came to realize that my typology of citizenship should in fact be understood as an initial part of my analysis. It is a deductive analysis of social imaginaries that are relevant to citizenship education policy, which can then be brought into dialogue with the inductive analysis of policy documents and practitioner interviews. Practically, this challenge also involved my research questions, which placed too much emphasis on the inductive aspect of my findings. A substantial portion of my thesis—in terms of length, workload, and significance—is the initial theoretical work found in Chapters 2 and 3. If I were able to rewrite my thesis proposal now, I would add an initial research question regarding how citizenship is framed in the theoretical

literature. With the addition of such an initial theoretical question, my research questions would have better aligned with the scope of the work I have done in this thesis.

Next Steps and Final Thoughts

This thesis builds on a research program laid out by Kirst and Walker (1971) 50 years ago, and more recently taken up by scholars such as Connelly and Connelly (2010, 2013) and Westbury (2008, 2016), on the policy functions of the formal curriculum. Within this broader context, I have undertaken a study of Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document, including its historical development, its impact on teacher candidates' pedagogical choices, and potential future directions for reform. Given the breadth of the research topic, however, this thesis can be little more than an exploration of potential future research directions, which I hope will be taken up by other researchers in the field. For instance, my analysis emphasized a holistic overview of the curriculum document, but an analysis of the specific courses within the document could also be very productive. I note that the relatively strong emphasis on the public dimension of citizenship in the 1999 version of the document had a significant concentration within the "purposeful citizenship" strand of the civics course. The erosion of the public dimension in subsequent years is related in part to the replacement of this strand in 2013 with a strand on "skill development." There remains another story to be told here.

As Milner and Lewis (2011) note, there is a need for more systematic study of citizenship education in Ontario, in order to determine whether current policies are effective and how to improve them. My thesis makes a contribution to this project, but it also incorporates a broader perspective than this question of effectiveness, taking up the philosophical question of what citizenship means in the Ontario curriculum, and what it should mean. I hope to see more studies of the CWS 9 & 10 curriculum policy, in both theoretical and applied contexts, and at different

geographical scales. I also hope the work I have done on theorizing the social imaginary of citizenship, including the typology of the dimensions of citizenship, can be productively applied in other jurisdictions.

This thesis has been the product of a time of transition in my life. Over the last six years, my primary interest, both academically and professionally, has shifted from pedagogy to policy. The end result of this process has been the launch of my new career in the federal public service. In this sense, the intersection of curriculum and policy research in this thesis is largely a happy accident resulting from this time of transition. However, these years in educational research have been extremely formative for me, and I hope to stay connected to this work, however distantly. The field of educational research has provided the context for my transition into a new career, but also the inspiration and the opportunity. While citizenship education is a research topic that I largely fell into, it has become a topic that I care deeply about. I hope to see this work continue in my absence, and I hope that some future transition will bring me back into greater involvement with it. Above all, I am grateful to have briefly been a part of this deep and lasting conversation.

References

- Alfred, T. & Cornthassel, J. (2005). Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism. *Government and Opposition*, 40(4), 597-614.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.
- Anderson, S. E. & Ben Jaafar, S. (2003). *Policy trends in Ontario education: 1990-2003*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto.
- Aoki, T. (1984). Towards a reconceptualization of curriculum implementation. In D. Hopkins & M. Wideen (Eds.), *Alternative perspectives on school improvement* (pp. 107-118). London, UK: The Falmer Press.
- Apple, M. W. (2004a). *Ideology and curriculum*. New York, NY: Routledge Falmer.
- Apple, M. W. (2004b). Creating difference: Neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism and the politics of educational reform. *Educational Policy*, 18(1), 12-44.
- Aquash, M. (2013). First Nations in Canada: Decolonization and self-determination. *in education*, 19(2), 120-137.
- Arthur, J., Davies, I., & Hahn, C. (2008). Introduction to the SAGE handbook of education for citizenship and democracy. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of education for citizenship and democracy* (pp. 1-10). London, UK: SAGE.
- Bacchi, C. L. (1999). *Women, policy and politics: The construction of policy problems*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Ball, S. J. (2006). *Education policy and social class: The selected works of Stephen J. Ball*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

- Ball, S. J. (2016). Neoliberal education? Confronting the slouching beast. *Policy Futures in Education, 14*(8), 1046-1059.
- Ball, S. J., Maguire, M. & Braun, A. (2012). *How schools do policy: Policy enactments in secondary schools*, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Banks, J. A. (2008a). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher, 37*(3), 129-139.
- Banks, J. A. (2008b). Diversity and citizenship education in global times. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of education for citizenship and democracy* (pp. 57-70). London, UK: SAGE.
- Banks, J. A. (2017). Failed citizenship and transformative civic education. *Educational Researcher, 46*(7), 366-377.
- Basu, R. (2004). The rationalization of neoliberalism in Ontario's public education system, 1995-2000. *Geoforum, 35*, 621-634.
- Battiste, M. (1998). Enabling the autumn seed: Toward a decolonized approach to Aboriginal knowledge, language, and education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 22*(1), 16-27.
- Battiste, M. (2011). Curriculum reform through constitutional reconciliation of Indigenous knowledge. In D. Stanley & K. Young (Eds.), *Contemporary studies in Canadian curriculum: Principles, portraits, & practices* (287-312). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.
- Battiste, M. (2013). *Decolonizing education: Nourishing the learning spirit*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich.

- Begaye, T. (2008). Modern democracy: The complexities behind appropriating Indigenous models of governance and implementation. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp. 459-470). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Bell, S. & Lewis, J. P. (2014). Mapping the civic education policy community in Canada: A study of policy actors' attitudes. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 9(3), 297-315.
- Bickmore, K. (2014). Citizenship education in Canada: 'Democratic' engagement with differences, conflicts and equity issues? *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 9(3), 257-278.
- Bignall, S. (2014). The collaborative struggle for excolonialism. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 4(4), 340-356.
- Blood, N., Chambers, C., Donald, D., Hasebe-Ludt, E., & Big Head, R. (2012). Aoksisowaato'op: Place and story as organic curriculum. In N. Ng-A-Fook & J. Rottman (Eds.), *Reconsidering Canadian curriculum studies: Provoking historical, present, and future perspectives* (47-82). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Borrows, J. (2017a). Indigenous constitutionalism: Pre-existing legal genealogies in Canada. In P. Oliver, P. Macklem, & N. Des Rosiers (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the Canadian constitution* (pp. 13-44). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Borrows, J. (2017b). Revisiting Canada's Indigenous constitution: Two challenges. In, *UNDRIP implementation: Braiding international, domestic and indigenous laws* (pp. 20-27). Waterloo, ON: Centre for International Governance Innovation.
- Borrows, J. & Tully, J. (2018). Introduction. In M. Asch, J. Borrows, & J. Tully (Eds.), *Resurgence and reconciliation: Indigenous-Settler relations and earth teachings* (pp. 3-25). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Broom, C. (2015). Social studies in three Canadian provinces: A comparative exploration.

Comparative and International Education, 44(1), Article 4.

Broom, C. & Evans, R. W. (2015). Social studies within and across borders: Exploring the transfer of ideas in time and space. *Citizenship Education Research Journal (CERJ)*, 4(1), 56-69.

Broom, C., Di Mascio, A., & Fleming, D. (2017). Citizenship education in Canada, past and present. In C. Broom (Ed.), *Youth civic engagement in a globalized world: Citizenship education in comparative perspective* (pp. 15-36). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Butler, J. K. (2015). The gap between text and context: An analysis of Ontario's Indigenous education policy. *in education*, 21(2), 26-48.

Butler, J. K. (2018). Heterogeneous practices and homogenizing policies: Towards a typological analysis of Canadian citizenship education in Ontario. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 13(1), 61-81.

Butler, J. K., Kane, R. G., & Cooligan, F. R. (2019). The closure of Rideau High School: A case study in the political economy of urban education in Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 191, 83-105.

Butler, J. K., Kane, R. G., & Morshead, C. E. (2017). "It's my safe space": Student voice, teacher education, and the relational space of an urban high school. *Urban Education*, 52(7), 889-916.

Butler, J. K., Ng-A-Fook, N., Vaudrin-Charette, J., & McFadden, F. (2015). Living between truth and reconciliation: Responsibilities, colonial institutions, and settler scholars. *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, 12(2), 44-63.

Camicia, S. P. & Franklin, B. M. (2011). What type of global community and citizenship?

Tangled discourses of neoliberalism and critical democracy in curriculum and its reform.

Globalisation, Societies and Education, 9(3-4), 311-322.

Chambers, C. (1999). A topography for Canadian curriculum theory. *Canadian Journal of*

Education, 24(2), 137-150.

Charmaz, K. (2008). Grounded theory as an emergent method. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy

(Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods* (pp. 155-170). New York, NY: The Guilford

Press.

Cherubini, L. & Hodson, J. (2008). Ontario Ministry of Education policy and Aboriginal

learners' epistemologies: A fundamental disconnect. *Canadian Journal of Educational*

Administration and Policy, 79, 1-33.

Cherubini, L., Hodson, J., Manley-Casimir, M., & Muir, C. (2010). 'Closing the gap' at the peril

of widening the void: Implications of the Ontario Ministry of Education's policy for

Aboriginal education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 33(2), 329-355.

Christie, G. (2003). Law, theory and Aboriginal Peoples. *Indigenous Law Journal*, 2, 67-115.

Clausen, K. W. (2016). From vigour to rigour: *Tensionality* and Ontario's unbalanced

curriculum, 1963-2013. In N. Ng-A-Fook, A. Ibrahim, & G. Reis (Eds.), *Provoking*

curriculum studies: Strong poetry and the arts of the possible in education (pp. 110-128).

New York, NY: Routledge.

Clausen, K. W., Horton, T. A., & Lemisko, L. S. (2008). Democracy and diversity: A content

analysis of selected contemporary Canadian social studies curricula. *Citizenship Teaching*

& Learning, 4(1), 35-49.

- Coburn, C. E. & Stein, M. K. (2006). Communities of practice theory and the role of teacher professional community in policy implementation. In M. I. Honig (Ed.), *New directions in education policy implementation: Confronting complexity* (pp. 25-46). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Cohen, L. G. (1999). Changing paradigms of citizenship and the exclusiveness of the demos. *International Sociology*, 14(3), 245-268.
- Connelly, F. M. (2013). Joseph Schwab, curriculum, curriculum studies and educational reform. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 45(5), 622-639.
- Connelly, F. M. & Connelly, G. (2010). Curriculum policy. In C. Kridel (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of curriculum studies* (pp. 224-227). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Connelly, F. M. & Connelly, G. (2013). Curriculum policy guidelines: Context, structures and functions. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, Syllabus Design and Equity: A Primer and Model* (pp. 54-73). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Connelly, F. M. & Xu, S. (2007). On the state of curriculum studies: A personal practical inquiry. *Curriculum Teaching and Dialogue*, 9(1&2), 3-19.
- Cornell, S. (2015). Processes of native nationhood: The Indigenous politics of self-government. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 6(4), art. 4.
- Daigle, M. (2016). Awawanenitakik: The spatial politics of recognition and relational geographies of Indigenous self-determination. *Canadian Geographer*, 60(2), 259-269.
- Daniel, B.-J. (2010). Reimagining the urban: A Canadian perspective. *Urban Education*, 45(6), 822-839.
- Datnow, A. (2012). Teacher agency in educational reform: Lessons from social networks research. *American Journal of Education*, 119(1), 193-201.

Desmarais, A. (2018, July 17). Ontario curriculum cuts a “major setback” to reconciliation:

Indigenous educators. *iPolitics*. Retrieved from: <https://ipolitics.ca/2018/07/17/ontario-curriculum-cuts-a-major-setback-to-reconciliation-indigenous-educators/>

Dunning, N. (2018). An Inuit based policy development process. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 64(1), 1-13.

Earl, L. Freeman, S., Lasky, S., Sutherland, S., & Torrance, N. (2002). *Policy, politics, pedagogy and people: Early perceptions and challenges of large-scale reform in Ontario secondary schools*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation.

Engel, L. C. & Ortloff, D. H. (2009). From the local to the supranational: Curriculum reform and the production of the ideal citizen in two federal systems, Germany and Spain. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(2), 179-198.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

Evans, M. (2006). Educating for citizenship: What teachers say and what teachers do. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(2), 410-35.

Evans, M., Evans, R., & Vemic, A. (2019). Youth civic engagement and formal education in Canada: Shifting expressions, associated challenges. In A. Peterson, G. Stahl, & H. Soong (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Citizenship and Education*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Evans, M., Ingram, L. A., MacDonald, A., & Weber, N. (2009). Mapping the “global dimension” of citizenship education in Canada: The complex interplay of theory, practice and context. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 5(2), 17-34.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Fafard, P., Rocher, F., & Côté, C. (2010). The presence (or lack thereof) of a federal culture in Canada: The views of Canadians. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 20(1), 19-43.
- Fernández, M. B. (2018). Framing teacher education: Conceptions of teaching, teacher education, and justice in Chilean national policies. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 26(34), 1-37.
- Fernandez, T., Ritchie, G. & Barker, M. (2008). A sociocultural analysis of mandated curriculum change: The implementation of a new senior physics curriculum in New Zealand schools. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 40(2), 187-213.
- Field, A.-M. & Rocher, F. (2000). At a juncture? For a new understanding of federalism and citizenship in Canada. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 22, 37-65.
- Fielding, J. (2002). Tales from the crypt or writing the Ontario Canadian World Studies Curriculum. *Our Schools / Our Selves*, 11(3), 77-84.
- Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practices*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, F. (2006). Deliberative policy analysis as practical reason: Integrating empirical and normative arguments. In F. Fischer, G. J. Miller, & M. S. Sidney (Eds.), *Handbook of public policy analysis: Theory, politics, and methods* (pp. 223-236). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Forester, J. (1987). Critical theory and planning practice. In J. Forester (Ed.), *Critical theory and public life* (pp. 202-230). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fullan, M. (2005). The meaning of educational change: A quarter of a century of learning. In A. Lieberman (Ed.), *The roots of educational change: International handbook of educational change* (pp. 202-216). Dordrecht: Springer.

- Gidney, R. D. (1999). *From Hope to Harris: The reshaping of Ontario's schools*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Grande, S. (2008): Red pedagogy: The un-methodology. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp. 233-254). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Gusfield, J. R. (1981). *The culture of public problems: Drinking-driving and the symbolic order*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hahn, C. (2008). *Doing qualitative research using your computer: A practical guide*. London, UK: SAGE.
- Hajer, M. (2003). A frame in the fields: Policymaking and the reinvention of politics. In M. Hajer & H. Wagenaar (Eds.), *Deliberative policy analysis: Understanding governance in the network society* (pp. 88-110). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hara, M. (2017). Rethinking equity: Preservice teachers' perceptions and practice around policy. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 92(4), 466-485.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hébert, Y. (2009). Responsibility and citizenship education: Shifting meanings, policy and curricula. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 5(2), 4-15.
- Hébert, Y., Wilkinson, L., & Ali, M. (2008). Second generation youth in Canada, their mobilities and identifications: Relevance to citizenship education. *Brock Education*, 17, 50-70.
- Heineke, A. J., Ryan, A. M., & Tocci, C. (2015). Teaching, learning, and leading: Preparing teachers as educational policy actors. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 66(4), 382-394.

- Henderson, J. & Wakeham, P. (2013). Introduction. In J. Henderson & P. Wakeham (Eds.), *Reconciling Canada: Critical perspectives on the culture of redress* (pp. 3-30). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Henderson, J. Y. (2000a). *Ayukpachi*: Empowering Aboriginal thought. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 248-278). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Henderson, J. Y. (2000b). The context of the state of nature. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 11-38). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Henderson, J. Y. (2002). *Sui generis* and treaty citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 6(4), 415-440.
- Henderson, J. Y. (2013). Incomprehensible Canada. In J. Henderson & P. Wakeham (Eds.), *Reconciling Canada: Critical perspectives on the culture of redress* (pp. 115-128). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Henderson, J. Y. (2017). The art of braiding Indigenous peoples' inherent human rights into the law of nation-states. In *UNDRIP implementation: Braiding international, domestic and indigenous laws* (pp. 10-16). Waterloo, ON: Centre for International Governance Innovation.
- Hodder, I. (1994). The interpretation of documents and material culture. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 393-402). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Honig, M. I. (2006). Complexity and policy implementation: Challenges and opportunities for the field. In M. I. Honig (Ed.), *New directions in education policy implementation: Confronting complexity* (pp. 1-24). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Horn-Miller, K. (2013). What does Indigenous participatory democracy look like? Kahnawà:ke's Community Decision Making Process. *Review of Constitutional Studies*, 18(1), 111-132.

- Hughes, A. S. & Sears, A. (2008). The struggle for citizenship education in Canada: The centre cannot hold. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of education for citizenship and democracy* (pp. 124-138). London, UK: SAGE.
- Iacovino, R. & Nootens, G. (2011). A clash of ideals? Federalism, citizenship and education in the multinational state. In M. Behiels & F. Rocher (Eds.), *The state in transition: Challenges for Canadian federalism* (pp. 217-238). Ottawa, ON: Invenire Books.
- Imenda, S. (2014). Is there a conceptual difference between theoretical and conceptual frameworks? *Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(2), 185-195.
- Jenson, J. & Papillon, M. (2000). Challenging the citizenship regime: The James Bay Cree and transnational action. *Politics & Society*, 28(2), 245-264.
- Joshee, R. (2007). Opportunities for social justice work: The Ontario diversity policy web. *The Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations*, 18(1&2), 171-199.
- Joshee, R., Peck, C., Thompson, L. A., Chareka, O., & Sears, A. (2016). Multicultural education, diversity, and citizenship in Canada. In J. L. Bianco & A. Bal (Eds.), *Learning from difference: Comparative accounts of multicultural education* (pp. 35-50). Cham, CH: Springer.
- Journell, W. (2010). Standardizing citizenship: The potential influence of state curriculum standards on the civic development of adolescents. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 43, 351-358.
- Kane, R. G., Ng-A-Fook, N., Radford, L., & Butler, J. K. (2017). Conceptualizing and contextualizing digital citizenship in urban schools: Civic engagement, teacher education, and the placelessness of digital technologies. *Citizenship Education Research Journal (CERJ)*, 6(1), 24-38.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Kennedy Dalseg, S., Kuokkanen, R., Mills, S., & Simmons, D. (2018). Gendered environmental assessments in the Canadian north: Marginalization of Indigenous women and traditional economies. *Northern Review*, 47, 135-166.
- Kennelly, J. & Llewellyn, K. R. (2011). Educating for active compliance: Discursive constructions in citizenship education. *Citizenship Studies*, 15(6-7), 897-914.
- Kirst, M. W. & Walker, D. F. (1971). An analysis of curriculum policy-making. *Review of Educational Research*, 41(5), 479-509.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Kymlicka, W. (1998). *Finding our way: Rethinking ethnocultural relations in Canada*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (1999). Education for citizenship. In J. M. Halstead & T. H. McLaughlin (Eds.), *Education in morality* (pp. 79-102). London, UK: Routledge.
- Kymlicka, W. (2007). Ethnocultural diversity in a liberal state: Making sense of the Canadian model(s). In K. Banting, T. J. Courchene, & F. L. Seidle (Eds.), *Belonging?: Diversity, recognition and shared citizenship in Canada* (pp. 1-48). Montreal, QC: Institute for Research in Public Policy.
- Kymlicka, W. (2011). Multicultural citizenship within multination states. *Ethnicities*, 11(3), 281-302.
- Lavrenteva, E. & Orland-Barak, L. (2015). The treatment of culture in the foreign language curriculum: An analysis of national curriculum documents. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 47(5), 653-684.

- Levin, B. (2008). Curriculum policy and the politics of what should be learned in schools. In F. M. Connelly, M. F. He, & J. Phillion (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of curriculum and instruction* (pp. 7-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Lewis, J. P. (2011). *The unavoidable struggle of Canadian citizenship education: An analysis of historical and contemporary challenges of producing a cohesive policy narrative* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Carleton University, Ottawa, ON.
- Lipman, P. (2011). *The new political economy of urban education: Neoliberalism, race, and the right to the city*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Llewellyn, K. R., Cook, S. A., & Molina, A. (2010). Civic learning: Moving from the apolitical to the socially just. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(6), 791-812.
- Llewellyn, K. R., Cook, S., Westheimer, J., Molina Girón, L. A., & Suurtamm, K. (2007). *The state and potential of civic learning in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Policy Research Networks.
- Luke, A. (2013). Introduction: The practical problem of curriculum making. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, syllabus design and equity: A primer and model* (pp. 1-5). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Luke, A., Woods, A., & Weir, K. (2013). Curriculum design, equity and the technical form of the curriculum. In A. Luke, A. Woods, & K. Weir (Eds.), *Curriculum, syllabus design and equity: A primer and model* (pp. 6-39). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lundgren, U. P. (2015). What's in a name? That which we call a crisis? A commentary on Michael Young's article 'Overcoming the crisis in curriculum theory'. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 47(6), 787-801.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- MacDonald, D. B. (2013). Reconciliation after genocide in Canada: Towards a syncretic model of democracy. *AlterNative-An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 9(1), 60-73.
- Magrini, J. M. (2015). Phenomenology and curriculum implementation: Discerning a living curriculum through the analysis of Ted Aoki's situational praxis. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 47(2), 274-299.
- Manzer, R. (1994). *Public schools and political ideas: Canadian educational policy in historical perspective*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Manzer, R. (2003). *Educational regimes and Anglo-American democracy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Marshall, H. (2011). Instrumentalism, ideals and imaginaries: Theorising the contested space of global citizenship education in schools. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(3-4), 411-426.
- Marshall, T. H. (1964). *Class, citizenship, and social development*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- McCrossan, M. (2015). Contaminating and collapsing Indigenous space: Judicial narratives of Canadian territoriality. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 5(1), 20-39.
- McGregor, H. (2010). *Inuit education and schools in the eastern arctic*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- McLean, L., Bergen, J. K., Truong-White, H., Rottmann, J., & Glithero, L. (2017). Far from apathetic: Canadian youth identify the supports they need to speak about and act on issues. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 12(1), 91-108.

- Milner, H. & Lewis, J. P. (2011). It's what happens on the front lines of civic education policy that matters: Reflections on a natural experiment on youth turnout in Ontario. *Canadian Political Science Review*, 5(2), 136-146.
- Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: Education, training, and technologies of citizenship. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, 389-407.
- Moosa-Mitha, M. (2009). Social citizenship rights of Canadian Muslim youth: Youth resiliencies and the claims for social inclusion. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 31(1/2), 121-140.
- Neeganagwedgin, E. (2013). Ancestral knowledges, spirituality and Indigenous narratives as self-determination. *AlterNative-An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 9(4), 322-334.
- Ng-A-Fook, N., Kane, R. G., Butler, J. K., Glithero, L., & Forte, R. (2015). Brokering knowledge mobilization networks: Policy reforms, partnerships, and teacher education. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23(122), 1-30.
- Ocelík, P. & Osička, J. (2014). The framing of unconventional natural gas resources in the foreign energy policy discourse of the Russian Federation. *Energy Policy*, 72(1), 97-109.
- OECD. (2018). *Preparing our youth for an inclusive and sustainable world: The OECD Pisa Global Competence Framework*. Paris: Directorate for Education and Skills. Retrieved from: <https://www.oecd.org/education/Global-competency-for-an-inclusive-world.pdf>
- Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2005). *The Ontario curriculum grades 9 and 10: Canadian and world studies*. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2010). *Growing success: Assessment, evaluation, and reporting in Ontario schools: First edition, covering grades 1 to 12*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/growsuccess.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2012). *UPHS connections*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/safeschools/UPHS2012.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2013a). *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 and 10: Canadian and world studies*. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2013.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2013b). *The Ontario curriculum: Social studies grades 1 to 6; history and geography grades 7 and 8*. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education.

Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/elementary/sshg18curr2013.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2015). *The Ontario curriculum grades 11 and 12: Canadian and world studies*. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/2015cws11and12.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2016). *21st century competencies: Foundation document for discussion*. Retrieved from:

http://www.edugains.ca/resources21CL/About21stCentury/21CL_21stCenturyCompetencies.pdf

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2017, November 8). *Ontario ensuring students learn Indigenous histories and cultures: Province equipping educators to teach Indigenous contributions and perspectives*. Retrieved from:

<https://news.ontario.ca/edu/en/2017/11/ontario-ensuring-students-learn-indigenous-histories-and-cultures.html>

Ontario Ministry of Education (OME). (2018). *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 and 10:*

Canadian and world studies. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from:

<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2018.pdf>

Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (OMET). (1999). *The Ontario curriculum grades 9*

and 10: Canadian and world studies. Toronto, ON: Ministry of Education and Training.

Ortloff, D. H. (2005). Becoming European: a framing analysis of three countries' civics

education curricula. *European Education*, 37(4), 35-49.

Osborne, K. (2000). Public schooling and citizenship education in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic*

Studies, 32(1), 8-37.

Ottawa Catholic School Board. (2019). *Policy: Field trips and excursions*. Retrieved from:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1tfQPHxfigRq5cQmEckAdt6-SgHWt0eqfwdtBsvXFuDI/edit>

Papillon, M. (2015). Introduction: The promises and pitfalls of Aboriginal multilevel

governance. In M. Papillon & A. Juneau (Eds.), *Canada: The state of the federation*

2013: Aboriginal multilevel governance (pp. 3-26). Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's

University Press.

Park, V., Daly, A. J., & Guerra, A. W. (2012). Strategic framing: How leaders craft the meaning

of data use for equity and learning. *Educational Policy*, 27(4), 645-75.

Pashby, K. (2011). Cultivating global citizens: planting new seeds or pruning the perennials?

Looking for the citizen-subject in global citizenship education theory. *Globalisation,*

Societies and Education, 9(3-4), 427-442.

- Pashby, K., Ingram, L.-A., & Joshee, R. (2014). Discovering, recovering, and covering-up Canada: Tracing historical citizenship discourses in K-12 and adult immigrant citizenship education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 37(2), 1-26.
- Peck, C. L. & Sears, A. (2016). Canada. In Chong, K. M., Davies, I., Epstein, T., Peck, C. L., Peterson, A., Ross, A., Schmidt, M. A., Sears, A., & Sonu, D. (Eds.), *Education, Globalization and the Nation* (pp. 59-80). Houndmills, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Peck, C. L., Sears, A., & Donaldson, S. (2008). Unreached and unreasonable: Curriculum standards and children's understanding of ethnic diversity in Canada. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 38(1), 63-92.
- Peck, C. L., Thompson, L. A., Chareka, O., Joshee, R., & Sears, A. (2010). From getting along to democratic engagement: Moving toward deep diversity in citizenship education. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 6(1), 61-75.
- Pinar, W. F., Reynolds, W. M., Slattery, P., & Taubman, P. M. (1995). *Understanding curriculum. An introduction to the study of historical and contemporary curriculum discourses*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Pinto, L. E. (2012). *Curriculum reform in Ontario: 'Common sense' policy processes and democratic possibilities*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Pinto, L. E. (2013). When politics trump evidence: Financial literacy education narratives following the global financial crisis. *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(1), 95-120.
- Pinto, L. E. (2015). Fear and loathing in neoliberalism: School leader responses to policy layers. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 47(2), 140-54.
- Priestley, M. & Sinnema, C. (2014). Downgraded curriculum? An analysis of knowledge in new curriculum in Scotland and New Zealand. *The Curriculum Journal*, 25(1), 50-75.

- Rein, M. & Schön, D. (1996). Frame-critical policy analysis and frame-reflective policy practice. *Knowledge and Policy*, 9(1), 85-104.
- Restoule, J.-P., Gruner, S., & Metatawabin, E. (2013). Learning from place: A return to traditional Mushkegowuk ways of knowing. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 36(2), 68-86.
- Reynolds, C. (2012, October 31). Why are schools brainwashing our children? *Maclean's*. Retrieved from: <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/why-are-schools-brainwashing-our-children/>
- Rezai-Rashti, G. M. (2003). Educational policy reform and its impact on equity work in Ontario: Global challenges and local possibilities. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 11(51), 1-17.
- Rogers, P. (2018). *Tracing neoliberal governmentality in education: Disentangling economic crises, accountability, and the disappearance of social studies* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON. Retrieved from: https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/37232/3/Rogers_Pamela_2018_thesis.pdf
- Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Sattler, P. (2012). Education governance reform in Ontario: Neoliberalism in context. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 128, 1-28.
- Saul, J. R. (1994). *The doubter's companion: A dictionary of aggressive common sense*. Toronto, ON: Viking.
- Schneider, A. L. & Ingram, H. (2006). Public policy and democratic citizenship: What kinds of citizenship does policy promote? In F. Fischer, G. J. Miller, & M. S. Sidney (Eds.),

- Handbook of public policy analysis: Theory, politics, and methods* (pp. 329-346). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Schweisfurth, M. (2006). Education for global citizenship: Teacher agency and curricular structure in Ontario schools. *Educational Review*, 58(1), 41-50.
- Sears, A. (1997). Instruments of policy: How the national state influences citizenship education in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 29(2), 1-21.
- Sears, A. (2009). Guest editor's introduction. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 5(2), 1-3.
- Sears, A. (2010). Possibilities and problems: Citizenship education in a multinational state: The case of Canada. In A. Reid, J. Gill, & A. Sears (Eds.), *Globalization, the nation-state and the citizen* (pp. 191-205). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Simpson, L. B. (2014). Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3(3), 1-25.
- Smith, B. & Rogers, P. (2015). Towards a theory of decolonizing citizenship. *Citizenship Education Research Journal*, 5(1), 59-71.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. London, UK: Zed Books Ltd.
- Spillane, J. P., Reiser, B. J. & Gomez, L. M. (2006). Policy implementation and cognition: The role of human, social, and distributed cognition in framing policy implementation. In M. I. Honig (Ed.), *New directions in education policy implementation: Confronting complexity* (47-64). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Stanley, T. (1998). The struggle for history: Historical narratives and anti-racist pedagogy. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 19(1), 41-52.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Stark, F. M. (1996). *Communicative interaction, power, and the state: A method*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Styres, S., Haig-Brown, C., & Blimkie, M. (2013). Towards a pedagogy of the land: The urban context. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 36(2), 34-67.
- Suppovitz, J. A. & Weinbaum, E. H. (2008). Implementation as iterative refraction. In J. A. Supovitz & E. H. Weinbaum (Eds.), *The implementation gap: Understanding reform in high schools* (pp. 151-172). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Taylor, C. (1993). *Reconciling the solitudes: Essays on Canadian federalism and nationalism*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1994). The politics of recognition. In A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition* (pp. 25-73). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, C. (2012). Interculturalism or multiculturalism? *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 38(4-5), 413-423.
- Tee, N. P. (2008). Education policy rhetoric and reality gap: A reflection. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 22(6), 595-602.
- Tidridge, N. (2016). Why Ontario shouldn't ditch high school civics classes. *Maclean's*. Retrieved from: <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/ontario-ditch-civics-classes-mistake/#update>
- Tomkins, G. (1981). Foreign influences on curriculum and curriculum policy making in Canada: Some impressions in historical and contemporary perspective. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 11(2), 157-166.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Tomkins, G. S. (1986). *A common countenance: Stability and change in the Canadian curriculum*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada.
- Toukan, E. V. (2018). Educating citizens of ‘the global’: Mapping textual constructs of UNESCO’s global citizenship education 2012–2015. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 13(1), 51–64.
- Troper, H. (2002). The historical context for citizenship education in urban Canada. In Y. M. Hébert (Ed.), *Citizenship in transformation in Canada* (pp. 150-161). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) (2015). *Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future: Summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Retrieved from:
http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Exec_Summary_2015_05_31_web_o.pdf
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1).
- Tupper, J. A., Cappello, M. P. and Sevigny, P. R. (2010). Locating citizenship: Curriculum, social class, and the ‘good’ citizen. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 38(3), 336-365.
- Turner, D. (2013). On the idea of reconciliation in contemporary Aboriginal politics. In J. Henderson & P. Wakeham (Eds.), *Reconciling Canada: Critical perspectives on the culture of redress* (pp. 100-114). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Turner, D. A. (2006). *This is not a peace pipe: Towards a critical indigenous philosophy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

- Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler colonialism: A theoretical overview*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- von Heyking, A. J. (2006). *Creating citizens: History and identity in Alberta's schools, 1905-1980*. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.
- Wagenaar, H. (2011). *Meaning in action: Interpretation and dialogue in policy analysis*. Oxon, UK: ME Sharpe.
- Westbury, I. (2008). Making curricula: Why do states make curricula, and how? In F. M. Connelly, M. F. He, & J. Phillion (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of curriculum and instruction* (pp. 45-65). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Westbury, I. (2016). Talk, decisions, and action in curriculum-making: Reflections on the *ILS* and *L97* case studies. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48(6), 803-814.
- Westbury, I. & Sivesind, K. (2016). State-based curriculum-making, part 2: The tool-kit for the state's curriculum-making. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48(6), 757-765.
- Westbury, I., Aspfors, J., Fries, A.-V., Hansén, S.-E., Ohlhaver, F., Rosenmund, M., & Sivesind, K. (2016). Organizing curriculum change: An introduction. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48(6), 729-743.
- White, J. P. & Peters, J. (2009). A short history of Aboriginal education in Canada. In J. P. White, J. Peters, D. Beavon, & N. Spence (Eds.), *Aboriginal education: Current crisis and future alternatives* (pp. 13-31). Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Wildavsky, A. B. (1979). *Speaking truth to power: The art and craft of policy analysis*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Winton, S. (2012). Positioning Ontario's character development initiative in/through its policy web of relationships. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 58(1), 1-16.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Wood, P. B. & Rossiter, D. A. (2017). The politics of refusal: Aboriginal sovereignty and the Northern Gateway pipeline. *Canadian Geographer*, 61(2), 165-177.

Woons, M. (2014). Decolonizing Canadian citizenship: Shared belonging, not shared identity. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 4(2), 192-208.

Wraga, W. (2006). Curriculum theory and development and public policy making. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 3(1), 83-87.

Appendix A: Declaration of Contributions

I am the sole or primary author of all chapters in this thesis, with a contribution in each case surpassing the required 2/3 of the workload. In particular, I conducted all of the preliminary data analysis, review of the literature, and theoretical development, and wrote a full first draft of every chapter. However, I acknowledge the invaluable contribution of my supervisor, Peter Milley, who provided careful reading and thoughtful suggestions on multiple revisions of each chapter. I also acknowledge his particular contribution on chapters 4 and 5, which were submitted to academic journals as co-authored articles. Those contributions took place during detailed review and restructuring of draft versions, which resulted in substantive inputs with respect to problem definitions and rationales, methodologies, data analysis and findings in both chapters.

Appendix B: Teacher Candidate Interview Protocol

Title of Project: Developing Mobile Media Spaces for Civic Engagement in Urban Priority Schools

These will be the guiding questions for three rounds of interviews with our teacher candidates.

- 1) What school were you placed in this year?
 - a) What subjects did you teach?
 - b) What is that school like as a community?
 - c) What does it mean for your school to be an “urban” school?
 - d) Did you consider yourself a member of the school community?
 - e) In what ways did you participate in that community?
- 2) What does the word *citizenship* mean to you?
 - a) How do you understand citizenship in relation to your experience as an educator?
 - b) How does that play out in your teaching?
- 3) Do you see *citizenship* being taken up in the Ontario curriculum? How?
- 4) Did you experience *citizenship* in the context of the school? How?
- 5) What do you think the Ministry of Education hopes to achieve through citizenship education? Why do you think this?
- 6) What does the word *digital* mean to you, in relation to your experience as an educator?
 - a) Did you take up digital technologies within the teacher education program? In what ways?

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- b) Can you think of any specific assignments that furthered your understanding of digital citizenship?
- 7) Have learning experiences at the university this past year fostered your own initiatives in your placement school?
- 8) Tell me about your initiatives around digital citizenship in your school this past year.
- 9) Tell me about the process you went through in deciding how you would take up digital citizenship in your school.
- 10) What would it mean to teach for digital citizenship?
- 11) In your experience, have digital technologies had a positive or negative impact on how citizenship is enacted in the school?
 - a) Can you explain?
- 12) In your experience, does digital technology enable civic engagement beyond the school?
How?
- 13) From what you have experienced, will you take up digital citizenship in your future teaching? How?

Appendix C: Research Memos on Inductive Coding of CWS 9 & 10, May 2019

NOTE: This is a series of memos I wrote immediately following the completion of my inductive coding of the four versions of the *Canadian and World Studies 9 and 10* curriculum policy document. The categories I used here to describe the findings continued to evolve somewhat through the conclusion of my research process, and my final coding categories can be seen in Appendices D through G. I include these memos here as a record of my research process.

Diagnostic Framing

1999

While the document indicates various interrelated problems (economic globalization, environmental degradation, the break-down of traditional socio-political communities), these can be summarized into an overall problem statement, as follows: *Rabid global change is causing political jurisdictions to become more economically and culturally interconnected, blurring the boundaries between societies as discrete socio-political units. The resulting internal and external pluralism presents a challenge to political unity and effective democratic government.*

1999: Problematising national impact of global change

- 1999 Academic Geography (Overall Expectation): “research and report on global concerns that affect Canadians (e.g., wilderness protection, economic impact of globalization)” (p. 13).
- 1999 Academic History (Specific Expectation): “evaluate the effects of international political trends and events (e.g., end of Cold War; economic globalization; advent of world telecommunications) on Canada’s current political challenges” (p. 29)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- 1999 Academic History (Specific Expectation): “identify post–World War II economic developments that have led to the globalization of the Canadian economy (e.g., Auto Pact, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, North American Free Trade Agreement) and produce a report, video, or dramatic presentation illustrating the impact of those developments on Canadians” (p. 28).
- 1999 Applied Geography: “(9G2D2.2)- predict the consequences of human activities (e.g., agriculture, recreation) on natural systems (e.g., soil depletion, climate change)” (p. 22)
- “As the world’s economies become increasingly interdependent, as pressures on the world’s resources mount, and as concerns about issues such as global warming, urbanization, and population growth escalate, people need to become geographically literate and able to make informed judgements about environmental and social issues.” (p. 6, Geography curriculum)
- “Such knowledge teaches us that our particular accomplishments and problems are not unique – an important lesson in a world in which the forces of globalization are drawing people of different cultures closer together.” (p. 25, History curriculum)

1999: Problematizing national pluralism

- 1999 Civics (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of the challenges of governing communities or societies in which diverse value systems, multiple perspectives, and differing civic purposes coexist” (p. 50).

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “They should examine important civic questions and consider the challenges of governing communities in which contrasting values, multiple perspectives, and differing purposes coexist.” (p. 46, Civics curriculum)

2005: Problematizing national impact of global change

In the 2005 document, there is an incorporation of moralizing language into what were more neutral descriptions of problems in 1999, implying an ethical imperative embedded in the positive values of legal citizenship. See, for example, the variations in the same expectation from 1999 and 2005:

- 1999 Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “construct and defend a reasoned argument evaluating Canada’s involvement in a global concern (e.g., climate change, depletion of ocean resources)” (p. 21).
- 2005 Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “evaluate Canada’s effectiveness and commitment in responding to global challenges (e.g., climate change, depletion of ocean resources, terrorism) and promoting international well-being (e.g., humanitarian aid, human rights advocacy, peacekeeping)” (p. 39)
- 2005 Applied History Specific Expectation (5H2D1.3): “identify some of the major effects of, and concerns arising with, freer trade and globalization (e.g., creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA], World Trade Organization [WTO]; changing role of marketing boards; problems relating to trade of genetically modified organisms; reactions to fear of spreading disease, such as mad cow disease; effects on working conditions; creation of organizations such as Free the Children), focusing on at least two groups (e.g., farmers, businesses, workers, consumers, the poor)” (p. 60).

2005: Problematizing national power disparities

The problem framing in the 2005 document involves a different framing of diversity, away from diversity as a challenge to national unity (the overall expectation that explicitly framed this problem in 1999 (9CB3, quoted in 1999 memos) was deleted) toward inequalities and power imbalances between diverse groups as a problem for human progress and justice. This is captured in a new code, “problematizing national power disparities,” which can be seen in the following example:

- “(5G2D1.3)– describe how regional disparities (e.g., in resource accessibility) affect the economic sustainability of communities” (p. 40).
- Academic History (Specific Expectation): “compare regional social and economic disparities in Canada in selected decades (e.g., Saskatchewan in the 1930s, Quebec in the 1950s, Newfoundland in the 1990s) with current conditions” (p. 51).

2013

The problems framed in the 1999 document are large, complex, and somewhat intractable. Nonetheless, there is a clear sense of the ideal society (a series of nested socio-economic communities with strong sense of social, cultural, and political unity, culminating in the unitary nation-state) that these problems are obstructing. In the 2013 document, the problem framing is more complex, and is characterized by dilemmas between competing values. These dilemmas are along two main axes: 1) an ethical valuing of increasing social diversity set against political and economic concerns for how changing demographics (including particularly immigration and refugees) may disrupt the “sustainability” of communities; and 2) a valuing of environmental sustainability set against a valuing of economic development and prosperity.

2013: Problematizing balance of inclusion & cohesion

The 2013 document increases the emphasis first introduced in the 2005 document on an ethical concern with power and inequality. For instance, one of the goals of the civics course is:

“assessing the power and influence of different people involved in civic issues” (p. 7). This can be seen as well in the following specific expectation from Academic History:

- (3H1)D2.1 “describe some significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada during this period (e.g., the Asbestos Strike in Quebec; the Richard Riot; racial segregation ...), and analyse them from multiple perspectives” (p. 119)

However, this ethical concern with inequality and power disparities is in tension with a concern about the potential impacts on Canadian community and society of increasing diversity:

- D2. Immigration and Cultural Diversity: describe the diversity of Canada’s population, and assess some social, economic, political, and environmental implications of immigration and diversity for Canada (FOCUS ON: Spatial Significance; Geographic Perspective) Immigration and cultural diversity present both opportunities and challenges for Canadian communities. (p. 71)
- (3G1)D2.1 identify factors that influence where immigrants settle in Canada, and assess the opportunities and challenges presented by immigration and cultural diversity in Canada (e.g., expansion of business opportunities, cultural enrichment, global engagement and citizenship; neighbourhood segregation and lack of social integration, hate crimes). (p. 82)

2013: Problematizing balance of environment & economy

The 1999 document presents climate change as one of a number of problems, related broadly to globalization, which present a challenge to Canada as a nation-state. Insofar as a solution to

climate change is specifically considered, it is solely in the realm of personal responsibility.

There is no acknowledgement that responding to climate change may create a tension with other positive values set forth in the 1999 document, namely economic development. In the 2013 document, there is more explicit acknowledgement of this tension: “How do we balance our needs and wants with sustainable resource development?” (p. 70). This tension goes with more ambivalence overall in terms of what the document is setting forth as the ideal society.

- (3G1)B1.4 explain how human activities can alter physical processes and contribute to occurrences of natural events and phenomena (e.g., paving over land can alter drainage patterns and cause sink holes; some agricultural practices can contribute to soil erosion; deforestation can make slopes vulnerable to landslides) (from 5G1D2.4). Sample question: “What impact do exhaust emissions from vehicles have on our climate? Why?” (p. 76)
- (3G2)B1.3 analyse some environmental, economic, and social impacts of changes in Canada’s climate (e.g., effects of drought on crop production in the Prairies; effects of less sea ice on Inuit communities, Arctic shipping routes, and wildlife habitat; effects of more extreme weather on public safety, personal comfort, and the economy). Sample questions: “How might more snow in winter be related to a warming climate?” “Why would coastlines be more prone to flooding as temperatures rise?” “What effects might milder winters have on insect pests, and how, in turn, would people be affected by changes in insect populations?” (p. 93)

2013: Problematising national impact of global change

There are a smaller set of problem framing passages that appear to maintain the broader concern of the 1999 document with the impact of global change on the nation state. However, the

emphasis here is slightly less nationalistic – rather than understanding the global through the national, the emphasis rather appears to be on understanding the national through the global. For example, students are encouraged to: “develop an awareness that issues that affect their lives in Canada are interconnected with issues in other parts of the world” (p. 87).

2018

Problem framing is one of the two ways in which the 2018 document sees a substantial change from the 2013 document. Here as elsewhere, however, the change is not a dramatically new direction, but an increased emphasis on a theme already present in the 2013 document. In terms of problem framing, there is a set passages establishing Canadian colonialism as a core problem, supported by a number of other passages encouraging students to develop an understanding of the historical relationship of Canada to First Nations, Metis, and Inuit. The core problem framing is captured by the following passage:

- “Students learn about the historical and contemporary impact of colonialism, the Indian Act, the residential school system, treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (p. 11).

The limited scope of the 2018 revisions (limited almost entirely to the History curriculum) creates ambiguous results in terms of the overall document. While the language problematizing colonialism is quite unambiguous, the lack of modification to the Geography curriculum, in particular, means that the new framing of colonialism remains embedded in the document’s overall ambivalence between liberal “social justice” discourses and more conservative “social cohesion” discourses.

It is noteworthy that the new additions in the 2018 document come primarily in the area of problem framing, rather than presenting any sort of concrete solution to the problem of

Canadian colonialism. This aligns with the increased emphasis on problem framing in the 2013 document. Arguably, the increased emphasis on problem framing in the 2013 and 2018 documents suggests a broad shift toward a perspective grounded in liberalism, in which the solution to societal problems is to mobilize autonomous individuals to care about the problem, primarily through affective motivators (e.g. empathy and guilt). From such a (neo)liberal perspective, framing a problem in order to build awareness and understanding could be seen as a solution in itself.

Political

1999: Identifying with nationalistic narratives

Students are expected to develop a strong affective identification with Canada. This is centred around “Canadian identity,” which is envisioned as a phenomenon that takes various forms but is fundamentally unitary at its core. Students are supposed to learn about “the elements that constitute Canadian identity” (p. 27), as well as “various expressions of Canadian identity” (p. 37). The imagined form here seems to be something along the line of light refracted through a prism – the spectrum may be beautiful, but it is an artificial division of a unitary phenomenon.

- Academic History Overall Expectation (9H1A1)- “demonstrate an understanding of the elements of Canadian identity” (p. 28).
- Applied History (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of how individual Canadians have contributed to the development of Canada and an emerging sense of Canadian identity” (p. 32).

A final aspect of this theme is that it engages in a form of globalism, but the citizen’s engagement with the “global community” is filtered through the nation. Rather than participating directly in the global community as a “global citizen,” the citizen’s attention is directed to the

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

position and role of Canada among other nation-states. This is expressed, for example, as follows: “It [the curriculum] will also help them to perceive Canada in a global context and to understand its evolving role in the world community” (p. 2).

- Academic Geography Specific Expectation (9G1C1.3)- “demonstrate a knowledge of Canada’s significant world contributions (e.g., peacekeeping, telecommunications technology)” (p. 13)
- Academic History Specific Expectation (9H1B3.3)- “demonstrate an understanding of how the experience and memory of the Holocaust helped shape Canada’s role as a world leader in human rights (e.g., drafting of Declaration of Human Rights for the United Nations; introduction of Ontario Human Rights Code (1962) and Canadian Human Rights Act (1977); the work of Louise Arbour in Bosnia)” (p. 31)

1999: Fostering collective responsibility for national economy

- Applied Geography (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of the challenges associated with achieving resource sustainability, and explain the implications of meeting or not meeting those challenges for future resource use in Canada” (p. 20).
- Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “identify the locations of Canada’s energy sources and describe the relative importance of each source for the future” (p. 20).
- Academic History (Specific Expectation): “describe the founding of the Canadian Manufacturing Association and assess its contribution to the Canadian economy” (p. 33).

1999: Informing democratic citizenship

The 1999 document places a strong emphasis on “informed citizenship,” which is the first strand of the Civics course. This strand remains in 2005, then is modified to “civic awareness,” the second Civics strand in 2013 and 2018. Despite this broad continuity, however, there is a

significant modification of the nature of “informed citizenship” over the course of the four documents. The 1999 document emphasizes participation in the nation-state through both the political and the public realm. While the public realm will be discussed in more detail below, it is noteworthy that the 1999 document presents the public and political realms together as a relatively continuous realm of citizen action, rather than the discrete (and limited) realms of citizen action they become in the later documents. See, for example, the following expectation, which presents “democratic decision making” as broader than specifically political structures (e.g., elections and Parliamentary processes), and including broader public and legal elements such as the ideas of “common good” and “rights of minorities”:

- 1999 Civics Specific Expectation (9CA1.3)– “research and report on the elements of democratic decision making (e.g., rights and responsibilities of citizens, rule of law, common good, parliamentary system, majority rule, rights of minorities)” (p. 48)

See as well the following expectation, which highlights the emphasis the 1999 document places on political decision-making *as a mechanism to resolve conflicts in the broader public realm*:

- 1999 Civics Specific Expectation (9CA4.7)– “research recently passed legislation at the community, provincial, or federal level to resolve public conflict (e.g., smoking and health regulations, drinking and driving laws, gun laws), and then produce a report analysing the key issues and different points of view on the issues” (p. 49)

Notably, both of these expectations were deleted in the 2005 document, as part of a broader shift toward: 1) a narrower understanding of the political realm as limited to formal political structures and processes, and 2) a general de-emphasizing of the public realm.

2005: Identifying with nationalistic narratives

The emphasis on Canadian nationalism remains broadly similar in the 2005 document to what was seen in the 1999 document, with one exception. In the 1999 document, this code captured a range of passages that viewed the global context through the lens of Canadian nationalism (e.g. “Canada’s significant world contributions”). The 2005 document subtly reverses this, framing Canadian nationalism through the lens of globalism. See, for example:

- Academic History (Overall Expectation): “explain how local, national, and global influences have helped shape Canadian identity” (p. 46).

2005: Fostering collective responsibility for national economy

The 2005 document retains much of the economic nationalism of the 1999 document, but there are some slight shifts in terms of incorporating more moralistic language relating to personal responsibility, and more emphasis on the health of the environment. See, for example, the following overall expectation, which is a revision of the same overall expectation quoted for 1999, above:

- “relate current lifestyle choices of Canadians to the prospects for sustaining Canada’s economic and environmental well-being” (p. 38).

2005: Informing democratic citizenship

Along with the deletions described above, the following edit of an expectation from 1999 to 2005 highlights the shift away from a political realm seen as relatively continuous with the public realm and open to multiple avenues of citizen involvement for the purpose of resolving public conflicts. Note the change from “conflict resolution” to “policy formation,” indicating the reification of the political realm as a space of formal democratic structures but not of broader public citizen engagement:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- 1999 Civics Specific Expectation (9CC2.2)– “analyse important historical and contemporary cases that involve democratic principles in the public process of conflict resolution and decision making” (p. 52)
- 2005 Civics Specific Expectation (5CC2.2)– “analyse important contemporary cases and issues that have been decided or resolved through the public process of policy formation and decision making (e.g., mandatory retirement, censorship, racial profiling), taking into account the democratic principles that underlie that process” (p. 69)

2013: Identifying with nationalistic narratives

There is a significant shift in the 2013 and 2018 documents away from the broad nationalism of the earlier documents and toward a much narrower nationalism which exclusively presents Canada’s pluralism as the sole source of national pride. In the 2013 document, 7 overall expectations emphasise nationalistic sentiments focused on pluralism, while only 1 presents nationalistic sentiments more broadly. In the 2018 document, this becomes 8 and 0.

The modified nationalism of the 2013 document can be seen in the following quotation. Note the emphasis on pluralism, as well as the more ambivalent language than in previous documents (“complexity” and “challenges”). Note as well that learning about Canadian citizenship is presented as a preparatory stage toward becoming global citizens:

- “The study of history in Grade 10 enables students to more fully appreciate Canadian heritage and identity, the diversity and complexity of Canadian society, and the challenges and responsibilities associated with Canada’s position in the world. In doing so, it helps prepare students to fulfil their role as informed and responsible global citizens.” (p. 12)

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

This nationalistic focus on pluralism can also be found in the expectations in the 2013 document, as seen in the following example. Note the phrase “identity, citizenship, and heritage,” which is repeated frequently in the 2013 document:

- Academic History Overall Expectation: “analyse how significant events, individuals, and groups, including Aboriginal peoples, Québécois, and immigrants, contributed to the development of identity, citizenship, and heritage in Canada between 1945 and 1982” (p. 118).

The biggest change in the 2018 document related to this theme is the systematic replacement of the term “identity” with the pluralized term “identities.” The point of this change appears to be an increased emphasis on pluralism, and therefore a critique of the idealization of a unitary “Canadian identity” that exists in the 2013 document as a holdover from the 1999 document. The way this was done, however, was largely through a simplistic replacement of the individualized term without attention to the surrounding context. It feels at times like they literally used the “search and replace” function in their word processor, leading to some bizarre results. The following quotation is a good example from the 2018 document:

- “Which individual or event made the most significant contribution to the development of identities in Canada during this period?” (p. 133)

This is a question that made perfect sense in the 2013 document, when it addressed “the development of Canadian identity” (p. 127). With the changed emphasis on dispersed and individualized identities, however, the desire to evaluate these through a centralized and hierarchical process seems somewhat nonsensical. The systematic replacement of “identity” with “identities” throughout the many expectations that emphasize Canadian “identity, citizenship,

and heritage” plays a large role in further de-emphasizing the generalized nationalism of the previous documents and the exclusive focus on pluralism in the 2018 document.

2013: Fostering collective responsibility for national economy

On the whole, the theme of economic nationalism remains remarkably similar in the 2013 document. The following is as clear a statement as any in 1999 and 2005 of the connection made throughout the documents between individual skill development and national economic prosperity: “Canada’s economic well-being relies on the development of both natural and human resources” (p. 70). However, the 2013 document also builds on the idea introduced in 2005 that developing the national economy must, to some degree, be balanced against the needs of the environment. See, for example, the following specific expectation from Applied Geography:

- “describe Canada’s major exports and imports, and assess some of the environmental, economic, social, and political implications of Canada’s current export and import patterns” (p. 97).

2013: Informing democratic citizenship

The modified role of “informed citizenship” in the 2013 document is captured well in this quotation from the core vision statement for the whole document. Note the focus on “inclusion” rather than conflict resolution – i.e. diverse voices must be heard and respected, but the goal is not to then work together to build a new consensus. Diversity is an end in itself. The emphasis on critical thought connects as well with the emphasis on skills, and aligns with the overall emphasis on the autonomous individual who stands outside society, analyzes it critically, and engages with it as a consumer/citizen on various levels, according to the dictates of personal preference and whim:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Vision of CWS: “As well as becoming critically thoughtful and informed citizens who value an inclusive society, students will have the skills they need to solve problems and communicate ideas and decisions about significant developments, events, and issues” (p. 6)

This theme is also significantly reduced in importance in the 2013 document. It was reduced from 6 Overall Expectations and 26 Specific Expectations in 1999 to 5 and 20 in 2005 to 1 and 11 in 2013 and 2018. What remains is largely focused on understanding formal political structures, with very little connection to the public realm or space for grassroots citizen action. The following overall expectation is typical:

- “explain, with reference to a range of issues of civic importance, the roles and responsibilities of various institutions, structures, and figures in Canadian governance” (p. 152).

What remains is 1) largely channeled through formal processes, and 2) focused on understanding and evaluating possible courses of action rather than actually taking action, as can be seen in the following specific expectation:

- “describe various ways in which people can access information about civic matters (e.g., websites of governments, political parties, NGOs, or other groups and/or institutions; social media; meetings organized by elected representatives; newspapers or newscasts), and assess the effectiveness of ways in which individuals can voice their opinions on these matters (e.g., by contacting their elected representatives, being part of a delegation to speak on an issue under consideration by city council, organizing a petition, voting, making a presentation to a commission of inquiry, participating in a political party or

interest group; by expressing their views through the media, including social media, or at a town-hall meeting; through court challenges; through art, drama, or music)” (p. 157)

There is no significant modification to this theme in the 2018 document, largely because there is no change to the Civics curriculum other than a few specific words (e.g. changing “Aboriginal” to “Indigenous”).

Economic

1999: Promoting transferable skills

This code captures a range of passages and expectations that encourage students to develop specific skills, particularly skills related to research. The 1999 document also shows a particular preoccupation with technological skills, which are presented as both enabling richer learning in the present and transferable to future careers. Regarding technology in geography education, the document states: “Exposure to GPS (Global Positioning System) and GIS (Geographic Information Systems) technology allows students to develop highly sought-after skills that can be applied in many careers” (p. 54). Regarding technology in the History curriculum, the document states: “These newly available resources allow students to conduct more diverse and more authentic research into the history of Canada and Canadians than has ever been possible for students at this level” (p. 54). While the later documents retain an interest in the role of technology, at least implicitly, they do not present the same romanticized vision of the role of technology in the classroom.

- Academic History Specific Expectation: “use computer-based systems effectively to organize information for research and report preparation” (p. 35)

1999: Transferring knowledge & skills between contexts

- Academic Geography (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of how global economic and environmental factors affect individual career and lifestyle opportunities” (p. 14).
- Academic History (Overall Expectation): “communicate effectively the results of research in presentations, and demonstrate an ability to apply insights from history to other situations” (p. 35).
- Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “determine whether or not the conclusions or solutions arrived at during a geographic inquiry can be applied to other situations” (p. 24).

In the 1999 CWS document, this code consists primarily of transferable skills that can be learned in the subject courses but that are intended for application in the broader globalized economy. These skills are mostly related to forms of decontextualized critical analysis, including “research, critical thinking, problem solving, and decision making” (p. 3). The interconnection between transferrable skills, global awareness, and career development within the globalized economy is explicit: “The knowledge and skills students acquire in the study of geography and history are useful in a variety of careers. Courses in these subjects increase students’ awareness of the ways in which local and global events and trends affect the economy, as well as their own career opportunities.” (p. 54). While students are encouraged to develop an affective and active connection to their nation-state, therefore, they are simultaneously encouraged to develop a detached awareness of their career potential within the globalized economy. These two ideas are not necessarily contradictory (a contemporary nation-state will strengthen its economic position

by advancing the global marketability of its citizens), but they do exist in a certain degree of tension.

Notably, this theme is also the one most clearly presented in document frontmatter as a justification/explanation for the policy. See, for example: “As the world undergoes continual change, students need many different kinds of knowledge and skills to be successful” (p. 7). Also: “Students can apply the skills they acquire in Canadian and world studies in their other secondary school subjects, as well as in their postsecondary studies and in today’s changing workplace” (p. 3)

2005: Promoting transferable skills

This category largely retains its weight, although there are some minor adjustments between codes (e.g. a de-emphasis of technological skills but the addition of more general communication skills). There is a decrease in weight in terms of overall expectations associated with the key thematic codes from 1999 (“preparing for changing workplace” and “transferring knowledge and skills between contexts”), but in terms of content this category is quite stable.

2005: Transferring knowledge & skills between contexts

The emphasis on transferrable skills is similar in the 1999 and the 2005 document, although there are some slight shifts in emphasis (e.g., greater emphasis on communication skills). As elsewhere, there is a slight shift in tone toward a perspective more grounded in globalized liberalism, including the centralization of climate change in students’ career planning:

- 2005 Academic Geography Specific Expectation: “predict various global environmental changes (e.g., global warming) and the impact they may have in the future on the occupations of Canadians (e.g., wheat farming in the Arctic) in various sectors of the economy (e.g., primary, secondary, tertiary, quaternary)” (p. 33).

2013: Transferring skills to everyday contexts & future careers

While the 1999 and 2005 documents contained considerable emphasis on both citizenship education and developing transferable skills, there was only a tenuous connection between these two themes. The implied argument would run something like this: *Citizens need to develop a strong affective connection, and sense of responsibility to Canada as a nation-state. Part of this responsibility is to participate in furthering Canada's economic prosperity. In the 21st century, this is achieved by developing transferable skills that are marketable in the globalized economy.* In the 2013 document, there begins to be a more explicit connection – i.e. citizenship is seen explicitly (at least in part) as an economic activity. See, for instance:

- “Finally, to become responsible citizens in the global economy, they will need to understand the social, environmental, and ethical implications of their own choices as consumers” (pp. 49-50).

While this idea of “citizens in the global economy” is nonsensical in terms of a traditional understanding of citizenship (i.e. official membership in a state), as an expression of the idealized relationship between the person and society this can be understood as a vision of the autonomous, disembedded individual who defines their personhood largely as self-directed agents within a transnational economic marketplace. The self-directed nature of personhood is an important part of the document’s overall vision, as is expressed right at the beginning:

- “The updated Ontario curriculum, in combination with a broader range of learning options outside traditional classroom instruction, will enable students to better customize their high school education and improve their prospects for success in school and in life” (p. 3)

Practically, this is achieved, again, through an emphasis on transferable skills. This theme is expressed explicitly and frequently in the document. See, for instance, this specific expectation from Civics, which has a parallel in each of the five courses:

- “(3C)A2.1 describe some ways in which political inquiry can help them develop skills, including the essential skills in the Ontario Skills Passport (e.g., skills related to reading texts, writing, computer use, oral communication, numeracy, decision making, problem solving) and those related to the citizenship education framework, that can be transferred to the world of work and/or to everyday life” (p. 150).

Several things are notable about this expectation. First is the explicit reference to transferable skills, and to the specific contexts into which these skills are supposed to be transferred.

Secondly, this expectation from Civics is the only expectation in the entire document that makes reference to the Citizenship Education Framework, yet it de-emphasizes any substantive understanding of citizenship by 1) listing the framework after the Ontario Skills Passport, and 2) only situating the framework as a source of “essential skills” (as opposed to, say, belonging or participation).

2013: Promoting transferable skills

The emphasis on transferable skills in research and communications is very similar to 2005.

However, there is a slight de-emphasizing of transferable skills in technology. This is reflected not only in fewer references to technological skills, but also less of the romanticized tone of the 1999 document that seemed to view technology as an end in itself. Instead, the 2013 document describes technology more instrumentally: “use appropriate technology as a tool to help them gather and analyse information, solve problems, and communicate” (p. 6).

2018

There are no significant changes to the economic codes from 2013 to 2018.

Public

1999: Identifying with communitarian pluralism

The social, political, and environmental context(s) in which people are embedded appear to play a central role in shaping their personhood. As the History curriculum states: “It is through the study of communities that students begin to understand who they are in time and place” (p. 25). It is this idea, that people are not only embedded in a social context but formed by it, that most distinguishes the philosophical underpinnings of this document from ontological liberalism, in the sense of self-generating personhood. It is also here that this theme seems to slip from an ontological claim about society to a normative project for education.

The idea of “community” is central to the overall themes of the 1999 document. The following passage from the frontmatter to the History curriculum gives an overall explication of this term:

- “Communities may be viewed from local, regional, national, and world perspectives. Communities interact with one another through commerce, cultural exchanges, colonization, war, and international agreements. These interactions are the basis of today’s globally connected world. Over time, communities and their interactions have changed because of factors such as changing technologies and patterns of human migration.” (p. 25)

While the geographic scale of community is open-ended, it is clearly intended to refer to organic, socio-political communities, which the individual person is embedded in prior to any personal

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

choice. As this passage goes on to suggest, such an organic socio-political community is understood to form the personhood of the individual to some degree:

- “It is through the study of communities that students begin to understand who they are in time and place” (p. 25).

This stands in contrast to the later documents, which tend toward what might be called an ontological liberalism in which the individual is understood to originate as an autonomous and disembedded unit, then to opt into various identity communities through an act of volition. Among the four CWS documents, therefore, the 1999 document is unique in prioritizing an ontological understanding of the individual as embedded in *and formed by* organic socio-political communities. Citizenship, therefore, is understood at least in part as originating with the social grouping and then being bestowed on the individual, rather than originating through the self-generating personhood of the liberal individual.

- Civics Specific Expectation (9CB2.2)– “explain how different groups (e.g., special interest groups, ethnocultural groups) define their citizenship, and identify the beliefs and values reflected in these definitions” (p. 50; MAINTAINED VERBATIM IN 2005, p. 67, then deleted in 2013)

In keeping with its emphasis on socio-political communities, the 1999 document portrays Canadian pluralism primarily in terms of *regional* communities, where the later documents place increasing emphasis on decontextualized identity markers such as gender or racialization. See, for example, the following specific expectation from Applied History:

- (9H2A1.2)- “describe the contributions to Canadian society of its regional, linguistic, ethnic, and religious communities (e.g., Aboriginal nations, Franco-Ontarians, Métis,

Doukhobors, Black Canadians)” (p. 38) (maintained in 2005 with slight edits to incorporate increased emphasis on “multiculturalism” (p. 55))

- Academic Geography Specific Expectation: “produce and evaluate a set of criteria (e.g., in terms of religious and political pluralism, bilingualism, contributions of ethnocultural groups) to describe Canadian identity” (p. 14).

1999: Identifying through common public issues

As it is expressed in the Civics curriculum, students are expected to have their personal perspectives, beliefs, and values shaped by common encounter with shared national concerns: “They are encouraged to identify and clarify their own beliefs and values, and to develop an appreciation of others’ beliefs and values about questions of civic importance” (p. 46). The idea of “civic importance” is repeated multiple times in various forms, and appears to be quite central to the overall project of the curriculum policy. It is unclear who is supposed to be determining the “civic importance” of an issue. But the underlying idea appears to be that the state can overcome the problematic diversity of its populace by fostering a shared understanding of the issues we need to address. Common attention to shared national problems, apparently, will either reduce the salience of internal national pluralism or potentially even transform the contextually-shaped personhood of citizens into a more commonly-shared form.

- Civics (Overall Expectation): “articulate clearly their personal sense of civic identity and purpose, and understand the diversity of beliefs and values of other individuals and groups in Canadian society” (p. 50).
- Academic Geography (Specific Expectation): “evaluate differing viewpoints on the benefits and disadvantages of selected energy megaprojects (e.g., James Bay, Hibernia, Athabaska tar sands, Churchill Falls)” (p. 11).

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

Individual citizens are not just neutrally placed in a field of individualized diversity. Rather, consistent with the ontological assumptions described above as “communitarian pluralism,” their place within Canadian pluralism is understood to be shaped, at least in part, by their communities.

- Civics Specific Expectation (9CB1.3)– “articulate and clarify their personal beliefs and values concerning democratic citizenship, and determine the influence of significant factors (e.g., community, nation, cultural group, religion, gender, socioeconomic status) on their sense of civic purpose (p. 50; in 2005 (p. 67) first half is maintained verbatim but second half is deleted – i.e., maintaining individualized beliefs and values but removing sense of social embeddedness)

In turn, their choices impact back on those communities:

- On important civic questions: “Our responses to these questions will affect not only our personal lives but the future of our communities, our provinces and territories, and our country” (p. 46)

One of the unique features of the 1999 document is that recognizing a diversity of perspectives is not seen as an end in itself. Consistent with the document’s problem statements, “differing civic purposes” is seen as a division within the nation-state that citizens have some degree of responsibility to resolve. The following three expectations illustrate the responsibility of citizens to respond to such divisions, and the specific role of “conflict resolution” as a form of restoring unity. These three expectations, and others like them, were deleted in 2005. This begins the process of emptying out the public realm in the subsequent documents.

- Civics Specific Expectation (9CB1.5)– “describe ways citizens can be involved in responding to issues in which contrasting value systems, multiple perspectives, and

differing civic purposes coexist, and determine their own sense of responsibility in relation to these opportunities for involvement” (p. 68; deleted in 2005)

How these divisions are meant to be resolved is less precisely detailed, but it has to do with various processes of conflict resolution, which citizens are expected to actively participate in:

- Civics Specific Expectation (9CC2.3)– “demonstrate an ability to apply conflict-resolution and decision-making strategies (e.g., identify points of view and values, collect data) to public issues affecting their own lives” (p. 52; deleted in 2005).
- Civics Specific Expectation (9CC3.2)- “communicate their own beliefs, points of view, and informed judgements, and effectively use appropriate discussion skills (e.g., persuasion, negotiation)” (p. 52; deleted in 2005).

1999: Identifying with civil society

In keeping with the broader emphasis placed on the public realm, the 1999 document draws attention to the importance of civil society groups as agents in society:

- Academic History (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of the contributions of various social and political movements to Canadian history during the twentieth century” (p. 32).

In particular, the 1999 document emphasizes the role of civil society groups as actors impacting the political realm. Along with the broader sense of the public and political realms as being continuous, this idea was de-emphasized in the later documents. This specific expectation, which was deleted in the 2005 document, is a good example:

- Academic History Specific Expectation: (9H1D2.1)- “research and describe the role of early twentieth-century pressure groups in promoting social support programs (e.g.,

Woman's Christian Temperance Union, veterans' and various ethnocultural associations)" (p. 33) (DELETED IN 2005)

2005: Identifying with communitarian pluralism

There is no significant change in this theme from 1999 to 2005.

2005: Identifying through common public issues

In 1999, the code "identifying through common public issues" had six overall expectations, but it had none at all in 2005. This code was arguably a key aspect of the overall framing in 1999, setting out the domain of action in which to move from the core problem (socio-political fragmentation) to the desired end result (collective political identification). While other codes relating to civil society have retained some of their weight, the public realm has largely been removed as a locus for citizen action.

While some expectations related to this theme were deleted altogether, others were modified in such a way as to significantly change their purpose. See, for example, the following overall expectation, which is a central passage for engaging students in the public realm in the 1999 document. In the 2005 document, it is edited to change the focus from public action to *understanding* public processes, effectively shifting it from the public realm to the political realm. This shift is indicative of two related shifts that occur over time throughout the four documents: 1) a de-emphasizing of the public realm, and 2) a more general shift from encouraging students to engage in various forms of citizen action toward a neutralized emphasis on *understanding*.

- (9CC2)- "demonstrate an ability to apply decision-making and conflict-resolution procedures and skills to cases of civic importance" (p. 52).

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- (5CC2)- “demonstrate an understanding of the various ways in which decisions are made and conflicts resolved in matters of civic importance, and the various ways in which individual citizens participate in these processes” (p. 69).

What remains of this theme calls for building awareness of plural perspectives on public issues, but not for any subsequent steps toward building a new consensus. This specific expectation from Civics is a good example:

- (5CB2.3)- “analyse Canadian issues or events that involve contrasting opinions, perspectives, and civic purposes (e.g., constitutional debates, Quebec sovereignty, Oka Crisis of 1990, Native self-governance)” (p. 67).

Notably, this is a revision of a 1999 specific expectation that also called for “evaluating the conflicting positions” (p. 50). This revision in the 2005 document is an early step toward the emphasis on diversity as an end in itself in the 2013 and 2018 documents.

2005: Identifying with civil society

There is a high amount of continuity in this theme from 1999 to 2005. However, as noted above, there is a de-emphasizing of the specifically *political* impact of civil society from 1999 to 2005. What is retained from 1999 places more emphasis on civil society organizations as social rather than political actors. See, for example, this specific expectation from Civics:

- (5CB3.1)- “describe and assess the contributions that citizens and citizens’ groups make to the civic purposes of their communities (e.g., neighbourhood associations, service clubs)” (p. 67).

This expectation is mostly maintained verbatim from 1999 (p. 51), except that the examples were added. Arguably, before these specifically social and local examples were added, the 1999

expectation was intended to include both larger civil society groupings and more expansive impacts, including direct impact on the political realm.

2013: Identifying with communitarian pluralism

This theme, which played such an important role in establishing the ontological premises of the 1999 document, is almost entirely removed in 2013. While it never had any overall expectations, it had 14 specific expectations in 1999, 10 in 2005, and 0 in 2013 and 2018. All that remains are a few comments in the document's frontmatter that retain some of these older ideas. See, for example, this comment on parents' responsibilities from the 2013 document:

- “Parents can also promote their children’s understanding of and appreciation for the multiple communities to which they belong – ethnocultural, religious, linguistic, national – by exposing them to people, cultural events, and stories related to their heritage” (p. 15; retained verbatim in 2018, p. 16).

2013: Identifying with civil society

“Identifying with civil society” retains some emphasis on the national public realm in the 2013 and 2018 documents. Nonetheless, the weight of this theme is significantly reduced, from 2 overall expectations and 17 specific expectations in 1999, to 2 and 9 in 2005, to 0 overall expectations and 3 specific expectations in 2013. As with 2005, the political realm is kept largely separate from the public realm, with the discussion of civil society organizations focusing on their social impact first and their political impact only secondarily. See for example:

- (3H1)B2.4 explain the goals and accomplishments of some groups and/or movements that contributed to social and/or political cooperation during this period (e.g., the Union government; One Big Union or other labour unions; the Maritime Rights movement; the League of Indians; temperance organizations; the United Farmers of Ontario; women’s

suffrage organizations; the Famous Five). Sample questions: “What impact did the League of Indians have on the lives of Aboriginal peoples in Canada?” “What social and economic conditions motivated the social gospel movement? What impact did the movement have on people’s lives? How much political influence did it have?” (p. 113)

A new shift that is notable in the 2013 document is a blurring of the national public realm and the legal realm of global citizenship, which were kept quite distinct in the earlier documents. See the following expectation, which incorporates both:

- Civics Specific Expectation: “assess the significance, both in Canada and internationally, of the civic contributions of some individuals (e.g., Sean Atleo, Maude Barlow, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Elijah Harper, Craig Kielburger, Martin Luther King, Jr., Cardinal Paul Émile Léger, Stephen Lewis, Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi, David Suzuki) and organizations, including NGOs and social enterprises (e.g., Amnesty International, L’Arche Canada, Democracy Watch, Free the Children, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Métis Nation of Ontario, Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, Samara Canada, Spread the Net, SoChange, World Wildlife Federation, Youth in Philanthropy Canada)” (p. 156).

2013: Positioning Individual Values in Multi-Level Pluralism

This theme is a clear successor to “Identifying through Common Public Issues,” in terms of its focus on situating oneself within a pluralistic public realm. There are some significant shifts, however, all of which move this theme away from the national public realm and toward a globalized realm that is characterized by a form of liberal individualism. First, as seen above in relation to civil society, there is a blurring of the national public realm and the legal realm of global citizenship. See, for instance, the following expectation:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Civics Specific Expectation: “communicate their own position on some issues of civic importance at the local, national, and/or global level (e.g., equitable availability of extracurricular activities in schools, a local land-use conflict, poverty or violence in the local community, electoral reform, the debate over Sharia law in Ontario, the level of Canada’s contribution to international development assistance, food security, Aboriginal land rights), explaining how their position is influenced by their beliefs/values” (p. 153).

Significantly, it is suggested that in this new global legal/public realm, governments are just another set of actors. Students are called upon to: “analyse the beliefs and values of various groups, including different governments, in local, national, and/or global communities” (p. 143). This is a significant shift away from the earlier documents, where the public realm was explicitly national, and was largely defined in relation to the national government in terms of the desire of citizens to impact public policy. It is worth asking what exactly defines this global public/legal realm, in which governments are simply one more set of actors. It is possible that it is a global legal realm, defined by, say, the United Nations and international courts, but these transnational institutions don’t seem strong enough to clearly define this realm. The realm may in fact be more closely aligned with the globalized economic marketplace of neoliberalism.

Secondly, the emphasis on “issues of civic importance” is maintained, but there is a shift away these being treated as somehow commonly defined within the public realm toward them being defined by the autonomous individual based on personal interest:

- 2013 Civics Specific Expectation: “analyse a civic issue of personal interest, including how it is viewed by different groups” (p. 157).

This individualized emphasis is suggestive of an underlying philosophy of ethical liberalism. Relatedly, and building on the shift that began in 2005, there is a shift away from the public

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

realm being understood as a forum for overcoming diversity through processes of conflict resolution. Instead, diversity is understood as a value and an end in itself. The goal of the public realm is simply to build understanding and appreciation of diversity, and this is expressed in terms of the affective and moral trait of “empathy”:

- “Students develop empathy as they analyse events and issues from the perspectives of people in different parts of Canada or the world, or from different historical eras” (p. 47).

There is very little change in this theme in the 2018 document. There is, however, one isolated question added in the frontmatter to the Applied History course that is noteworthy in that it at least suggests the possibility of resolving one of the key problems identified by the document (i.e. Canadian colonialism) through public action:

- “What actions have some individuals and communities been taking to change the colonial relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada?” (p. 133)

Legal

The legal dimension of citizenship goes beyond a legal framework of rights negatively prescribed (i.e. juridical constraints on certain actions) and incorporates a positive ethical vision of individual self-fulfillment as a goal to be pursued through human action. (This parallels Manzer’s (1994) description of the goal of “ethical liberalism” as “the self-development of each individual” (p. 14).)

1999: Standardizing individual citizen role

Arguably one of the core ideas of the 1999 CWS document is that there is a specific, pre-defined “role” students are expected to step into as citizens. This is expressed clearly in the following quotation: “It is important that students understand the role of the citizen, and the personal values

and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions” (p. 46). This role is partially prescribed through legally-defined rights and responsibilities:

- Civics Specific Expectation: “describe the changing nature of Canadian citizenship rights and responsibilities based on an examination of provincial legislation, the Bill of Rights (1960), and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) (e.g., in terms of fundamental freedoms, democratic rights, mobility rights, legal rights, equality rights, language rights, Aboriginal rights)” (p. 48).

However, it also captures a broader range of cognitive and affective characteristics that the citizen is expected to internalize and enact:

- Civics Specific Expectation: “describe fundamental beliefs and values associated with democratic citizenship (e.g., rule of law, human dignity, freedom of worship, respect for rights of others, work for common good, sense of responsibility for others, freedom of expression)” (p. 50).

This process of shaping the individual citizen through a broad combination of legal constraints (in a narrow sense) and positively-defined personality characteristics and activities fits with the understanding of the “legal imaginary” in my typology of citizen types. “Legal” in this sense refers not only to strictly juridical structures and processes but to the underlying social imaginary, based broadly in a form of ontological liberalism, which understands the individual as autonomous and disembedded from any thick form of socio-political belonging, but at the same time as subject to a standardized set of ethical obligations that establish a preset “subject position” that the citizen is expected to enact.

This process of establishing a standardized subject position for the citizen aligns practically with the strict policy structures laid out in the frontmatter of the curriculum

document. As with the broader curriculum reform enacted by Ontario's PC government in the late 1990s, the 1999 CWS document signals a strong turn toward prescriptive, centralized control over teachers' pedagogical practice in classrooms. The document lays out a highly structured policy framework around the course content, including course requirements in the form of outcome-focused "expectations," compulsory and prerequisite courses, and an achievement chart intended to provide "a standard province-wide method for teachers to use in assessing and evaluating their students' achievement" (p. 56). As part of the Secondary School Reform (SSR), the document also marks a return to streaming Ontario secondary school students, with separate "Academic" and "Applied" versions of the Geography and History courses. Various aspects of the curriculum are suggestive of Foucault's (1977) conceptualization of Discipline, achieved through the meticulous regimentation of human bodies and activities through mechanical hierarchies, distributions, and chronologies according to abstract graphs and charts. The instructions provided to teachers in regards to student assessment are a good example:

- "When planning courses and assessment, teachers should review the required curriculum expectations and link them to the categories to which they relate. They should ensure that all the expectations are accounted for in instruction, and that achievement of the expectations is assessed within the appropriate categories. The descriptions of the levels of achievement given in the chart should be used to identify the level at which the student has achieved the expectation." (p. 57)

One noteworthy aspect of this theme, particularly in relation to more recent policy developments in Ontario, is the positioning of student participation in activities outside the school. The Civics curriculum positions such activities as a key element in the formation of students as citizens: "Students need to learn basic civic literacy skills and have opportunities to apply those skills

meaningfully by participating actively in the civic affairs of their community” (p. 46). Later, however, the document raises concerns about such activities:

- “Out-of-school fieldwork provides an exciting and authentic dimension to students’ learning experiences. It also takes the teacher and students out of the predictable classroom environment and into new settings. Teachers must preview and plan expeditions carefully to protect students’ health and safety.” (p. 55)

This passage is a rare exception of language that has been preserved almost verbatim throughout all of the edits of this document. See the very slight adaptation of it in the 2018 document:

- “Out-of-school field trips can provide an exciting and authentic dimension to students’ learning experiences, but they also take the teacher and students out of the predictable classroom environment and into unfamiliar settings. Teachers must preview and plan these activities carefully to protect students’ health and safety.” (p. 58)

As Joshee et al. (2016) note, in recent decades “safe schools” policies have become an important element in the policy web shaping citizenship education in Ontario. This early warning about the dangers of out-of-school activities is the beginning of a process of clamping down on such activities. In later iterations of the CWS document, discussion of citizenship participation in the wider community will become more constrained.

1999: Fostering ethical global citizenship

This code responds to the problem of globalistic pluralization by encouraging students to engage directly in the new globalized reality. This is expressed quite directly in the Geography curriculum: “Since the world’s economies are becoming increasingly interconnected, and the flow of people, products, money, information, and ideas around the world is accelerating, a global perspective is particularly important for today’s students” (p. 8).

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Civics (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of citizenship within a global context” (p. 48).

This “understanding of citizenship within a global context” effectively establishes a subject position similar to that described at the national level, although in the 1999 document this latter subject position is not nearly as well defined. It is partially delineated in terms of international law, as seen in this specific expectation:

- (9CA5.2)- “summarize the rights and responsibilities of citizenship within the global context, as based on an analysis of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)” (p. 49).

However, it also involves broader ethical obligations, which in the 1999 document are particularly related to individualized personal responsibility for the environment:

- Academic Geography (Specific Expectation): “compare, in terms of resource use and consumption, the ecological footprint of an average Canadian with that of an average citizen in a developing country” (p. 13)
- Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “research and report on ways to improve the balance between human needs and natural systems (e.g., recycling, river clean-ups, ecological restoration of local woodlots or schoolyards, industrial initiatives to reduce pollution)” (p. 20).

2005: Fostering ethical global citizenship

This category moves from a peripheral to a more central position. In terms of weight, its overall expectations increase from 1 to 4, which is particularly notable in a context where the expectations on the whole are being reduced. There is also a significant shift in content. While the specifically juridical obligations are similar in tone to the 1999 document, there is a broader

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

shift from neutral consideration of global citizenship, or a sort of vague identification with it, to positioning global citizenship as more of an ethical imperative. The ethical imperative is summarized well in this passage: “Students are expected to demonstrate an understanding of the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of citizenship, as well as willingness to show respect, tolerance, and understanding towards individuals, groups, and cultures in the global community and respect and responsibility towards the environment” (p. 24). This ethical language also enters into the expectations. For example:

- Civics Overall Expectation (5CA4)- “explain what it means to be a “global citizen” and why it is important to be one” (p. 65).
- Applied Geography (specific expectation): “analyse the potential impact on the global community of their personal choices (e.g., in music, clothes, food, work, recreation)” (p. 39).

While the 2005 document maintains an environmental ethics based in personal responsibility, similar to 1999, there are also some suggestions of more collective forms of responsibility for the environment:

- Applied Geography Specific Expectation (5G2B1.1)– “describe the role of key stakeholders (e.g., governments, non-governmental organizations [NGOs], the private sector, cultural and community groups, individuals) in protecting the environment (e.g., through emissions testing, air-quality regulations, environmental assessments, water-quality testing)” (p. 38).

2005: Standardizing individual citizen role

The theme of standardizing the citizen’s role is overall very similar in the 2005 document. One noteworthy change, however, is the addition of examples that significantly limit

the scope of democratic participation. The 1999 version of the following specific expectation had no examples, which left the idea of “citizen actions” fairly open-ended. The examples in this revised expectation, almost entirely limited to participating in state-sponsored memorial rituals, present a much more narrow scope for civic participation:

- Civics Specific Expectation: “explain how democratic beliefs and values are reflected in citizen actions (e.g., Remembrance Day services, Montreal unity rally, National Aboriginal Day, December 6 commemorations of the Montreal Massacre, White Ribbon campaign)” (p. 67).

The specifically “legal” aspects of this code again are very similar to the 1999 version. In line with other changes, however, the 2005 legal dimension also sees the emptying out of references to the public realm. See the following edit of the same specific expectation. In 1999, this expectation explicitly drew attention to non-judicial forms of dispute resolution, which ties it into the broader theme of conflict resolution in the national public realm. In 2005 version, this is edited to prioritize judicial dispute resolution. As a result, the continuity between the national public and legal dimensions in 1999 is removed, and the legal dimension becomes a more isolated element.

- 1999 Civics Specific Expectation: “examine and analyse the importance and value of different ways of resolving disputes (e.g., mediation, arbitration) that differ from judicial approaches” (p. 49).
- 2005 Civics Specific Expectation: “compare and contrast different ways of resolving disputes (e.g., through the judicial process; through negotiation, mediation, arbitration, conciliation)” (p. 69).

Despite some of the thematic changes, the 2005 policy document retains the technical aspects of the 1999 policy regime very closely (i.e. overall and specific expectations, academic and applied streams, etc.). At the same time, however, there is a large amount of text added to the frontmatter that changes the tone. The cumulative effect in 1999 was the imposition of rigid policy structures but with carefully delineated areas of local policy flexibility. The 2005 document keeps these elements, but incorporates language emphasizing the moral responsibility of policy actors in relation to the imposed structures. This may signal a recognition of the problems encountered in initial implementation of the original curriculum reform (Pinto, 2012). Arguably, the underlying assumption of the 1999 document is that the government would be able to directly control the actions of teachers and students through the policy structures they were creating. The 2005 document seems to recognize that there is a significant gap between the state-imposed structure and the reality of the classroom, and therefore emphasizes individual moral responsibility as a way to fill in this gap. This moral responsibility is imposed on both teachers and students, as seen in the following examples:

- “Students who are willing to make the effort required and who are able to apply themselves will soon discover that there is a direct relationship between this effort and their achievement, and will therefore be more motivated to work” (p. 6).
- “Teachers bring enthusiasm and varied teaching and assessment approaches to the classroom, addressing different student needs and ensuring sound learning opportunities for every student” (p. 6; repeated verbatim in 2013, p. 16).

While the 2005 document incorporates more language relating to the individual and affective dimensions of education, therefore, it arguably is *more* rigid and hierarchical in effect, in that it requires a personal internalization of the policy structures as a form of ethical imperative.

2013: Fostering ethical global citizenship

This theme is very similar to 2005, with a sense of a preset “role” for the global citizen, framed in terms of ethical responsibilities. The geography courses are said to “enhance students’ ability to act as responsible global citizens and environmental stewards” (p. 11), and the history courses are said to “prepare students to fulfill their role as informed and responsible global citizens” (p. 14). There is a strong ethical tone to many of the expectations as well. For example:

- 2013 Academic Geography Specific Expectation: “analyse the roles and responsibilities of individuals in promoting the sustainable use of resources (e.g., managing one’s own ecological footprint, making responsible consumer choices, recycling, advocating sustainable resource-use policies and practices)” (p. 79).

2013: Standardizing individual citizen role

This theme is again very similar to its iteration in the 2005 document. Where it has changed, the change is largely in the direction of unifying the unique elements of the 2005 theme into a more coherent whole. The following specific expectation, for instance, brings together strictly legal obligations with the more general ethical imperatives associated with the citizen’s role:

- Civics Specific Expectation (3C)B3.2 “analyse key responsibilities associated with Canadian citizenship (e.g., voting, obeying the law, paying taxes, jury duty, protecting Canada’s cultural heritage and natural environment, helping others in the community)” (p. 154).

The following overall expectation, meanwhile, brings together the obligations of Canadian and global citizenship, in a way that seems to treat them as almost interchangeable:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- Civics Overall Expectation: “Rights and Responsibilities: analyse key rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship, in both the Canadian and global context, and some ways in which these rights are protected” (p. 152).

In terms of the structure of the curriculum, the overall continuity from 1999 is maintained. All of the major curriculum structures established in the Harris-era educational reform are maintained (e.g. overall and specific expectations, academic and applied streams, the achievement chart).

The major difference is that the frontmatter of the 2013 document is much longer (57, after 24 in 2005). This results in the same basic curriculum structures being laid out in more detail, and, in some cases, their hierarchical and rigid character actually becomes more pronounced. For instance, the 2013 contains a very similar description of the overall and specific expectations to that presented in 1999 and 2005, but adds the following sentence that explicitly states the mandatory character of all the expectations, including specific expectations: “Taken together, the overall and specific expectations represent the mandated curriculum” (p. 23). At the same time, the 2013 document builds on the language from the 2005 document highlighting holistic and student-centred pedagogical approaches:

- “Educators play an important role in promoting children and youth’s well-being by creating, fostering, and sustaining a learning environment that is healthy, caring, safe, inclusive, and accepting. A learning environment of this kind will support not only students’ cognitive, emotional, social, and physical development but also their mental health, their resilience, and their overall state of well-being. All this will help them achieve their full potential in school and in life.” (p. 3)

These two patterns could be seen as contradictory, but they can also be understood as mutually reinforcing. As discussed in relation to the 2005 document, the addition of affective and ethical

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

elements to the rigid policy structures of the 1999 document is perhaps best understood as an attempt to mobilize teachers' and students' sense of moral responsibility to close the gap between policy requirements and classroom practice. The connection between the language of holistic and student-centred pedagogy and the larger goal of creating standardized, autonomous citizens who are marketable in the global economy is even more explicit in the 2013 document than in 2005. For instance:

- “Effective instruction motivates students and instils positive habits of mind, such as curiosity and open-mindedness; a willingness to think, question, challenge, and be challenged; and an awareness of the value of listening or reading closely and communicating clearly” (p. 39).
- “Teachers engage in assessment as learning by helping all students develop their capacity to be independent, autonomous learners who are able to set individual goals, monitor their own progress, determine next steps, and reflect on their thinking and learning” (p. 31).
- “Teachers bring enthusiasm and varied teaching and assessment approaches to the classroom, addressing different student needs and ensuring sound learning opportunities for every student” (p. 16).

2018

There is no significant change in this theme in 2018.

Cultural

1999: Enabling local learning

While the overall curriculum structure is very rigid, the 1999 document does make a point of encouraging certain kinds of limited autonomy for teachers and students. The examples provided

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

for curriculum expectations are explicitly non-mandatory. Flexibility is allowed for teachers to combine related subject areas and create interdisciplinary courses. More importantly, teachers are encouraged to vary their pedagogical approach according to individual student needs, noting that: “Students learn best when they are engaged in a variety of ways of learning” (p. 4).

In alignment with this allowance for certain forms of policy flexibility is a broader focus on learning and participation in the local community. In spite of the warning against leaving the school, discussed above, the 1999 document actually contains expectations that suggest that students need leave the school at least occasionally. For example:

- Applied History Specific Expectation (9H2E2.1)- “use school and public libraries, resource centres, museums, historic sites, and community and government resources effectively to gather information on Canadian history” (p. 44).

Furthermore, in the 1999 document there is clear continuity between the local cultural realm and the broader national public and political realm. The local community is presented as a microcosm in which students can build an understanding of, and learn to participate in, the national public sphere:

- Civics Specific Expectation (9CA3.1)– “identify the rights and responsibilities of citizenship expected and practised in their school or classroom, explain why these rights and responsibilities were developed, and evaluate the extent to which they apply to all students” (p. 48).
- Applied Geography Specific Expectation (9G2C1.5)- “demonstrate an understanding of Canadian cultural diversity by mapping the countries of origin of people in the school and/or community” (p. 21).

1999: Enabling local civic participation

In keeping with the focus on local civic participation described above, the 1999 document contains a few key expectations that directly encourage students to participate in their local community. The most significant one is the following specific expectation from Civics:

- Civics (Specific Expectation): “participate effectively in a civil action or project of interest to them and of importance to the community (e.g., attend public hearings, plan religious or cultural event, join special interest group, write letters to editor)” (p. 53)

Aside from its clear directive to participate in the community, this expectation is notable for the radical way in which it will be reframed in the later documents.

However, there are several other similar expectations:

- Civics (Overall Expectation): “demonstrate an ability to collaborate effectively when participating in group enquiries and community activities” (p. 52)
- Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “create and implement a plan to address a local environmental concern” (p. 20)

1999: Identifying with multi-level citizenship

While the primary focus of cultural civic engagement in the 1999 document is the local community, there is also some suggestion of open-ended engagement with different communities at various levels of geographic scale. The phrasing “local, national, and global citizenship,” with minor variations, occurs periodically in the 1999 document, but will become a central focus in 2013. “In civics, students explore what it means to be a ‘responsible citizen’ in the local, national, and global arenas” (p. 46) The quotation marks around “responsible citizen” here (lacking elsewhere in the document) are significant, as they are suggestive of the delicate balance being maintained between these potentially contradictory ideas. The quotation marks signify a

degree of ambivalence in the application of “citizenship” in this case. As suggested above, this document emphasizes nationalistic forms of identification and citizenship. In engaging with citizenship at the local and global levels, therefore, the quotation marks suggest that “citizenship” in these contexts should be understood as metaphorical extensions of the primary meaning of the word, which is national.

The idea of students engaging in global citizenship, as opposed to local civic engagement, brings the inevitable need for various forms of technological mediation. This is explicitly acknowledged in the 1999 document. For instance:

- Applied Geography (Specific Expectation): “use computer technology effectively to communicate with students in different regions” (p. 24).

2005: Participating in multi-level citizenship

In the 1999 document, citizen participation is situated primarily within the nation-state, including the public realm (i.e. participation through collective action within civil society) and the political realm (i.e. voting and other forms of official democratic participation). There was also a small but important set of passages that encouraged (or at least enabled) active participation within the local community. The 2005 document de-emphasizes both public and local participation and instead emphasizes a form of participation in a globalized realm extending beyond the nation-state. In turn, the sheer geographic scale of this broadened realm of participation entails an inevitable mediation of citizenship, with more focus on communications technology replacing face-to-face forms of interaction.

The domain of citizen action, meanwhile, moves from fairly clearly delineated cultural and public dimensions into a vague realm of multi-level citizenship. References to multi-level citizenship in the 1999 document were mostly in the frontmatter, and arguably were intended to

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

be vague and general in order to capture the varied content of the expectations. In the 2005 document, this language starts to move into the expectations, and multi-level citizenship becomes operationalized as something students must engage with directly. The primary expectation requiring citizen action has shifted from being explicitly local in 1999 to being situated in a vague multi-level citizenship:

- Civics (specific expectation): “demonstrate an understanding of their responsibilities as local, national, and global citizens by applying their knowledge of civics, and skills related to purposeful and active citizenship, to a project of personal interest and civic importance (e.g., participating in food and clothing drives; visiting seniors; participating in community festivals, celebrations, and events; becoming involved in human rights, antidiscrimination, or antiracism activities)” (p. 69).

Finally, the shift toward global citizenship entails an inevitable mediation of citizenship through communications technology. This is captured by a range of passages, including the following: “ICT can be used to connect students to other schools, locally and abroad, and to bring the global community into the local classroom” (p. 25).

2005: Enabling local learning

This theme is very similar to 1999, although it has been reduced in its weight. The other change that can be seen here is the insertion of more language suggesting the need for more holistic forms of pedagogy. For instance, the 2005 document maintains the categories of knowledge and skill from the 1999 document, but adds that they “should be considered as interrelated, reflecting the wholeness and interconnectedness of learning” (p. 16).

2013: Planning ethical-critical multi-level participation

One of the core purposes of the revised curriculum in 2013 is stated as follows:

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

- “The revised curriculum recognizes that, today and in the future, students need to be critically literate in order to synthesize information, make informed decisions, communicate effectively, and thrive in an ever-changing global community” (p. 3).

“Critical literacy” is presented here as a key attribute of the global citizen. This term is described in more detail later:

- “Critical literacy goes beyond conventional critical thinking by focusing on issues related to fairness, equity, and social justice” (p. 52).

These two quotations suggest an effort to unify the economic and legal aspects of global citizenship. That is, the student is both an economic agent in the globalized marketplace and an ethical actor in the globalized realm of human rights and individualized responsibilities. What cuts across these two visions of the global citizen is a vision of the person as an autonomous individual, disembedded from a thick sense of belonging in any localized community and set loose within a flattened field of globalized activity, yet simultaneously constrained by a set of standard individualized responsibilities.

The actual “activity” in which the globalized economic/legal citizen is intended to engage is problematic in the 2013 document. As noted previously, the 1999 document emphasized the need for students to engage in actual civic activity in the community. These expectations were largely removed in the 2005 document, other than one which suggested more vague forms of multi-level civic engagement. The de-emphasizing of civic action in the 2005 document appears to align with the concerns raised about risks relating to students leaving the school, which parallels the emergent policy network around the idea of “safe schools” in Ontario over this period. This creates a tension in the curriculum: the internal logic of the curriculum points in the direction of civic engagement in the community as a natural and necessary outcome of its vision

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

of citizenship, but such civic engagement becomes problematic in a world in which any student activity outside of the school is seen as a risk and a liability. The 2013 document resolves this tension by limiting student civic activity to *planning* civic actions that they could potentially undertake at some point in the future. This can be seen, for example, in the following specific expectation from Applied Geography, which presents an interesting contrast to the specific expectation from Applied Geography in 1999 which called on students to “create *and implement* a plan” (1999, p. 20):

- “(3G2)C1.4 develop a personal plan of action that supports the idea of stewardship of resources” (p. 96).

The key specific expectation calling for civic action in Civics, meanwhile, is expanded into a full overall expectation:

- Civics Overall Expectation: “analyse a civic issue of personal interest and develop a plan of action to address it” (p. 156).

This is followed by a series of specific expectations that call on students to analyze an issue and develop a plan of action along with a plan to evaluate successful implementation, but never to actually *do* anything.

The “big idea” related to this expectation is also noteworthy: “Through the critical analysis of issues and the creation of plans of action, students can contribute to the common good” (p. 148). Here, students undertaking critical analysis and planning for actions they may never actually undertake are presented as contributing to the common good without ever leaving their desks.

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

This is manifested as well in a significant group of expectations within the geography courses that seek to involve students in establishing more sustainable communities. Again, this takes the form of *planning* for potential actions:

- Applied Geography Overall Expectation: “identify factors that affect the sustainability of communities, and describe strategies for improving their sustainability” (p. 100).

The section on sustainable communities suggests a return to emphasizing the local community, similar to the 1999 document. However, there are also clear efforts to draw connections between the local community and the globalized realm that is the emphasis of much of the 2013 document:

- Applied Geography Specific Expectation: “identify spatial connections between human systems and services in their community and the broader regional, national, and/or global networks to which they belong” (p. 102).

2013: Enabling local learning

The 2013 document maintains the emphasis on holistic forms of pedagogy which was added in 2005 to nuance some of the rigid policy structures. One particularly noteworthy aspect of this tendency is the Citizenship Education Framework that was added in 2013. This framework is included in the frontmatter of the document and is presented as a resource to help teachers incorporate citizenship education into all the courses in the curriculum document. The framework is presented visually as three concentric circles divided into four quadrants. The surrounding text describes the main features: “the outer circle lists the four main elements of citizenship education – active participation, identity, attributes, and structures – and describes each element” and “the second circle outlines ways in which students may develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship” (p. 9). While the layout

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

and content of the framework seem quite balanced, this is limited in several important ways. As already noted, the holistic emphasis on “knowledge, skills, and attitudes” is undermined in that the only curriculum expectation that makes reference to the framework does so only in relation to transferable employability skills. Secondly, the idea on “active participation” is undermined by the emphasis on *planning* potential actions as the only form of civic engagement. Finally, the framework suggests a balance between the different geographic scales of citizenship. The description of Active Participation, for instance, reads: “Work for the common good in local, national, and global communities” (p. 10). However, the introductory paragraph on citizenship education concludes: “It is important for students to understand that they belong to many communities and that, ultimately, they are all citizens of the global community” (p. 9). As elsewhere in the document, therefore, global citizenship is presented as the most real or important locus of citizenship, with citizenship in the nation-state seeming to take a secondary position.

Appendix D: 1999 *Canadian & World Studies* 9 & 10 Inductive Coding Categories

Typology	Frame Type	Code	Definition	Key Quotation	# Ov. Exp.	# Spec. Exp.	# other passages
political	diagnostic	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change (e.g. economic globalization; climate change) presents a threat to the integrity and unity of Canada as a nation-state	“research and report on global concerns that affect Canadians (e.g., wilderness protection, economic impact of globalization)” (p. 13)	19	67	23
political	diagnostic	problematizing national pluralism	Canada’s increasing internal pluralism presents a threat to national unity	“consider the challenges of governing communities in which contrasting values, multiple perspectives, and differing purposes coexist” (p. 46)	7	18	4
political	prognostic	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	“how individual Canadians have contributed to the development of Canada and an emerging sense of Canadian identity” (p. 32)	8	48	16
political	prognostic	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	“identify the locations of Canada’s energy sources and describe the relative importance of each source for the future” (p. 20)	8	13	0
political	prognostic	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in, and influence, Canada’s political institutions	“Full participatory citizenship requires an understanding of practices used in civic affairs to influence public decision making” (p. 46)	6	26	9

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

economic	prognostic	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	“use computer-based systems effectively to organize information for research and report preparation” (p. 35)	11	66	8
economic	prognostic	transferring skills to changing workplace	Canadians need to be prepared with the skills to adapt to a rapidly changing workplace	“understanding of how global economic and environmental factors affect individual career and lifestyle opportunities” (p. 14)	3	6	9
public	prognostic	identifying through common public issues	Canadians develop shared understandings through common encounter with national concerns	“describe ways citizens can be involved in responding to issues in which contrasting value systems, multiple perspectives, and differing civic purposes coexist” (p. 68)	6	14	6
public	prognostic	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	“demonstrate an understanding of the contributions of various social and political movements to Canadian history” (p. 32)	2	17	1
public	prognostic	identifying with regional communities	Canadians form their identities through thick belonging in specific, localized communities	“It is through the study of communities that students begin to understand who they are in time and place” (p. 25)	0	14	8
juridical	prognostic	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	“understand the role of the citizen, and the personal values and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions” (p. 46)	3	5	23
juridical	prognostic	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens also have certain legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	“demonstrate an understanding of citizenship within a global context” (p. 48)	1	19	3

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

cultural	prognostic	enabling local learning	civic education should include learning about and in the local community	“understanding ... Canadian cultural diversity by mapping the countries of origin of people in the school and/or community” (p. 21)	2	20	7
cultural	prognostic	enabling local civic participation	civic education should include direct participation in local civic affairs	“participate effectively in a civil action or project of interest to them and of importance to the community (e.g., attend public hearings...)” (p. 53)	1	3	1
cultural	prognostic	identifying with multi-level citizenship	citizenship should include affective identification with communities at different geographic scales	“In civics, students explore what it means to be a ‘responsible citizen’ in the local, national, and global arenas” (p. 46)	0	3	6

Appendix E: 2005 *Canadian & World Studies* 9 & 10 Inductive Coding Categories

Typology	Frame Type	Code	Definition	Key Quotation	# Ov. Exp.	# Spec. Exp.	# other passages
political	diagnostic	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents Canada with new challenges, and with new responsibilities as a member of the global community	“compare Canada’s approaches to specific concerns (e.g., species loss, deforestation, pesticide use, cross-border pollution, movement of people, trade) with the approaches of other nations” (p. 32)	18	51	37
political	diagnostic	problematizing national power disparities	Canada’s internal pluralism presents new challenges, including power disparities between groups	“describe how regional disparities (e.g., in resource accessibility) affect the economic sustainability of communities” (p. 40)	4	17	7
political	prognostic	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	“assess how individual Canadians have contributed to the development of Canada and the country’s emerging sense of identity” (p. 50)	8	42	13
political	prognostic	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	“relate current lifestyle choices of Canadians to the prospects for sustaining Canada’s economic and environmental well-being” (p. 38)	7	10	0
political	prognostic	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in, and influence, Canada’s political institutions	“Full participatory citizenship requires an understanding of practices used in civic affairs to influence public decision making” (p. 63)	5	20	15

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

economic	prognostic	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	“Students are able to develop job-related computer skills through the use of industry applications” (p. 25)	11	60	19
economic	prognostic	transferring skills to changing workplace	Canadians need to be prepared with the skills to adapt to a rapidly changing workplace	predict various global environmental changes (e.g., global warming) and the impact they may have in the future on the occupations of Canadians” (p. 33)	0	5	16
public	prognostic	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	“analyse the contributions of various social and political movements in Canada since 1914” (p. 50)	2	9	0
public	prognostic	identifying with regional communities	Canadians form their identities through thick belonging in specific, localized communities	“It is through the study of communities that students begin to understand who they are in time and place” (p. 43)	0	10	11
public	prognostic	identifying through common public issues	Canadians develop mutual understanding through common encounter with national concerns	“analyse Canadian issues or events that involve contrasting opinions, perspectives, and civic purposes” (p. 67)	0	8	7
juridical	prognostic	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens have legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	“explain what it means to be a “global citizen” and why it is important to be one” (p. 65)	4	23	8
juridical	prognostic	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	“understand the role of the citizen, and the personal values and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions” (p. 63)	2	6	72

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

cultural	prognostic	enabling local learning	Civic education should include learning about the local community	“evaluate the effect of government land use policy on planning in the local community” (p. 30)	1	7	23
cultural	prognostic	participating in multi-level citizenship	civic education should include self-directed activities in relation to chosen issues and communities	“demonstrate an understanding of their responsibilities as local, national, and global citizens by applying their ... skills ... to a project of personal interest and civic importance” (p. 69)	1	2	16

Appendix F: 2013 *Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10* Inductive Coding Categories

Typology	Frame Type	Code	Definition	Key Quotation	# Ov. Exp.	# Spec. Exp.	# other passages
political	diagnostic	problematizing balance of inclusion & cohesion	Canada needs to become more ethical and inclusive while still fostering a cohesive national society	“describe some significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada during this period ... from multiple perspectives” (p. 119)	20	49	15
political	diagnostic	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents new challenges to the global community, and Canada must contribute to solutions	“develop an awareness that issues that affect their lives in Canada are interconnected with issues in other parts of the world” (p. 87)	10	45	19
political	prognostic	identifying with nationalistic narratives of pluralism	Canadians’ national pride should emphasize the inclusion in Canadian society of many diverse groups	“individuals, and groups, including Aboriginal peoples, Québécois, and immigrants, contributed to the development of identity, citizenship, and heritage in Canada” (p. 118)	7	19	5
political	prognostic	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	“Canada’s economic well-being relies on the development of both natural and human resources” (p. 70)	5	17	5
political	prognostic	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	“describe how some individuals, organizations, symbols, and events... contributed to the development of identity, citizenship, and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 115)	1	14	15

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

political	prognostic	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in Canada's political institutions	"explain ... the roles and responsibilities of various institutions, structures, and figures in Canadian governance" (p. 152)	1	11	16
economic	prognostic	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	"use appropriate technology as a tool to help them gather and analyse information, solve problems, and communicate" (p. 6)	5	45	59
economic	prognostic	transferring skills to everyday contexts & future careers	Canadians need to be able to apply their core skills across a range of workplaces and other contexts	"develop skills ... that can be transferred to the world of work and/or to everyday life" (p. 150)	5	15	36
public	prognostic	positioning individual values in multi-level pluralism	Canadians need to clarify their opinions on civic issues at multiple levels, and develop empathy for other perspectives	"communicate their own position on some issues of civic importance at the local, national, and/or global level ... explaining how their position is influenced by their beliefs/values" (p. 153)	2	6	38
public	prognostic	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	"explain the goals and accomplishments of some groups and/or movements that contributed to social and/or political cooperation" (p. 113)	0	3	3
juridical	prognostic	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens have legal and ethical responsibilities to the global community	"These courses enhance students' ability to act as responsible global citizens and environmental stewards" (p. 11)	1	14	12
juridical	prognostic	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of	"analyse key rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship, in both the Canadian and global context" (p. 152)	1	4	109

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

			legal and ethical obligations				
cultural	prognostic	planning for sustainable communities	civic education should foster sustainability in local communities through planning potential actions	“identify factors that affect the sustainability of communities, and describe strategies for improving their sustainability” (p. 100)	3	15	46
cultural	prognostic	planning critical multi-level participation	civic education should foster critical engagement in various communities through planning potential actions	“Through the critical analysis of issues and the creation of plans of action, students can contribute to the common good” (p. 148)	3	12	45

Appendix G: 2018 *Canadian & World Studies 9 & 10* Inductive Coding Categories

Typology	Frame Type	Code	Definition	Key Quotation	# Ov. Exp.	# Spec. Exp.	# other passages
political	diagnostic	problematizing balance of inclusion & cohesion	Canada needs to resolve the inequities of its past, including colonialism, while still fostering a cohesive national society	“describe some significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada during this period, with reference to various groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities” (p. 121)	20	61	25
political	diagnostic	problematizing national impact of global change	rapid global change presents new challenges to the global community, and Canada must contribute to solutions	“develop an awareness that issues that affect their lives in Canada are interconnected with issues in other parts of the world” (p. 87).	10	44	19
political	prognostic	identifying with nationalistic narratives of pluralism	Canadians’ national pride should emphasize the inclusion in Canadian society of many diverse groups	“individuals, and groups, including Indigenous peoples, Québécois, and immigrants, contributed to the development of identities, citizenship, and heritage in Canada” (p. 120)	8	23	10
political	prognostic	fostering collective responsibility for national economy	Canadians have a common responsibility to ensure continued national economic prosperity	“Canada’s economic well-being relies on the development of both natural and human resources” (p. 70)	5	17	5
political	prognostic	informing democratic citizenship	Canadians need to understand how to participate in Canada’s political institutions	“explain ... the roles and responsibilities of various institutions, structures, and figures in Canadian governance” (p. 160)	1	11	16

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

political	prognostic	identifying with nationalistic narratives	Canadians need to develop a strong affective identification with Canada through a common national identity	“how various individuals, groups, and events ... contributed to the development of identities, citizenship, and heritage in Canada” (p. 116)	0	3	4
economic	prognostic	promoting transferable skills	Canadians need a core set of skills that can be used across school, work, and life	“use appropriate technology as a tool to help them gather and analyse information, solve problems, and communicate” (p. 6)	5	45	59
economic	prognostic	transferring skills to everyday contexts & future careers	Canadians need to be able to apply their core skills across a range of workplaces and other contexts	“develop skills ... that can be transferred to the world of work and/or to everyday life” (p. 158)	5	15	36
public	prognostic	positioning individual values in multi-level pluralism	Canadians need to clarify their opinions on civic issues at multiple levels, and develop empathy for other perspectives	“communicate their own position on some issues of civic importance at the local, national, and/or global level ... explaining how their position is influenced by their beliefs/values” (p. 161)	2	7	43
public	prognostic	identifying with civil society	Canadians can shape society through multiple forms of social and political organization	“explain the goals and accomplishments of some groups, organizations, and/or movements in Canada, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit organizations and/or movements, that contributed to social and/or political cooperation” (p. 114)	0	4	3
juridical	prognostic	fostering ethical global citizenship	Canadian citizens have legal and ethical	“These courses enhance students’ ability to act as responsible global	1	14	13

Framing the Social Imaginary of Citizenship

			responsibilities to the global community	citizens and environmental stewards” (p. 11)			
juridical	prognostic	standardizing individual citizen role	Canadian citizens have a specific role to perform, prescribed by a set of legal and ethical obligations	“analyse key rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship, in both the Canadian and global context” (p. 160)	1	4	110
cultural	prognostic	planning for sustainable communities	civic education should foster sustainability in local communities through planning potential actions	“identify factors that affect the sustainability of communities, and describe strategies for improving their sustainability” (p. 100)	3	15	46
cultural	prognostic	planning critical multi-level participation	civic education should foster critical engagement in various communities through planning potential actions	“Through the critical analysis of issues and the creation of plans of action, students can contribute to the common good” (p. 156)	3	12	45