PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING OF CITIZENSHIP

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ABSTRACT

A key tenet of the so-called "cognitive revolution" is that learners' prior knowledge, or cognitive frames, shape new learning in important ways. There is a growing body of work in a number of fields examining the prior understandings of both students and teachers. There remains, however, a limited amount of research about the particular ways that pre-service teachers in Canada understand citizenship, a key component in social studies curricula. This phenomenographic study of 20 pre-service teachers at one Northern Ontario university was designed to uncover the specific conceptions that these pre-service teachers have of citizenship. The study was framed through a civic republican lens "with its emphasis on public education, civic involvement, and achieving the common good through civic virtue" (Babcock, 2009, p. 517) and also draws on constructivist learning theory, which emphasizes how individuals come to every learning situation with their own prior knowledge. Some of this prior knowledge might be accurate, but it is also evident that sometimes students may have, and uphold, naive conceptions or misunderstandings about various concepts (Driver & Easley, 1978).

Pre-service teachers in this study had weak conceptions of citizenship. The overarching theme of their conceptions related to the concept of privilege. Along with privilege, five sub-themes were uncovered. The pre-service teachers held conceptions related to: 1) Place as an important concept of citizenship, 2) Legal dimensions of citizenship, 3) Socio-Cultural dimensions of citizenship, 4) Civic Engagement, and 5) Civic Orientation. These themes represented their understanding of citizenship in Social

Studies in a pre-service program. A hierarchy of these categories was developed by examining both the frequency and group resonance that emerged.

Knowing that many pre-service teachers have a limited understanding of the conceptions of citizenship that they are required to teach, teacher educators can develop and implement specific strategies to attend to the pre-service teachers' conceptions of privilege, to enhance their understanding of rights for minority groups, and to promote civic engagement. It is important for pre-service teachers to develop complex conceptual knowledge about citizenship, as the richness of their conceptions relates to their beliefs and their instructional actions in a professional context.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my two children, Mackenzie Ann Straub and Eriksen Solomon Hans Straub, who over the years saw their mother challenged throughout this PhD process. Many researchers argue that “resilience” is the ability to recover from setbacks and challenges and that it is *learned*. You’re not born with it. In other words, through deliberate actions, thoughts, and processes, you can acquire that skill and become resilient (Brooks & Goldstein, 2002). I hope that through this modeled behaviour that you will both come to understand that every failure is one step closer to success.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.0 Introduction

I come from a background of being a classroom teacher, a parent of children who have attended public schools, a pre-service teacher in a Faculty of Education where I focused mainly on teaching Social Studies, and a graduate student who has developed a keen interest in the concept of citizenship as a goal of education in general and Social Studies in particular. There is a lack of research that explores how teachers understand the concepts they are required to teach (Meyer, 2004). Some researchers identify the ability to have a thorough understanding of a concept as a precursor to knowing how to teach that concept. Since the late 1980s, the ability to teach a concept has been identified in the teaching profession as pedagogical content knowledge. This research separated the art of teaching into two co-dependent abilities among teachers: knowing the content and being able to explain the content to students. Shulman's (1987) seminal address ignited interest among educators about this second facet of teaching (the first being knowledge of the subject content) that included how to present concepts to make them comprehensible to students (see also Hill, Rowan, & Ball, 2005).

Parallel to researchers' efforts to define and determine ways to develop teachers' pedagogical content knowledge, Ministry, Board, and Faculty of Education initiatives were conceptualized to develop pre-service and in-service teachers' capacities to implement educational reforms via the diversification of their pedagogical repertoire (Goh, 2013). While teacher education programs are beginning to address pre-service teachers' beliefs about students, teaching, and multicultural issues (Meyer, 2004;

Rodriguez & Polat, 2012), little is known about the conceptual frames teachers hold about the key Social Studies concepts related to citizenship. These concepts are central in Social Studies instruction, blending teachers' content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge toward using those conceptions to teach citizenship within their Social Studies courses.

1.1 Significance of this Study

There has been a proliferation of research studies, formal discussions, and curriculum initiatives throughout the world examining the complex processes by which young people learn about citizenship (Enslin, 2000; Evans, 2006; Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & Ten Dam, 2013; Knight-Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). However, as a researcher with a special interest in Social Studies and the essential understandings that we intend to have students develop through this subject area, I am concerned about the dearth of research about how pre-service teachers acquire the ability to teach these concepts. For instance, in the jurisdiction where I presently teach, the concept of citizenship is presented as an overarching framework for the entire Social Studies curriculum guideline (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018), but do teachers have the knowledge and skills to teach these concepts?

There remains a limited amount of research about the particular ways pre-service teachers understand citizenship in Canada. To implement Social Studies instruction effectively in this jurisdiction, more needs to be known about how teachers understand the citizenship education framework they are being directed to teach. This will determine where pre-service teachers acquire their conceptions of citizenship and how their teacher education programs in Social Studies contribute to their understanding of citizenship.

1.2 Research Questions

This thesis examines the conceptions that pre-service teachers hold about citizenship within a Canadian context and explores their personal perceptions of how they have developed these concepts. The aim of this study is to identify the detailed ways in which pre-service teachers understand citizenship and the factors that influence their cognitive frames. It describes the cognitive frames held by pre-service teachers at the beginning and at the end of their initial teacher preparation Social Studies course. This process seeks to provide evidence of the changes that take place in their beliefs, attitudes, and dispositions as they relate to citizenship and the teaching of citizenship.

The specific research questions for this study are:

1. How do pre-service teachers understand citizenship?
2. What are the factors that influence the cognitive frames that pre-service teachers hold?

To explore these questions, I conducted a phenomenographic examination of the cognitive frames of 20 pre-service teachers at a northern Ontario university prior to and then after a 36-hour Social Studies course. The course focuses on teaching content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge about citizenship for prospective Social Studies teachers.

1.3 Description of Chapter 2: Literature Review

In Chapter 2 I present current literature on citizenship and its related concepts. I begin with a definition of the terms related to citizenship. I then present the dimensions of citizenship and discuss cognitive/conceptual frames. The literature attends to what pre-

service teachers bring with them in terms of their personal experience and subject matter knowledge and how these are important considerations in teacher education programs. An important part of the second chapter includes literature that details how conceptual frames are not only developed by an individual to frame their thinking but also how these frames can shape and be shared amongst a group of people. Finally, I discuss citizenship education along with the role it plays in curriculum and the education system. The literature review ends with an examination of the literature related to the cognitive frames that teachers have about citizenship.

1.4 Description of Chapter 3: Methodology

In Chapter 3 I present phenomenography as the research methodology selected for this study. I outline the steps taken to uncover the conceptions that pre-service teachers have about citizenship. The theoretical underpinnings are shared along with the research design method. Chapter 3 outlines in detail the data collection procedures and presents the data analysis procedures I used to conduct the study. Chapter 3 also includes some of the limitations of the study. Overall, this chapter delineates the methodological approach of phenomenography that was used to understand how the participants conceptualize citizenship.

1.5 Description of Chapter 4: Data Analysis

In this chapter I discuss the demographic data, followed by the analysis of the transcripts, the concept maps, and the in-class observations, including comparisons of pre-and post-course conceptions. I analyzed these data using thematic reflection and a recursive process of analysis. The sub-research questions of how participants

conceptualized citizenship, as well as where they believed they acquired their beliefs, conceptions and understanding of the concept are presented through the sub-themes and the overarching theme of privilege. The sub-themes include place, legal dimensions (legal citizenship status vs. non-citizenship status), socio-cultural dimensions, civic engagement, and civic orientations.

Identifying the detailed ways that pre-service teachers understand citizenship and the factors that influence their cognitive frames required a data analysis that provided evidence of how the participants thought about citizenship. In this chapter I explain the data analysis approach in detail as a mechanism to gain insight into which factors might influence this change in conceptions about citizenship. More specifically, I share a detailed explanation of how categories of description emerged from what the participants said during the semi-structured interviews. Next, I discuss an outline of what was presented in their concept maps, as well as the categories of descriptions that emerged from observations. The data analysis section also highlights some of the limitations of phenomenography, as this type of analysis requires a certain level of subjectivity when trying to classify the words and meaning of participants into semantic categories.

1.6 Description of Chapter 5: Findings

Chapter 5 outlines the findings in this study, which suggest that pre-service teachers in this particular group have a weak and immature understanding of the concepts related to citizenship that they are required to teach. The study unveils that pre-service teachers can learn to develop a more sophisticated understanding of citizenship when this is directly modeled by experienced teachers during practicum placements. The findings also suggest that cognitive frames can develop when explicit instruction by teacher

educators addresses some of the more contentious conceptions that emerge specifically when peer groups are allowed to share their thoughts and ideas about more complex issues related to citizenship.

1.7 Description of Chapter 6: Discussion

The discussion chapter describes how the participants in this study did not attend to a critical stance when exploring ideas and conceptions related to citizenship. The data suggests that notions of privilege were uncovered as an over-arching theme and these appear to permeate the sub-themes relating to dimensions of place, socio-cultural contexts, legal dimensions, civic engagement, and civic orientations. The focus on how privilege appears throughout the data is followed by a discussion of how the sub-themes uncovered in the study relate to current literature in teacher education in a Canadian context.

1.8 Description of Chapter 7: Conclusion

Chapter 7 ties together the important elements of this study and reminds the reader that this phenomenographic work was designed to uncover the cognitive frames that a particular group of pre-service teachers from Northern Ontario held both at the beginning of their initial teacher preparation program Social Studies course and at the end of the course. In Chapter 7 I present some of the limitations of the study. More importantly, I share the direction needed for future work on the subject. Knowing that many pre-service teachers have a limited understanding of the conceptions of citizenship that they are required to teach, in Chapter 7 I outline how teacher educators can develop and implement specific strategies to attend to pre-service teachers' conceptions of

privilege, to enhance their understanding of rights for minority groups, and to promote civic engagement.

In the next chapter I explain how the study is situated in the related research literature. Future chapters detail how the research study was conducted to explore the research questions.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This study aims at uncovering the cognitive frames pre-service teachers hold about citizenship. In the first part of the literature review I define and examine the conceptions that exist related to citizenship and citizenship education. Next, I define cognitive frames and identify how these have the power to shape new learning. Finally, I outline the specific literature related to what we know about teachers' cognitive frames relating to citizenship.

2.1 Concepts of Citizenship

Concepts of citizenship are strongly evident in the research literature. In this section I will identify and debate critical attributes of each concept. The attributes of each concept vary somewhat based on the tradition and civic context of the researchers. I will also explore the concepts and compilations of the concepts through citizenship frameworks.

Citizenship in a democracy gives membership to those within a political unit. It provides an identity for individuals. It is built upon a set of values and standards usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit. Citizenship also involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life. An understanding of citizenship helps individuals understand the laws that govern their political unit as well as its processes of governance. Finally, citizenship enables its members to use this knowledge to be part of a group that shares the same beliefs (Enslin,

2000). While this is not an exhaustive definition of citizenship, it provides a structure for understanding the concept.

Colley (2017) supported strategies often referred to as *the four Cs of Citizenship*. These include controversy, conflict, conformity, and co-operation. Koutselini (2008) framed the process of interrogating conceptions of citizenship on an active/passive continuum. Koutselini recognized that internal cultural conflicts at a national level may pose a threat to national identity, thereby strengthening the obligation of citizens to support national ideals while concomitantly suspending their own questioning of their personal beliefs in favour of stability in their country. That is, some cultures may experience an internal identity threat to citizenship from unharmoniously blended cultures, which may make citizenship concepts more insular and protective. Tonen (2013) also addressed the potential fluidity of the concept of citizenship based on social stability of the nation and other factors, such as the education of the preceptors. He referred to this fluidity as the "positive right" (p. 13). In Tonen's positive right conception, citizens' participation in their own citizenship rights and responsibilities is seen as a response to an immediate social need.

Finally, recent researchers have recognized that the concept of citizenship is emerging from a multicultural perspective, moving towards a balance between several factors in the context of an upset political landscape.

> A new ideology seems to have emerged based on a multicultural perspective that balances unity and diversity, national identity and global understanding, attributes that should construct citizenship courses and curricula. (Banks, 2004, as cited in Koutselini, 2008, p. 173)

The harsh reality of this observation points to the fact that political context matters (Koutselini, 2008) when we discuss the concept of citizenship and the evolution or devolution of its frames. Koutselini (2008) noted that

> European citizens cannot be considered 'harmonized' in their understanding of citizenship as the political, social, economic and educational realities in different countries imply different discourses, experiences and internalisations of similar concepts. (p. 173)

Sandoval Moya (2003) noted that

> most of the citizenship fights in the second part of the twentieth century can be understood as a group of efforts for extending the view of the subject of rights including new forms of citizenship: gender and citizenship, rural citizenship, multicultural citizenship, and during the recent years, youth citizenship. (Sandoval, 2003, pp. 34-35)

We can expect that expansions of the concepts related to citizenship will continue as globalisation and migration expand but also that the stability of the conceptions may devolve with global conflicts or regional instabilities that may influence the beliefs of citizens. Koutselini (2008) framed the evolution of citizenship concepts as the tension between a global view of citizenship in contrast to a national view and as a view of human rights versus civic rights. In an effort to look forward to the evolution of the concept of citizenship, Szelényi and Rhoads (2007) focused on the need to develop individual citizenship responsibility reaching across "national boundaries" (Archibugi & Held, 1995, p. 450) to recognise the "continuing relevance of the nation state" and

embrace “the global as a form of citizenship . . . [and] expansion of an already extensive set of intersecting identities” (p. 450), while accepting multiple citizenship identities which will support tolerance and the universal acceptability of human rights (Koutselini, 2008).

2.2 Dimensions of Citizenship

There are several dimensions of citizenship in the literature. The knowledge of citizenship appears to be organized to include the civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural/collective dimensions (Hébert & Sears, 2001). Szelényi and Rhoads (2007) proposed four spheres of influence of citizenship: civil, social, economic, and educational spheres (see also Koutselini, 2008). Westheimer and Kahne (2004b) organized their citizenship dimensions into three kinds of citizens in democratic societies: Personally Responsible Citizens, Participatory Citizens, and Justice-Oriented Citizens. Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) dimensions were based on programs engaged in the Surdna Foundation’s Democratic Values Initiative as part of a multi-year study of school-based programs that aim to teach democratic citizenship. They developed this framework to order diverse perspectives. For Westheimer and Kahne, these differing views on citizenship influence the ways pre-service teachers conceptualize and prepare students for their future roles in a democratic society.

Parker (1996, 2003, 2008) also organized conceptions of citizenship into distinct dimensions: traditional, progressive, advanced, and enlightened. Parker’s (1996) progressive conception, like Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) conception of participatory citizenship, emphasizes civic participation. While Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) dimensions focused on encouraging citizens to become active in their

community organizations within existing social models and existing social organizations, Parker (2003) felt that this participation should be done respecting the values, knowledge, and skills of the traditionalist conception. In Parker's third conception of citizenship, he identified an *enlightened* political engagement. Like Westheimer and Kahne's (2004a) conception of social justice orientation or dimension of citizenship, the focus is on acting on one's beliefs to move toward informed engagement or political action.

> The latter dimension, political engagement, refers to the action or participation dimension of democratic citizenship, from voting to campaigning, boycotting and protesting. Democratic enlightenment refers to the knowledge and commitment that informs this engagement: for example, knowledge of the ideals of democratic living, the ability to discern just from unjust laws and actions, the commitment to fight civic inequality, and the ability and commitment to deliberate public policy in cooperation with disagreeable others. (Parker, 2008, p. 68)

Ritter, Powell, Hawley, and Blasik (2011) agreed with Parker, believing the focus on citizenship to be on "maintaining the status quo through the transmission of core values, knowledge, and skills" (p. 30). In this belief, democracy "has been accomplished . . . at least to the degree it is possible" (p. 31). As in Westheimer and Kahne's model, this conception is tied to the belief that good citizenship is tied to citizens who are able to lead personally responsible lives.

Drawing on concepts originating out of a civic republican tradition, Peterson (2009) also identified an active understanding of citizenship as incorporating commitment to four inter-related principles:

- citizens possess and should recognize certain civic obligations;
- citizens must develop an awareness of the common good, which exists over and above their private self-interests;
- citizens must possess and act in accordance with civic virtue; and
- civic engagement in democracy should incorporate a deliberative aspect. (Peterson, 2009, p. 57).

Peterson emphasized that civic education influences character formation. He described how civic virtues become a key part of the participants' self-identity where "any attempt to separate personal values from public values is likely to limit the opportunity for pupils to think through how their beliefs impact on civil engagement" (p. 136).

Using Eyler and Giles' (1999) topology of effective citizenship as an analytical framework, Iverson and James (2010) described how they were committed to "helping students realize their potential as critically conscious and active citizens in a democratic society" (p. 20) by embracing the goals of change-oriented service learning. While the research showed an increase in growth along five dimensions of citizenship, they were surprised to uncover that students fell short in achieving social justice-oriented citizenship and they were instead more effectively performing personally responsible constructs of citizenship to which they had been socialized. Iverson and James (2010) suggested that teacher education programs need to build on this effort to complicate prominent conceptions of effective citizenship as learning expectations for teacher education.

Researchers such as Kiwan (2008) have struggled with conceptions of citizenship that could inform revisions of citizenship frameworks for democratic societies. While

researchers like Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) proposed a three-tiered framework for citizenship engagement, Kiwan (2008) proposed a framework with four levels with attention to ethnic diversity in the model. Kiwan's four levels of citizenship include moral, legal, participatory, and identity-based conceptions.

More recently, Tonon (2012) identified three expressions of how citizenship education could be conceptualized including political participation, community participation, and civil participation. The inclusion of these expressions of participation could strengthen a conceptual framework for the teaching of citizenship.

Understanding how pre-service teachers develop their teacher knowledge about citizenship is complex. Overall, the literature indicates that dimensions of citizenship appear to reflect a civic republican influence to a more liberal model of citizenship (see Knight-Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

2.3 Cognitive Frames

Cognitive frames are "cognitive structures of knowledge grounded in people's social interaction in recurrent sociocultural activities or individual incidences" (Chui, 2012, p. 599). Within these conceptual or cognitive frames, knowledge can produce a framing effect on how individuals conceptualize their thinking (Kahneman & Tversky 2003). Cognitive frames do not remain static; under specific circumstances they can evolve. When new information is presented, a complex process can occur, changing one's old beliefs and conceptions to be congruent with new information though accommodation (Gregoire, 2003). When cognitive frames no longer meet the needs of the individual and "dissonance" or conflict in understanding is experienced, individuals need to try to eliminate the discrepancies between new and old information (Gregoire, 2003)

by creating new frames that allow for information to be coherent and congruent within the individual's frame of reference.

Knowledge refers to an individual's wide network of concepts and images. Beliefs and conceptions, which often appear together in the literature, are part of this knowledge system; however, these are not synonymous (Ponte, 1994). Beliefs are the unquestionable *personal truths* that arise from personal experience or from fantasy and are held with a great affective and evaluative component (Pajares, 1992). Beliefs are either true or false, "thus having a propositional nature" (Ponte, 1994, p. 1). Conceptions, on the other hand, are cognitive constructs that may be viewed as the underlying organizing frame of concepts and are defined as "essentially metaphorical" and may not necessarily lead to action (Ponte, 1994, p. 1). While both beliefs and conceptions are essential to understanding how someone thinks about a content area like citizenship, it is important to understand that conceptions can lead to beliefs. These beliefs can also lead to conceptions (Carey, 1999). However, both are distinct parts of the knowledge system. Carey (1999) highlighted that "beliefs are the relational pieces that connect concepts" (Özdemir & Clark, 2007, p. 353). Understanding the conceptions that frame thinking provides great insight into how beliefs are shaped and how these might influence the teaching of citizenship.

The term *cognition* relates to "the way individuals perceive, filter and conceptualize information in a way that forms the foundation of decisions and action" (Hambrick & Mason, 1984, p. 194). These cognitive perceptions are represented as frames, mental models, and cognitive maps (Axelrod, 1976, Goffman, 1974; Johnson-

Laird & Shafir, 1993; Senge 1990). Learners use these knowledge representations to think about and understand concepts (Alexander, 2006; Vosniadou, 1999).

Posner, Strike, Hewson, and Gertzog (1982) developed the most notable conceptual change theories. They suggested that if a student's current conception is functional and if the learner can solve problems within the existing conceptual schema or frame, then the learner does not feel it necessary to change the current conception. This occurs even when the conception does not allow them to solve a problem effectively or thoroughly. The learner may try to make some changes to their existing conceptions but these are only "moderate changes." These moderate changes are perceived as inadequate restructuring of conceptions (Carey, 1985). In these types of learning situations, students can assimilate knowledge without having to make any accommodation or significant changes to their thinking. In order for change to take place, there needs to be some dissatisfaction with the initial conception, so learners are forced into changing their conceptions or thinking. The new conception also needs to be "intelligible, plausible, and fruitful for successful conceptual change" (Posner et al., 1982 p. 214).

These cognitive frames constitute the prior knowledge that shapes how a learner responds to new knowledge and constructs new concepts and cognitive frames. Prior knowledge is described as the "levels of perceptions, focus of attention, procedural skills, modes of reasoning, and beliefs about knowledge" (Roschelle, 1995 p. 22) and has an important role in influencing learning. For teachers, prior knowledge is what they bring in terms of what they perceive, believe, and think about when it comes to the process of teaching.

Concepts change as a product of the perceiver's education and experience. Hughes, Print, and Sears (2010) examined views of citizens historically. They conceptualized post-communist views of Canadian citizens as consumers rather than as co-authors of modern views of liberal democratic political philosophy.

> No longer were Canadians expected to relate to their government as Canadian citizens; rather, they were perceived as consumers. As democratic citizens we have the right to participate, to shape the decisions that affect us. As customers we are judged to be self-interested, atomistic consumers of government services, the quality of which we judge by the information the government provides. (Smith, 2004, p. 306)

Szelényi and Rhoads (2007) provided a post-national definition of citizenship in response to civic-oriented views of citizens as holders of rights and responsibilities. In this post-national definition, building on the work of Guarasci (1997), Rhoads (1997), and Torres (1998), the concept of democratic multi-cultural citizenship has evolved (Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007). At the same time, devolution of the concept has resulted from increased nationalism even as economic, environmental, and security considerations have taken on more global stature (Miller, 2002). In recognition of the evolutionary and devolutionary forces that have impacted our conceptions of citizenship in a democracy, Archibugi and Held (1995) proposed this concept of cosmopolitan democracy:

> a model of political organization in which citizens, wherever they are located in the world, have a voice, input and political

representation in international affairs, in parallel with and independently of their own governments. (p. 13)

While the concept of a cosmopolitan democracy seems to be utopian in the current global political climate, the concept is an attempt to balance citizens' rights and responsibilities on a global scale. Cosmopolitan democracy recognizes the role of non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations within a framework that maintains nation-states with a complementary role to those organizations. Although the attainment of the cosmopolitan democracy seems distant, the conceptual frames of pre-service teachers need to be considered by those who outline how citizenship should be developed in teacher education programs. The concept of cosmopolitan democracy could be addressed in pre-service programs as an aspect of visioning and critical discourse. Posner (1995) pointed out that change of any type—and I submit that conceptual change is in this category—is a result of dissatisfaction with current conceptions or circumstances. Current events and news of global influences and politics will serve as a concept-servicing factor as concepts of citizenship evolve further. As well, local and national issues will influence evolving conceptions.

The Civic Expert Group (1994) has identified a *civic deficit* among pre-service teachers as it relates to the rights of Indigenous Canadians. As Canada as a nation becomes increasingly aware of the rights of Indigenous Canadians, it is reasonable to expect that concepts of citizenship will evolve to reflect the appropriate national origins of Canada. S. L. Kaplan (2003) highlighted the malleability of our conceptual frames and their responsiveness to change by the collective citizenry. He pointed out that our conceptual frames can change or be re-purposed when teachers use specific intentional

framing strategies. This same rationale would, by extension, also apply to teacher educators in efforts to force the evolution of pre-service teachers' conceptual frames of citizenship. S. L. Kaplan proposed three strategies for expanding or re-purposing conceptual frames: questioning what learners know or think they know (prior knowledge), comparing current knowledge to new information, and targeted dialogue (see also Marzano, Pickering, & Pollock, 2001; Stead, 2006).

2.4 Collective Cognitive Frames

Cognitive frames are not only developed by an individual to frame their thinking, but they can also shape and be shared amongst a group of people. These are called *collective frames*. Like individual conceptual frames, collective frames are often very resistant to change. Collective cognitive or conceptual frames are determined by the extent to which they are shared within a particular group. These can become "routinized" as the focus is on the reproduced nature that makes them "appear to be fixed" (S. L. Kaplan, 2003, p. 256). However, Giddens (1984) argued that "not all frames possess this same routinized quality" (p. 36). He believed that a cognitive or conceptual frame "remains context specific" where it "may or may not get reproduced over time and space" (p. 36). When frames—especially collective cognitive frames—are reproduced over a longer period of time and are embraced by more people in more decision contexts, they become part of the group's psyche. The degree to which the group reproduces the collective frames over a long period—as more people embrace the frame in a decision-making context— the greater the probability that it will be reproduced in the next context (Kaplan, 2003). Collective conceptual frames are resistant to change. S. L. Kaplan pointed out that "if enough actors reproduce a

particular collective frame across enough situations, it may become the only frame that is salient in any decision context" (p.257). Another factor contributing to the reluctance to change is linked to how individual identities are associated with certain frames of thought. Any attempt to change individual or collective frames could be "perceived as threats" (p. 258) to identities.

While these frames might appear difficult to change, collective frames can be modified if the existing frames are not deeply entrenched in the culture of the group. "Actors can enact new collective frames or repurpose old ones" (Kaplan, 2003, p. 260). In relatively stable environments collective frames are resistant to change. However, if teachers engage in purposeful action and teaching to shape the collective frame using specific intentional, framing strategies, change can occur. Once teacher educators are aware of what conceptual frames influence the thinking of individual students and the collective of students, teacher educators can employ specific strategies to help support new constructions of thought that will likely shape the teachers' beliefs. Some of the strategies might include creating personal reflections, using organizational charts such as the Reading and Analyzing Non-Fiction Chart (Stead, 2006), and targeted dialogue. These intentional actions may help the learner examine what they think they know (their prior knowledge) and compare it to new information. Without understanding the attitudes, beliefs, and dispositions of teachers by attending to their specific prior content knowledge and prior pedagogical content knowledge, we will not be able to uncover the conceptual frames they hold about each of these.

2.5 Citizenship Education

There is considerable debate over what should be taught in Social Studies in Canada. Teachers conceptualize and teach citizenship in a variety of ways that reflect the "fluid and evolving nature of civic identity, rights and obligations" (Alviar-Martin, 2011, p. 39). Cohen (2013) found that practicing teachers adapted the curriculum to develop classroom ideas and experiences in ways that were consistent with their own ways of conceptualizing citizenship.

> …mitigation of the gap between personal beliefs and guideline directives …is non-consistent in conceptions of citizenship it promotes…over-looking significant contradictions. (p. 398)

Cohen's research emphasized the gap between democratic ideals of citizenship in curriculum guidelines and actual practice in classrooms and, by extension, in pre-service teacher education programs.

> [T]he civics teachers that stood at the heart of this study held coherent and consistent conceptions of citizenship, and interpreted the nationwide curriculum standards based on these beliefs; once these conceptions were challenged by students in the enacted civics lesson, the teachers did not engage in true democratic conversations accepting these competing beliefs, but rather dismissed student views that were inconsistent with their own pre-existing conceptions, reinforcing the gap between democratic ideals and actual practice. (p. 392)

Lee and Ashby (2000) argued that conceptions of citizenship can be advanced by supporting teachers' concept development in both first and second order conceptions. First order historical concepts are those that focus on knowledge acquisition (such as

knowledge of wars, revolutions, and ideology) while second order historical concepts help students understand and make sense of history (Seixas & Marton, 2013) arguing that historical thinking of both levels of concepts increases students' ability to see the past events as more than a series of inevitable occurances (Seixas & Marton, 2013). In the context of pre-service teacher development of concepts, addressing both first and second order historical concepts related to citizenship has the potential to help teachers to move between their own content knowledge and their professional development of suitable and effective pedagogical content knowledge to support their own students' understanding of patterns and historical cause/effect relationships.

The cognitive frames that teachers hold about citizenship that guide their practice are also influenced by several other factors. Some of these include their own past experiences as students (see Lortie, 1975), their personal and professional experiences, and their position in the world. The increasing ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, and language diversity throughout Canada and the world is forcing educators and government policymakers to rethink existing notions of citizenship and nationality (Banks, 2008). The literature indicates that citizenship conceptions are moving beyond the political arena to encompass citizens' attachments based on culture, gender social class, and other markers of identity (Banks, 2008; Nussbaum, 2002). To experience cultural democracy and freedom, a nation must be unified around a set of democratic values, such as justice and equality, that balance unity and diversity and protect the rights of diverse groups. The discourse of civic education in particular "tends to privilege liberal democratic understandings of citizenship" (Blades & Richardson, 2006, p. 1). However, some, like Banks (2014), have argued that worldwide immigration and the recognition of securing

minority rights are setting the stage for educators and policymakers to "raise serious questions about liberal assimilationist conceptions of citizenship that historically have dominated citizenship education" (p. 1). Differing value orientations, political and educational ideologies, professional roles, and definitions of the purposes of instruction contribute to this debate (Evans & Passé, 2007).

One trend that has an impact on the cognitive frames teachers hold about citizenship is the increased homogeneity of the profession itself (National Education Association, 2010). Garcia, Arias, Harris Murri, and Serna (2010) noted that the "teacher corps lacks diversity" and "is rather homogeneous" (p. 132) although the populations they serve are more diverse than ever before. Some, like Rodriguez and Polat (2012), felt there was a danger of homogenizing conceptions of cultural diversity where teachers are celebrating rather than politicizing it. While these conceptions are linked to conceptions of cultural diversity, it is important to understand the link between these conceptions and those related to citizenship. Without a sound understanding of issues of diversity, teachers may not develop the "critical consciousness" (Rodriguez & Polat, 2012, p. 2) needed to engage in a social justice/enlightened approach. While some current research in teacher education shows greater acceptance of global and cultural diversity, increased civic participation, and advocacy for social justice issues (Castro, 2013) among pre-service teachers, this does not appear to be the consensus in the citizenship research community.

How teachers think about citizenship also reflects their current personal circumstances. Akar (2012) outlined these in three levels: intrapersonal, pedagogical, and participation in professional development. According to Akar, "teachers' own personal

values and experiences throughout times of conflict can manifest into practices that challenge the facilitation of democratic and participative learning in classrooms" (p. 470). While Canadian teachers likely do not have personal experiences similar to those of teachers in post-conflict societies—where teachers often choose not to advocate for greater political engagement out of fear of persecution—the challenges of education in "reconstruction, democratic citizenship and active participation" (p. 470) remain. Teachers who feel that encouraging political and social action in their classrooms might be seen as too controversial might not engage in instruction that promotes such actions, regardless of their personal beliefs. Therefore, uncovering teachers' conceptions is not simply a matter of looking at their overall practice in the classroom, but uncovering their beliefs and making connections to the types of citizenship instruction that will take place overtly and through their "hidden curriculum" (Martin, 1983, p. 122).

While teachers' conceptions "acknowledge the multiple and contextual dimensions of citizenship" (Alviar-Martin, 2011, p. 39), researchers are beginning to acknowledge other influences as well. Educational stakeholders responsible for defining citizenship for teachers through prescriptive curricula are gaining attention. Some of these beliefs might in turn reflect dominant discursive practices where teachers' perceptions and conceptions about citizenship might be influenced by nation-centred conceptions reflected in the curricula (Banks, 2004).

2.6 Influence of Canada's Curriculum on Teachers' Conceptions

Canada's provincial and territorial curricula all address the notion of the *good citizen*. Sears and Hughes (1996) presented how education jurisdictions have their own particular emphasis relating to citizenship education. Conley and Osbourne (1983)

explained that there was a “fair degree of similarity across the different systems” within the Canadian landscape. Although curriculum is developed and implemented at the provincial level, policy and curricular documents examined by Sears and Hughes (1996) showed a “commonality of perspectives persists in citizenship education” (p.133). They stated that while there are “nuances in different jurisdictions,” overall “the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education that form the basis for policy in English-Canadian public school curricula fall toward the activist end of the continuum” (p. 133). In other words, “good Canadian citizens are seen as people who are: knowledgeable about contemporary society and the issues it faces; disposed to work toward the common good; supportive of pluralism; and skilled at taking action to make their communities, nation and world a better place for all people” (p. 134).

Patterson, Doppen, and Misco (2012) discovered that while teachers have a high regard for the citizenship purpose of social studies, the majority of them have an orientation toward personally responsible citizenship that is at odds with the American curriculum standards (Patterson et al., 2012). It is also at odds with Canadian curriculum standards.

Some researchers have promoted the idea that pre-service teachers’ conceptions are synonymous with their beliefs, as shown in the work of Kember (1997).

> I preferred conception to belief to explain participants’ conceptualizations of history …conception is a term used in the literature more frequently than belief…[and] its meaning is largely synonymous with the definition of belief. (Kember, 1997, p. 257)

Other researchers have pointed to the need to develop pre-service teachers' complex conceptual mapping of ideas related to citizenship. For example, researchers cited by Yilmaz (2008b) argued that her work:

> supports earlier research findings that teachers' beliefs, conceptions, or mental maps should be considered in any curricular or instructional reform initiative if teachers are to make a difference in the way that school subjects are taught and learned. (p. 168)

Yilmaz went on to promote the purpose and value of complex conceptual frameworks as a pre-service teacher education strategy to help teachers understand the concept of citizenship and related conceptions.

> The foremost purpose of the models is to help people visualize the information that cannot be seen or experienced directly and to provide them with the means of facilitating their understanding of the world, rather than making it difficult for people to comprehend their world (Doren, Demmin, & Gable, 1990; Ryder, 2005) . . . to help them realize what theory or combination of theories is most effective in enhancing student learning. (Yilmaz, 2008b, p. 168)

These researchers called for complex conceptual models that include the levels of citizenship engagement envisioned by other researchers such as Westheimer and Kahne (2004a), Marshall (1950), and Peterson (2009), that may move beyond the guideline in the jurisdiction of the current professionals. By creating more complex curriculum citizenship frameworks for pre-service teacher education programs, we can hope to "[get]

to the future [which] involves understanding the past" (Szelenyi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 33). That is, teacher educators need to advocate to the Ministry of Education in their jurisdiction for the development of more complex conceptual frameworks because "[c]onceptions that teachers have about their subject matter affect their curricular and pedagogical judgements and decisions" (Yilmaz, 2008b, p. 158) and teachers' beliefs about the discipline they are teaching do have a direct influence on the intentionality of their teaching (Norton, Richardson, Hartley, Newstead, & Mayes, 2005). Since we know that teachers' view of citizenship affects how they implement the citizenship curriculum (Cohen, 2013), we could have anticipated that a more robust citizenship framework would promote classrooms of "living democracy" in order to "promote social cohesion" (Koutselini, 2008, p. 164). To that end, Hughes et al. (2010) proposed that

> [m]andating education policies without the capacity to carry them out provided by adequate funding, clear goals, accessible materials, appropriate training and access to reliable research and policy information, however, put practitioners at all levels in the position of the citizen with the right to speak but no capacity to do so. (p. 306)

2.7 Role of Prior Knowledge in Understanding Teachers' Conceptions

Research on the prior knowledge of teachers can serve at least two important functions. One is to develop the "empirical evidence to assess the usefulness of practical endeavors. Another is to provide descriptions of a phenomenon that enable us to think more clearly about its nature" (Barr, Watts-Taffe, Yokota, Ventura, & Caputi, 2000, p. 465). What is the nature of teachers' prior knowledge? How might we uncover the prior

knowledge that teachers in other fields bring that would enlighten their understanding of citizenship and citizenship education?

Individuals process and understand new data either correctly or incorrectly in light of their personal beliefs, experiences, and prior knowledge. They will often fail to comprehend or apply ideas that have no connections to their experience and no context for acquiring meaning (Hammerness et. al., 2005). Research in education has shown that prior knowledge or conceptual understandings are often persistent and that individuals are often reluctant to change their thinking (Hughes & Sears, 2004). Chareka and Sears (2006) believed that in order for students to learn or change their thinking they need to be provided with opportunities that make students uneasy and or dissatisfied with their current understandings. "Situations that are seen as most conducive to learning are those that present a real challenge to students by causing them to re-examine their learnings and personal representations" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2001, p. 5). "Citizenship education programs should include material that will cause students to rethink their conceptions of the political process" (Chareka & Sears, 2006, p. 535).

Understanding what pre-service teachers bring with them in terms of their personal experience and subject matter knowledge must be an important consideration in teacher education programs. While many individuals attend teacher education programs right after completing their undergraduate degree, others have graduate degrees in various fields of study. Some pre-service teachers have returned to academia in pursuit of a second career and some have spent years teaching abroad. These personal experiences shape the prior knowledge teachers hold and certainly influence the types of experiences they may share with future students. These various experiential paths create

learning cohorts with varying levels of expertise and prior knowledge. Respect towards these differences in B.Ed. admissions criteria might be an important element to consider when choosing among new applicants to the program.

2.8 Research on Conceptions in Other Fields of Education

McCarthey (1990) identified teachers' conceptions of writing and writing instruction and linked those conceptions to program influences. Teachers' beliefs about writing may play a role in how they implement writing programs within their classrooms. This is similar to the relationship between teachers' stated beliefs about the reading process and their classroom practices as presented by Richardson, Anders, Tidwell, and Lloyd (1991). Teachers who hold traditional views of writing as consisting of appropriate syntax, grammatical structures, and other conventions are unlikely to embrace and implement a process approach. The focus of change ought to be on teachers' cognitions and thought processes rather than on specific actions (McCarthey, 1990).

> Differences in the degree of change may suggest that changes in conceptions of pedagogy and conceptions of writing are related but that these changes do not necessarily occur simultaneously. Not surprisingly, different teachers understand and use ideas, philosophies, and materials in different ways. These differences may be something to highlight and build upon rather than discourage.
>
> (McCarthey, 1990, p. 22)

While citizenship education differs from mathematics education, research exists to support the discovery of pre-service teachers' conceptions about mathematics. Van Es and Conroy (2009) from the University of California, Irving published *Using the Performance Assessment for California Teachers to Examine Pre-Service Teachers'*

Conceptions of Teaching Mathematics for Understanding. They framed their study by first reviewing the construct of learning mathematics for understanding and then considering the implications for pre-service teacher learning. By drawing on mathematics education research (Carpenter, Fennema, Franke, Levi, & Empson, 1999; Fennema & Romberg, 1999; Hiebert et al., 1996) they conceived of learning mathematics for understanding as knowledge of/and proficiency with mathematical concepts and procedures, as well as a way to reason about and make sense of mathematics.

> Conceptual understanding refers to:
>
> comprehension of mathematical concepts, operations, and relations; procedural fluency (which) includes skill in carrying out procedures flexibly, accurately, efficiently, and appropriately; and adaptive reasoning involves the capacity for logical thought, reflection, explanation and justification. (NRC, 2001, p. 5)

However, the typical model for teaching mathematics in classrooms is to focus on developing knowledge and proficiency with mathematical procedures, with much less focus on making sense of and reasoning about the math itself (Stigler & Hiebert, 1999). Thus, to make progress on assisting both pre-service and practicing teachers adopt a more conceptually focused approach to mathematics teaching, research on mathematics instruction has identified several characteristics of classrooms that achieve this vision of mathematics teaching and learning (Carpenter & Lehrer, 1999; Fennema & Romberg, 1999; Hiebert, Carpenter, Fennema, Fuson, Human, Murray, Oliver, & Wearne,1996; National Council of Teachers of Mathematics [NCTM], 2000; Stein, Smith, Henningsen, & Silver, 2000). These include: the nature of learning tasks, the role of the teacher, the social culture of the classroom, the type and use of mathematical tools, and the

accessibility of mathematics to every student (Hiebert et al., 1997). Hiebert et al. (1997) believed that together, these elements can provide a classroom context that sets the stage for mathematical proficiency beyond procedural facility. This vision of teaching mathematics could also be applied to a social studies framework. Teachers could be supported to move from a literal or lower-level understanding of citizenship to a more critical, active, and *conceptually-focused* approach to teaching for citizenship.

Gordon (2012) suggested that the knowledge pre-service teachers develop is *other than* the content knowledge that might be acquired through initial degree studies. He argued, "teacher education demands a conception of teaching that takes full account of this knowledge development" (p. 375). He believed that "specific dispositions that do not automatically follow from prior academic attainment appear to be relevant" to the "teacher knowledge" framework. How these are developed, and how they are distinctive to the subject discipline are important questions for initial teacher preparation" (p. 373).

In disciplines other than social studies, there is increasing research to understand how teachers' prior knowledge can be used to help develop teacher education programs that support effective teaching practice. It is important for teacher education programs to make the connections between what and how pre-service teachers think about citizenship in order to understand how they will teach for effective citizenship.

What and how content should be taught in elementary social studies regarding citizenship education differs across contexts. Although citizenship is often mentioned in Canadian Social Studies curricula, learning to be a *good citizen* is seldom explicitly mentioned (Gibson, 2012) "even though social studies programs across Canada have a long history of citizenship education as their primary goal" (Gibson, 2012, p. 1) In 2004,

Sears highlighted that there has been no systematic, large-scale effort to evaluate civic education in Canada either by academic researchers or through provincial or national testing programs. This continues to be the case today. However, in July of 2019 it was announced that researcher Dr. Carla Peck, a professor of elementary education, would lead a $8.6 million project called *Thinking Historically for Canada's Future*. According to Peck,

> the findings may challenge some long-held assumptions about history education. For instance, many people believe so-called 'civics' education, in which students learn about the structure and function of government and citizens' rights and obligations, helps children become better citizens . . . However, it's difficult to find empirical evidence to support that common-sense theory. (as cited in French, 2019)

2.9 The Role of Citizenship Education

The role of education is to foster in children the understanding of norms, values, and ways they should act in their community and their nation (Clark & Case, 1999; Sears, 2004; Quaynor, 2012). Citizenship education has as its goal to instill a sense of "social cohesion to ensure democracy and social justice in the future" (Quaynor, 2012, p. 33). Across all contexts, citizenship education aims to develop "knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will enable [young people] to participate in the communities of which they are a part of" (Davies & Hahn, 2008, p. 5).

In the past few decades there has been a shift in citizenship education. Where once conformity and allegiance were the goals of being a *good* citizen, the focus has evolved to reflect a modern view where students are seen as developing a *notion of*

democracy (Thayer-Bacon, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a). According to Osborne (1991), the process must begin early in the school experience. Based on the assumption that "schools can play a significant role in the citizenship development in most contemporary modern societies where schools are obligated to provide citizenship education," (Geboers et al., 2013, p. 1) Geboers et al. (2013) conducted a large-scale literature review of empirical literature on citizenship. While this review was only in the secondary education context, it identified the political domain of citizenship as the dominant purpose and the social domain as secondary to the teaching of citizenship.

According to Westheimer (2008), good citizenship requires people to behave socially but also to be willing and able to reflect upon political and social issues and contribute critically to society. In order to develop a set of essential values and skills needed to participate in society, we learn to interact with others through our social behaviours from birth and through participation in various social practices (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009). For elementary students, "school is not only one of those practices, it is also an institution that explicitly aims at facilitating and optimizing the development of citizenship" (Geboers et al., 2013, p. 2). As young citizens, students engage in a variety of contexts "with different degrees of heterogeneity" (Geboers et al., 2013, p. 2). They are encouraged to communicate, play, and positively interact with their peers at school, their families, and their community. These contexts appear to reflect the *personally responsible citizen* and do not support political citizenship in the elementary grades.

2.10 Citizenship Education Curriculum

Canada's provincial and territorial curricula all address the notion of the *good citizen*. Sears and Hughes (1996) noted that education jurisdictions have their own

particular emphasis as it relates to citizenship education. Conley and Osbourne (1983) explained that there was a good degree of similarity across the different systems within the Canadian landscape. Although curriculum is developed and implemented at the provincial level, policy and curricular documents examined by Sears and Hughes (1996) showed that a "commonality of perspectives persists in citizenship education" (p. 133). They stated that while there were "nuances in different jurisdictions," (p. 133) overall the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education that form the basis for policy in English-Canadian public secondary school curricula fall toward the activists end of the continuum" (p. 133). In other words,

> good Canadian citizens are seen as people who are: knowledgeable about contemporary society and the issues it faces; disposed to work toward the common good; supportive of pluralism; and skilled at taking action to make their communities, nation and world a better place for all people. (p. 134)

The new Ontario social studies curriculum (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018) highlighted that it would "enable students to become responsible, active citizens within the diverse communities to which they belong" (p. 6). Ontario's vision was to have students become "critically thoughtful and informed citizens who value an inclusive society [where] students will have the skills they need to solve problems and communicate ideas and decisions about significant developments, events, and issues" (p. 6). Ontario's curriculum stated that students would work toward:

- developing an understanding of responsible citizenship;
- developing an understanding of the diversity within local, national, and global communities, both past and present;

- developing an understanding of interrelationships within and between the natural environment and human communities;
- developing the knowledge, understanding, and skills that lay the foundation for future studies in geography, history, economics, law, and politics; and
- developing the personal attributes that foster curiosity and the skills that enable them to investigate developments, events, and issues.

The elementary curriculum in Ontario does not appear to support the activist end of the curriculum with reference to citizenship education. Instead, it focuses on leading students toward being responsible citizens.

Overall, citizenship education literature is rooted in the belief that researchers and educators need to look beyond "the normative liberal democratic discourse of civic education [and] imagine other possibilities for "creating citizens" (Callan, 1997). According to Blades and Richardson (2006), "democracy is best served when citizenship education truly reflects the plurality of voices and ideas that make up the complex fabric of civic society" (p. 7).

2.11 Cognitive Frames of Teachers about Citizenship

Scholarly work about social studies and, more specifically, citizenship is beginning to take into account the importance of teachers' beliefs about social studies and its purpose (Peck & Herriot, 2014; Al-Nofli, 2010; Brophy & Alleman, 2006; Ross & Marker, 2005). Current literature has highlighted teacher thinking and decision-making practices, knowledge, perceptions, personal theories rationales, understandings, and attitudes towards teaching social studies (Fickel, 2000). In rethinking teacher education,

researchers have been raising critical questions about what *quality teaching* means and how it might look like in a global context (Quezada, 2012). It is important to focus on "preparing teachers who can respond to the needs of changing communities and ethnically and linguistically diverse classrooms" (Quezada, 2012, p. 105). Quezada (2012) developed five important conceptual domains to reflect the "globally minded teacher educator" (p. 105) where they support the development and understanding of the citizenship teacher educator as well. These domains are:

- Personal knowledge: pertains to facilitating a conscious intersection of the prospective teachers' autobiographies and formal curriculum, in order to bridge one's accumulated experiences with continuing personal growth;
- Contextual knowledge: pertains to local and global contextual understanding of political, historical, cultural and structural variables that inform problem solving and problem posing;
- Pedagogical knowledge: pertains to ways of thinking about sociological knowledge and social knowledge (Quezada, 2012, p. 105)

Understanding the cognitive frames allows teacher educators to address areas of misconception. Rodriguez and Polat (2012) state that a "lack of critical consciousness, cultural understanding, and linguistic knowledge that White teachers may bring with them to the classroom" (p. 362) (see e.g., Darling-Hammond, French & Garcia-Lopez 2002; Irvine 2003). Rodriguez and Polat (2012) paid special attention to the discourses of pre-service teachers and found that their discourses lacked an understanding of social, cultural, political, and/or economic privilege. The literature suggests that it is necessary for teacher educators to address these conceptions and consider pre-service teachers'

experiences and identifies as part of what Enright (2011) called 'New Mainstream,' a term that outlines the increasingly linguistically and culturally complex environments of elementary and secondary classrooms (p. 80). However, few researchers have attended to how those beliefs are created and influenced by the conceptual frames teachers hold. Knowledge, beliefs, and conceptions appear in education literature as distinct non-overlapping categories (Ponte, 1994). Understanding the distinctions of these terms and how they relate to each other allows for greater clarity when defining conceptual frames.

2.12 Cognitive Frames about Citizenship

Conceptions are an important part of the *personal practical knowledge* system that teachers use to make instructional decisions (Elbaz, 1983; Clandinin & Connelly, 1987). They are important elements in teaching social studies, as they are "integral features in the process of teacher change and practice" (Dinkleman, 1999, p. 7). Teachers perceive, filter, and conceptualize the information they hold about citizenship. These perceptions lead to their personal beliefs. There are few empirical studies outlining teacher conceptions of citizenship specifically. The studies that do exist are centered on defining the purpose of social studies (National Council for the Social Studies, 1994). Also, the beliefs teachers hold relate primarily to their students' citizenship competency development and learning (Chin & Barber, 2010) and are not necessarily linked to the conceptual frames of the teachers (Patterson et al., 2012).

Pre-service teachers emphasized the importance of being part of a group or community as a characteristic of good citizenship. These findings reflect the research by Milligan, Taylor, and Wood (2011), who identified that teachers identified belonging and participating in local communities as an important tenet of citizenship, while they were

ambivalent toward an understanding of citizenship as a relationship between the individual and the state. This was particularly evident in relation to linked concepts such as inclusion and community.

According to Milligan et al., (2011), pre-service teachers "lacked alternative framings of citizenship" (p. 296). The pre-service teachers in Milligan et al.'s (2011) study did not appear to have the necessary conceptions of citizenship to "explore the tensions, conflicts or citizenries that might be glossed over or silenced under the banner of citizenship as belonging" (p. 296).

Teachers conceptualize and teach citizenship in a variety of ways that reflect the "fluid and evolving nature of civic identity, rights and obligations" (Alviar-Martin, 2011, p. 39). The current literature regarding conceptual frames of teachers of citizenship tells us how it also develops within multiple, nested, and overlapping contexts, influenced by individuals' locality, country, and the global community (Alviar-Martin, 2011). Further, research indicates that citizenship conceptions are moving beyond the political arena to encompass the citizens' attachments based on culture, gender, social class, and other markers of identity (Banks, 2008; Nussbaum, 2002). Therefore, teachers' conceptions are varied, context-dependent, and influenced by the individual teacher's personal frame of reference.

One trend that may have an impact on the conceptual frames teachers hold about citizenship is the homogeneity of the profession itself (Rodriguez & Polat, 2012). Garcia et al. (2010) said the "teacher corps lacks diversity [and] is rather homogeneous" (p. 132), yet the populations teachers serve are more diverse than ever before. Rodriguez and Polat (2012) felt there was a danger of homogenizing conceptions of cultural diversity

where teachers are celebrating rather than politicizing it. While these conceptions are linked to ideas of cultural diversity, it is important to understand the link between these conceptions and those related to citizenship. Without a sound understanding of issues of diversity, teachers may not develop the "critical consciousness" (Rodriguez & Polat, 2012, p. 2) needed to teach citizenship effectively.

Teachers' thinking about citizenship reflects their current personal circumstances. Akar (2012) outlined these in three levels: intrapersonal, pedagogical, and participation in professional development. According to Akar (2012) "teachers' own personal values and experiences throughout times of conflict can manifest into practices that challenge the facilitation of democratic and participative learning in classrooms" (p. 470). Canadian teachers likely do not have personal experiences like those of teachers in post-conflict societies. Teachers in post-war situations often choose not to advocate for greater political engagement out of fear of persecution. This might create challenges in educating for democratic citizenship and active participation. Even in Canada, some teachers might feel that encouraging political and social action in their classrooms might be seen as too controversial and might not engage in instruction promoting such actions regardless of their personal beliefs about political and social engagement. Hess (2009) argued that controversial issues like the death penalty, abortion, and immigration laws are not cited in curriculum documents and board guidelines as examples for discussion. This limits how teachers engage their students in sharing when learning about controversial issues. Uncovering teachers' conceptions is not simply a matter of looking at their overall practice in the classroom but uncovering their beliefs and making connections to the types of citizenship instruction that will take place covertly through their *hidden*

curriculum (Martin, 1983). Darling-Hammond et al. (2002) and Irvine (2003) found a "lack of critical consciousness, cultural understanding, and linguistic knowledge that White teachers may bring with them to the classroom" (Rodriguez & Polat, 2012, p. 38). Rodriguez and Polat (2012) found that the discourses of pre-service teachers "lacked an understanding of social, cultural, political, and/or economic privilege.

2.13 Role of the Teacher Educators

Koster, Korthagen, Wubbels, and Hoornweg (1996) highlighted the functions teacher educators fulfill. They outlined that teacher educators are facilitators of the learning process of the pre-service teacher by encouraging reflective skills, developing new curricula, and being a professional gatekeeper of the knowledge. When teacher educators understand that pre-service teachers have a limited understanding of the role social justice plays in effective citizenship education, they can develop programs that move the learner from a literal understanding towards a deeper critical understanding of what it means to teach *for* citizenship instead of *about* citizenship. Teacher educators are no longer the *gate keepers* but the *gate openers*, fostering environments that contribute to knowledge transformation instead of knowledge dissemination.

Without knowing how pre-service teachers think about citizenship when they first begin Initial Teacher Preparation programs, teacher educators do not fully understand the various ways in which candidates internalize citizenship and citizenship education. If that prior knowledge is faulty, the pre-service teachers will not be able to attach new learnings. Misconceptions might not be addressed. These misconceptions might then be shared with future students.

Assessment and evaluation are cornerstones of any sound educational program.

Currently, pre-service teachers' competencies are based on assessment and evaluation of observable teaching behaviours. Far easier to assess, observable behaviours are recorded, tracked and reported. However, without understanding how teachers come to hold beliefs about the concepts they are responsible to teach, we are missing opportunities to transform not only *what* they teach but also *how* they teach. In order for teachers to develop constructivist-based learning environments that offer opportunities for ambiguity and dissonance for learning, we need to create learning situations for pre-service teachers that support deeper understanding of the concepts they are required to teach.

Patterson et al. (2012) suggested it is important for us to mine our beliefs about social studies in order to realize the citizenship mission of the social studies and the progressive practices associated with that mission. They submitted "the same is true for citizenship education purposes, that the boundaries teachers maintain can and should be challenged" (p. 193).

Teacher education programs "have been criticized for being overly theoretical, having little connection to practice, offering fragmented and incoherent courses, and lacking in a clear, shared conception of teaching among faculty" (Darling-Hammond, Pacheco, Michelli, LePage, Hammerness, & Youngs, 2005, p. 391). However, programs that have a shared vision—where the focus is on big ideas that meet most of the needs of most of the stakeholders—will provide a successful framework that is sustainable. The shared vision among the faculty needs to include the importance of teaching citizenship across the Teacher Education Program that recognizes the importance of teaching citizenship for social justice. A multi-disciplinary, research-based education approach might ensure pre-service teachers have extensive subject knowledge, a good knowledge

of pedagogy, the skills and competences required to guide and support learners and an understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of education (Tripp & Rich, 2012).

Teacher educators are primarily responsible for providing theoretical information, but it must be acknowledged that they also develop the tacit aspects of professional competence. This professional competence needs to acknowledge the overwhelming importance that citizenship plays in both the curriculum and in society at large.

Teacher educators are charged with the task of planning instruction that supports more sophisticated conceptual understanding. By addressing the conceptual frames and prior knowledge pre-service teachers hold about citizenship, initial teacher education programs can develop curricula that promote teaching *for* citizenship rather than *about* citizenship.

2.14 Conclusion of Literature Review

Teaching is complex and is a social, political and moral activity that has an ethic (Marshall, 1950). In order to understand teachers' conceptualizations of citizenship and the "deep complexity inherent in these conceptualizations" (Patterson et al., 2012, p. 203) more research is needed to uncover how teachers' beliefs influence their understanding of citizenship over time. Research on pre-service teachers' cognitive frames is vital to teacher education as it allows teacher educators to acknowledge both the conceptions and misconceptions new teachers might hold at the beginning, middle, and end of their programs. Active engagement in research about pre-service teachers' cognitive frames needs to continue to ensure that our future teachers have the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to not only teach about citizenship but for active citizenship.

It is important to uncover conceptual frames because we cannot assume that a

person's stated beliefs are directly translated into action. It is important that researchers acknowledge the role of conceptions in instruction in both formal and informal settings. How a teacher responds to an act of aggression against someone whose rights have been compromised— for example, a conflict on a playground, a bullying incident or a controversial community debate—might signal that teacher's underlying conceptual understanding of and beliefs about citizenship.

By examining pre-service teachers' conceptions of citizenship before and after their Social Studies course, I aimed to determine the extent to which their Social Studies teacher preparation course helped them understand the concept of citizenship with its many facets.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present the research methodology selected for this study: phenomenography. I outline the theoretical underpinnings of phenomenography, present the research design method, outline the data collection procedures, and present the data analysis procedures I used. I also include some of the limitations of the study. Phenomenography as a tool allows the researcher to understand how participants conceptualize citizenship. The research questions for this study are:

1. How do pre-service teachers understand citizenship?
2. What are the factors that influence the cognitive frames that pre-service teachers hold?

Identifying the detailed ways pre-service teachers understand citizenship and the factors that influence their cognitive frames required a methodology that could provide evidence of participants' thinking as well as changes in their thinking.

3.1 Theoretical Underpinnings

This research is situated at the intersection of two complementary theoretical frameworks. The first is framed through a civic republican lens "with its emphasis on public education, civic involvement, and achieving the common good through civic virtue" (Babcock, 2009, p. 517). It provides a useful construct for thinking about how to make individuals behave in more responsible ways for the greater good of society. The second theoretical framework informing this study draws on constructivist learning theory, which emphasizes that individuals come to every learning situation with their

own prior knowledge. Some of this prior knowledge might be accurate, but it is also evident that students may have and uphold naïve conception or misunderstandings about various concepts (Driver & Easley, 1978). Constructivist research aims to understand and discover the nature of students' prior conceptions in order to influence curricula and develop teaching approaches, with the goal of increasing students' ability to incorporate new and more complex knowledge into that which they already know (Hughes & Sears, 2004).

3.2 The Range and Purpose of Phenomenographic Research

Individuals perceive learning experiences in unique ways. Phenomenography assumes a limited number of qualitatively different ways participants can relate to conceptual understanding. It is the role of the researcher to categorize the differences found in these experiences (Åkerlind, 2005; Marton, 1992). Phenomenography does not rely on predetermined categories, but rather allows hierarchical categories to be determined by participant responses, which may allow for greater consideration of a particular topic. This is the premise researchers explore when they use phenomenography. Once the different ways participants understand citizenship are uncovered, a deeper understanding of what takes place when students are thinking about citizenship will emerge. Phenomenography is a methodology that examines how students learn and understand in different ways.

Phenomenography has been used to study the learning impact of many academic programs including, but not limited to, nursing (Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002), engineering (Case & Light, 2011; Trigwell & Yasukawa, 1999), mathematics and statistics (Reid & Petocz, 2002), physics (Ornek, 2008; Prosser, 1994), contemporary information literacy research, (Boon & Webber, 2007; Bruce, 1999; Limberg, 2000; Lupton, 2008; Maybee,

2007; Yates, Partridge, & Bruce, 2009), second language learning (Polat, 2013), and biochemistry (Newton & Martin, 2013). Most of these studies focused on instructional methods (see, for example, Marton et al., 2004; Trigwell, Prosser, & Ginns, 2005), looking at how instruction influences experiential conceptualization (Anderberg, Svensson, Alvegård, & Johansson, 2008). However, much of the literature also attends to variation theory (Booth, 2008; Hella & Wright, 2009; Lam, 2013), which is based on the idea that in order for conceptual development to be facilitated it should focus on the individual's ability to experience variation in certain features of the phenomenon that they might be taking for granted (Marton, Runesson & Tsui, 2004). More specifically, researchers have used phenomenography to uncover how learning develops during academic studies (Dahlin, 1999) in a variety of different academic fields.

Newton and Martin (2013) used phenomenography to uncover the conceptions undergraduate students held in biochemistry, specifically human metabolism. They categorized written responses into an inclusive hierarchy to identify increasing levels of accuracy and complexity of the integration of metabolism-related concepts. Then they used a second strategy where they categorized the same responses using the Structure of Observed Learning Outcomes (SOLO), which is defined as a "taxonomy of increasing connectivity and inclusiveness" (p. 79). Finally, Newton and Martin used questions from the midterm and the final exams, ranking the responses using the Biology Blooming Tool (BBT; Crowe, Dirks, & Wenderoth, 2008) to assess the level represented in the Bloom's taxonomy framework.

Newton and Martin (2013) found that having a clear picture of the level of learning about a phenomenon or where students *should be at* throughout a course with

regards to understanding of course concepts allows an instructor to maintain focus and direction in the creation of course content, assignments, and exam questions.

> The observation of a relationship between deep learning approach and improved performance at higher levels of cognitive complexity suggests that such analytic methods may be useful to educators seeking to reward and encourage deeper learning. (Newton & Martin, 2013, p. 88)

Thus, phenomenography is an excellent tool to help uncover increasing levels of cognitive complexity as they relate to participants' understanding of a phenomenon.

3.3 Outline of Data Collection Strategy

Phenomenographic research is predicated on the rigorous process by which the researcher undertakes a careful plan for achieving a particular goal. Figure 1 outlines a systematic approach to uncovering the perceptions held by participants about specific phenomena.

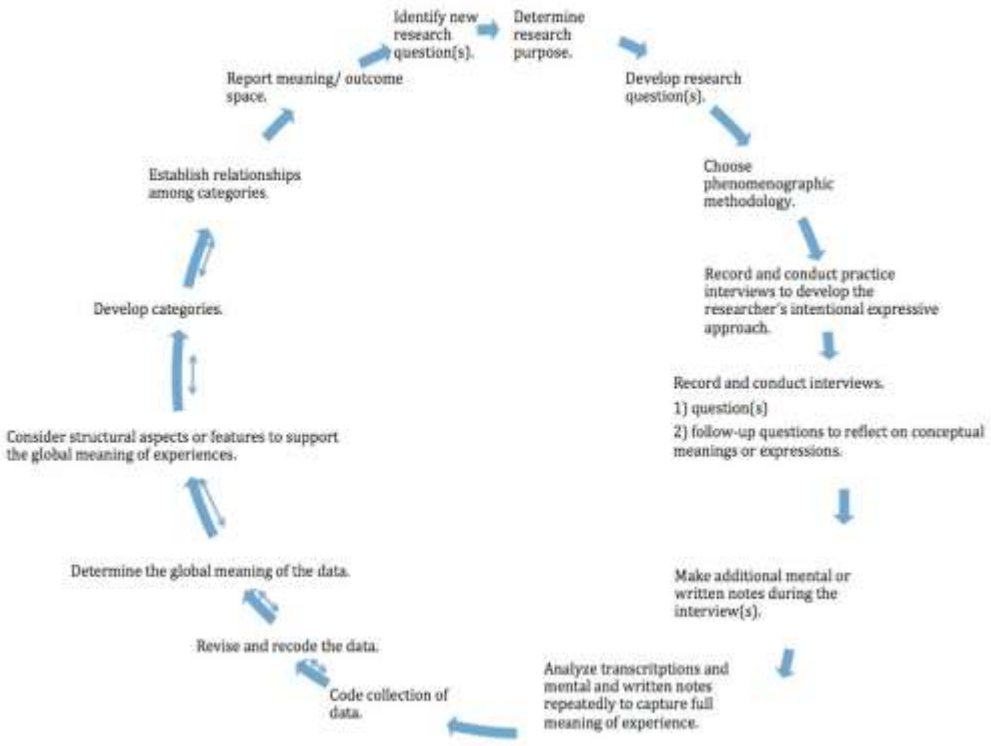

Figure 1. Phenomenography methodology

This model was created for this research project to help me identify each step in the process. The items presented are adapted from Phenomenography literature (see Akerlind, 2008; Entwhistle & Marton, 1994; Goh, 2013; Gunton, Bruce & Stoodley, 2013; Kinnunen & Simon, 2012; Lindberg, 2000; Marton & Booth, 1997; Marton & Pong, 2005; Saldana, 2008). The arrows indicate the directional path. Once the collection of data has begun, the arrows indicate the recursive path of the inquiry, where the researcher returns to the previous step to ensure that each step is clearly addressed before attending to the next phase. By completing each step, the researcher is able to meet the requirements of trustworthiness.

3.4 Data Collection

To understand the complex phenomenon of citizenship, it was important that I consider the multiple *realities* experienced by the participants. To do this, I used multiple sources of qualitative data, including interviews, observations, and documents (Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002) the description of people's lived experiences, events, or situations is often described as 'thick' (Denzin, 1989), meaning attention is given to rich detailed data, meaningful social and historical contexts and experiences, and the significance of emotional content in an attempt to open up the word of whoever or whatever is being studied. The goal of qualitative data analysis is to uncover the themes, patterns, concepts, insights, and understandings that emerge. (Patton, 2002, pp. 261-283) I collected these data between September 2017 and the end of December 2017.

3.5 Research Participants

In this study I used a pre-and post-treatment phenomenographic approach to collect data for the purpose of exploring the research questions. Twenty pre-service teachers from a single Canadian university participating in a 36-hour Social Studies course as part of a two-year teacher preparation program were invited to take part in the study. The study took place over several months, where the first interviews were conducted during the second and third week of classes in September 2017 and the second interviews took place during the second last week of the course in December 2017. There were 18 female participants and two male participants, all between the ages of 24 and 27 with the exception of one female participant who was 33 years old at the time of the study. All self-identified as Canadian and none of the participants were from ethnic

minority groups. Two participants identified as being first-generation Canadian; their parents came from European countries.

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

During the interviews, I first asked participants to complete a concept map defining their understanding of citizenship. I then asked participants to explain their concept map in detail along and to answer pre-selected questions in an open-ended interview. The questions in the second interview were the same as in the first interview, with the addition of, “Did your views about citizenship change since the beginning of the term and, if so, can you explain your thinking?” This question allowed me to uncover whether their perceptions, ideas, and conceptions about citizenship might have changed and, if so, to find out if the change resulted from their experience in the course or perhaps from other influences.

In addition to these interviews, I was able to observe and document the citizenship lessons that took place within the Social Studies course. A larger group of pre-service teachers—approximately 80 students divided into two cohort groups of approximately 40 students, —participating in the Social Studies course shared their ideas in groups about their understanding of citizenship. Finally, I examined supportive documents from the course, such as the course outline and classroom group work. For example, I wanted to observe whether any of the pre-service teachers showed evidence of their understanding of citizenship during the lesson on citizenship. In conclusion, data collection was primarily collected through pre-and post-interviews of 20 pre-service teacher candidates. Each participant created a concept map at the beginning of the interview and shared the map with me. I also collected data through in-class observations, analysis of course

outline and class discussions related to the topic of citizenship, and an interview with the teacher educator who taught the Social Studies course.

3.7 Data Collection for Pre-Interview

The purpose of this study was to uncover the detailed ways in which pre-service teachers understand citizenship and the factors that influence their cognitive frames. In order to do this, data must be collected. Harris (2008) stated that phenomenography incorporates a wide variety of data collection methods, such as question and answer interviews, semi-structured interviews, and online discussion forums. Regardless of the data collection method used, they all "must allow participants to give open-ended responses" (p. 61). Phenomenography's approach to data collection includes several phases. The first phase involves the researcher trying to understand the experience from the participants' perspectives. During the interview process, I met with participants and inquired about their understanding of the phenomenon, in this case their understanding of citizenship. I asked pre-service teachers explicitly, "What is citizenship?" They were asked to define citizenship and to give examples of what citizenship means to them. Ornek (2008) described the interview experience as permitting the participant to "think aloud, be doubtful and also pause" (p. 6). The interview process should engage the researcher and the participant in a way where they might "come to a mutual understanding" (p. 5) of the "meaning of the experience" (p. 5). I used follow-up questions to allow both me and the participant to reflect on the conceptual meanings or expressions. I made mental and written notes during the interviews. Once these were outlined, I was able to analyze the transcripts and notes. I did this repeatedly to capture the full meaning of the experience. Interviews allowed me to obtain a more in-depth

understanding of participants' behaviour and attitudes (Blummer, Watulak, & Kenton, 2012).

Each interview consisted of warm-up questions to develop rapport with the interviewees (Goh, 2013). These included greetings and questions about how they were adapting to or enjoying student life (neutral question). Next came the main questions, which encouraged the pre-service teachers to think about what they understood about citizenship using their concept map as a springboard for discussion. The questions for the first interview were:

1. Describe your concept map.
2. Why did you choose to display your concept map in this way?
3. How does your concept map exemplify your understanding of citizenship?
4. Where do you think you learned about citizenship?
5. How might their conceptions about citizenship have changed over time?

All the interviews were conducted in English and recorded using Audacity. At the end of each interview it was transcribed by me and a research assistant. I made additional notes immediately following each interview.

Data analysis followed. The analysis focused on the meanings that were identified within the transcripts and not on pre-determined categories. I examined each set of responses using *free* and *open* coding to identify the ideas that emerged and I highlighted conceptions that presented themselves (Goh, 2013). A detailed analysis followed, where I re-evaluated and compared each response using an "iterative reading and re-reading of transcripts to establish similarities and differences in the responses made" (Entwistle & Marton, 1994, p. 166). During the re-reading, I highlighted blocks of text with similar

conceptions. I then collated identified conceptions into a new document and organized them using charts to create an initial set of categories. I discuss this process further in the following chapter.

Once this step was complete, I continued sorting and analyzing to uncover any characteristics that explained the conceptions related to citizenship and the shared understanding documented by the pre-service teachers. This process also led to the uncovering of any conceptions that might have changed over the course of the pre-service Social Studies course. This allowed for even greater deconstruction of the utterances, where the conceptions of each participant were more accurately placed in their respective categories (Goh, 2013). Finally, I selected specific comments to provide quotations that represented the pre-service teachers' discerned conceptions of citizenship at the beginning and end of the Social Studies course as well as the changes that occurred in their thinking.

3.8 Data Collection from Post-Interview

During the second interview, I asked the pre-service teachers to complete a second concept map about what citizenship meant to them. I asked them the same set of questions as in the first interview, with the addition of a final question: "What role do you think the teacher education Social Studies course contributed to your understanding of citizenship?" Once this step was completed, I presented them with their concept map from the first interview. I asked them to describe how they saw their understanding of teaching citizenship change over the course of the term and to discuss some of the factors that they felt might have contributed to that change. I also examined which factors from

the initial teacher preparation program might have influenced their conceptions of teaching citizenship.

3.9 Data Collection from Concept Maps

The purpose of using concept or cognitive maps in this study was to identify participants' knowledge of the concepts related to citizenship. Cognitive maps provide a framework to visually represent how concepts are interconnected, which sheds more light on how they think about citizenship and how their ideas and conceptions are influenced by their prior knowledge and experiences. According to Lourdel, Gondran, Laforest, Debray, and Brodhag (2007), using cognitive maps allow researchers to evaluate student understanding and provide an avenue for representing how this knowledge interconnects in long-term memory. Using this approach to data collection both during the first and second interviews, I asked pre-service teachers to record as many ideas as possible that they felt represented citizenship *in their eyes*. I gave participants approximately 10-15 minutes to complete this task or until they felt that they had exhausted their knowledge about what citizenship meant to them.

3.10 Data Collection from Classroom Observations

Natural environments like the pre-service Social Studies class are favoured for discovering how participants construct their own meaning of events or situations (Davies & Hahn, 2018). This is why I conducted classroom visits to record how participants constructed their own meaning of events or situations that were associated with their understanding of citizenship. I captured both observational notes and recordings of communication that might inform their beliefs about citizenship.

3.11 Data Collection from Teacher Educator

The final part of this research related to the teacher educator. The teacher educator provided a copy of the course outline and I conducted a post-course interview with the teacher educator. I shared findings from both pre-service teacher interviews with the teacher educator and asked if the findings from this research might influence their future teaching of pre-service teachers. I recorded the responses.

3.12 The Coding of the Data

Once the completed data collection has been organized, tentative categories emerge. Kinnunen and Simon (2012) discussed how they begin by selecting two rich texts and started "fracturing the text" (p. 210) by reading it sentence by sentence. They highlight questions like: "What is the essence of this sentence?" and "Which concept would best capture the essence of the theme or idea described in the sentence?" These allow the comparison of each sentence—and the concepts within—to uncover similarities and differences. This process condenses and abstracts the data, which allows for what can be characterized as a "concrete outcome" (p. 210). Each outcome can be linked to a specific data code. According to Saldaña (2008), "a code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p. 3). Saldaña stated that

> the portion of data to be coded during First Cycle coding processes can range in magnitude from a single word to a full sentence to an entire page of text to a stream of moving images. In Second Cycle coding processes, the portions coded

> can be the exact same units, longer passages of text, and even a reconfiguration of the codes themselves developed thus far. (p. 3)

The coding process involves revising and re-coding data recursively as the researcher tries to determine the global meaning of each statement within the interviews.

Gunton, Bruce, and Stoodley (2013) maintained that data analysis involves distinguishing the qualitative variation between the different experiences of the phenomenon presented by the participants. Lindberg (2000) highlighted that after reading and in-depth familiarization with the transcripts, the researcher begins to uncover the unique forms of experience. These are noted and used to map out categories of phenomena. Once categories are established, the focus begins to shift from the individual's perspective of the experience to the collective experience shared by multiple participants. It is important to note that early versions of categories are not fixed; they can be adjusted, if necessary, to reflect the collective voice (Guton, Bruce, & Stoodley, 2013). This is the iterative process that permeates this methodology. The identified categories include specific aspects that communicate the meaning of the category—such as referential aspects—as well as structural aspects. These identify the main focus in each experience. Structural aspects include statements that represent conceptions of experience that are at "the margin" (Marton & Booth, 1997 p. 122)—at the outer edges of the experience or absent in the account. Åkerlind (2008) presented criteria for such *outcome space*s as categories that are distinctive, logically related, and few in number. The variations that appear from these experiential accounts are then examined to uncover the ways participants experience the phenomenon (Marton & Booth, 1997).

Finally, once relationships among categories are established, the researcher reports the meaning uncovered during the previous phases of the research. This will also lead into themes for discussion. This process is iterative and cyclical. More questions linked to the participants' conceptions might be revealed, and thus begin the process anew.

The process involves

- Focusing on the meaning of a category or its parts
- Considering the what or how of the phenomenon
- Using similarities and differences within and between categories
- Seeking to resolve information in transcripts that does not fit into any category
- Understanding that changing one category may contain implications for the other (adapted from Åkerlind, 2008)

Once the categories are devised, the researcher establishes the relationships among the categories. Finally, the meanings that characterize the participants' understanding of the phenomena are reported. It is important to explain the meanings that form the *outcome space*. Categories of descriptions are the outcome space variations among the ways of experiencing the reality of the same phenomenon (Marton & Pong, 2005). This process is not finite. While the information may be reported on at this time, it may also lead and motivate the researcher to continue investigating as new research questions develop.

This is an interpretive process in which I explain my findings. I outline why I believe selected categories emerged and I describe how themes emerged. Most

importantly, I explain the conceptions related to citizenship that were uncovered and discuss what might have led the pre-service teachers to have these conceptions.

3.13 Limitations and Assumptions

It is important to make the reader aware of the limitations of this research project. The first limitation concerns the stimulus in this case—the concept map task. Pre-service teachers may or may not know how to create a concept map and may require some guidance to create one. It is conceivable that the instruction about how to create a concept map could have had an effect on the students' thinking about citizenship.

It was impossible to detach myself and my own prior conceptions from the data analysis process. My experiences as a teacher, teacher educator, graduate student, and researcher have all contributed to my beliefs about citizenship and my beliefs about how students might understand citizenship. It was important for me to include my efforts to reveal my own background and to define the influence of my own assumptions on the entire research project.

The intention of this study was to report on the variations that emerged from the pre-service teachers' understanding of the phenomenon, in this case, their conceptions related to citizenship. Participants were invited to complete two interviews—one at the beginning of the course and the second at the end of the course. The interviews directed participants to share a concept map that outlined their understanding of citizenship at that time. The interviews were directed towards their understanding of citizenship, and the questions were also broad enough to obtain meaningful responses without forcing a particular structure upon interviewees (Bruce, Buckingham, Hynd, McMahon, Roggenkamp, & Stoodley, 2004).

3.14 Conclusion of Methodology

The research methodology of phenomenography allowed me to demonstrate how pre-service teachers understand citizenship. This study allowed me to identify the detailed ways in which pre-service teachers understand citizenship and the factors that influence the cognitive frames of pre-service teachers. Phenomenography helped me provide some possible evidence of the changes that took place in their thinking. This methodology allowed me to glimpse how students structured their thinking about citizenship.

Chapter 4 - Data Analysis

4.0 Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to investigate how pre-service teachers understand citizenship. The research questions were:

1. How do pre-service teachers understand citizenship?
2. What are the factors that influence the cognitive frames that pre-service teachers hold?

Identifying the detailed ways in which pre-service teachers understand citizenship and the factors that influence the cognitive frames they hold required a data analysis that could provide evidence of how the participants think about citizenship. The data analysis also provided a mechanism to gain insight into which factors might influence changes in conceptions about citizenship.

The objective of this chapter is to explain how I conducted the data analysis and present the findings of this phenomenographic study. In this chapter I explain how categories of description emerged from what the participants said during the semi-structured interviews, describe what was present in their concept maps, and lay out the categories of descriptions that emerged from observations and artifacts collected from the pre-service Social Studies course. In phenomenography, each participant's thinking is not individually categorized (Chareka, 2005). Instead, the 40 interviews were analyzed as one set of data or "one document by picking similarities and differences in relation to the concept" (p. 130). The work of classifying them led me to form the categories of description. As Marton (1981) argued, for every phenomenon there is a limited number

of qualitatively different conceptions that exist. These conceptions are reasonably related to each other, and the network constitutes the *outcome space* (Marton, 1986) of citizenship. In other words, citizenship is the whole where conceptions form the parts of the whole.

From the 40 transcripts, I first identified any utterance relating to the concept of citizenship. Once these had been highlighted, my focus moved from the individual participant to the meaning embedded in the utterances, regardless of whether these meanings originated from the same participants. The utterances from the interviews and the classroom observation transcripts were clustered into more intricate pools of meanings, creating categories of descriptions of citizenship (Chareka, 2005). The final section of the methodology explains in detail the outcome space of the concept of citizenship as understood by pre-service teachers in one Ontario university. It should be clearly understood that I do not claim that *all* pre-service teachers in Ontario conceptualize citizenship or the teaching of citizenship in similar ways. Nevertheless, some who are new to the teaching profession might describe conceptions of citizenship in ways that closely fit some of these categories of description.

4.1 Reading of the transcriptions

During the first part of the data analysis phase I read the transcripts one by one. It was important that I kept an open mind in order to prevent me from imposing any predetermined views about the qualitatively different meanings or ways of experiencing citizenship too soon in the process. Instead, I waited until the second and subsequent readings, making notes about my thinking and interpretation. Taking the time to read all the transcripts was important as it allowed space and time to simply reflect on the various

perspectives shared amongst the group. According to Åkerlind (2005), "maintaining a focus on the transcripts and the emerging categories of description as a set, rather than on individual transcripts and categories is also essential in order to maintain focus on the collective experience" (p. 323). I read each transcript multiple times in order to uncover the true nature of the categories of descriptions. Once I had read all the transcripts multiple times, I examined each transcript's sentences for utterances and phrases that could be linked to the participants' understanding of citizenship. This was executed through note taking and the use of charts.

4.2 Analyzing the Transcripts

Each time I read the transcripts, I asked myself, "What does this tell me about the ways pre-service teachers understand citizenship?" I based my analysis on Bowden and Walsh's (2000) approach to phenomenographic analysis, where each transcript was read and reviewed according to the following:

1. focusing on the referential (meaning) or structural components of the categories of description
2. focusing on the *how* or *what* aspects of the phenomenon
3. focusing on similarities and differences within and between categories and transcripts associated with particular categories
4. focusing on borderline transcripts and those transcripts in which there are aspects that do not fit the proposed categories of description and looking for the implications for all of the categories of description of a change in any one category

My analysis was also based on Sjöström and Dahlgren (2002)'s work, which recommended basing judgment on three indicators:

1. Frequency: how often an idea is articulated
2. Position: where the statement is positioned; often the most significant elements are found in the introductory parts of an answer
3. Pregnancy: when participants explicitly emphasize that certain aspects are more important than others. (pp. 341-342)

It is important to note that I tried to faithfully record and interpret the interview transcripts without judging them by my own values or existing knowledge, although I did compare them against the other participant data.

In columns listed beside each participant's pseudonym, every "utterance of interest for the question being investigated are selected and marked" (Marton, 1986, p. 42) that could be attributed to their understanding of citizenship was recorded and direct quotes were placed in the chart (see Table 1).

Table 1. *Transcript Analysis Chart Sample*

Participant	Notes from Interview #1 First Phase of Analysis Based on Criteria of Relevance/Context	The Meaning of the Utterance: citizenship is narrowed down to and interpreted in terms of selected quotes from interview.	Notes from Interview #2 First Phase of Analysis Based on Criteria of Relevance/Context	The Meaning of the Utterance: citizenship is narrowed down to and interpreted in terms of selected quotes from interview then compared for change.
4. Emily	What is citizenship? IDENTITY-makes reference to where you're from and highlights the various characteristics that highlight the differences associated with place (different employment, cultures) -is having different ways and regulations. (e.g., "Education is different so it changes how you grow up and how you are as a citizen in Canada." -means employment. -contributing to society "in any way shape or form."	IDENTITY LAWS AND REGULATIONS CONTRIBUTING MEMBER	THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING CANADIAN: Citizenship is a responsibility. PRIVILEGE: "I think so, yeah, definitely. Um, I think that having taxes and the way that our taxes are right now is important because, um, it allows us to have, uh, the things that we do have, like the healthcare in Canada and, um, policing and education, and it allows us to put money back into our	CONCEPT MAP: In the first one she put bubbles. PARTICIPANTS RECOGNISE THE GAPS IN THEIR UNDERSTANDING: "Um, so my one before was a lot smaller, I didn't have a lot to say. Um, one thing that I noticed that I didn't write today is "Laws and Regulations", which I put between Ontario and Canada on my original first Mind Map. Um, I think I would still include that today, I just might not have thought about it. It's because as a citizen of your province or your country, you are expected to follow laws and regulations, [Hmm, hmm] and that's a way to be a good citizen. " NO CHANGE IN HOW SHE STRUCTURES MAP INTO THE PLACES 'that you are a citizen"

In selecting which utterances were placed in the chart, I made a careful search for meaning, or variation in meaning, across the transcript. The first phase of the analysis was based on criteria of relevance; I had to decide if the meaning was significant for understanding the participants' conceptions of citizenship. The next step was to examine the actual meaning of the utterance or statement, which led to a better understanding of each participant's conception of citizenship. The statement and/or direct quotes from the participant were narrowed down to, and interpreted, from the direct quotes from the interview transcripts. For example, when Gray described her understanding of citizenship, she stated,

> Um, I know to be a citizen in Canada, you're both a Canadian citizen, so I drew the Canadian bubble here. And, that relates to your identity because, uh, you're a citizen of Canada. You can say I'm Canadian, and it, um, it really makes you unique to, uh, yourself. And, then I also wrote Ontario, but I thought it could also be province if I were to be teaching it to students because they could live in different provinces and then they could say I'm from Ontario, I'm from Saskatchewan, I'm from Alberta. And, that, um, places you in Canada and really, uh, changes how . . . I guess it's almost perceived differently when you're living in other, um, provinces just because there's different landforms, there's different employment, there's different opportunities elsewhere. And, there's also different cultures, almost, in different provinces.

In this example, she explained how she believed citizenship is in reference to identity that is influenced by place. At first glance, citizenship as *place* might be most significant. However, the participant continues to provide examples that explore not only the importance of place, but also how employment and opportunities, along with cultural differences between various places, help to shape one's citizenship identity. Therefore, in this case, I narrowed down to interpret identity as a construct as the meaning with the most significance. As I examined each transcript and then uncovered the concepts, I listed each in the chart to identify the most significant utterances in both the pre-and post-interviews.

Once the first two columns of the chart were completed, subsequent readings became more focused on exploring not only the meaning but the variation in meanings in

relation to my second research question. Its aim was to identify the factors that influenced the cognitive frames pre-service teachers hold. I narrowed down the meaning of each utterance and interpreted it in terms of selecting particular quotes from the interview transcripts that identified three distinct parts. The first part of the analysis was to identify utterances that explored their own admission of change in their beliefs and conceptual understanding of citizenship. The second part of the analysis was to find utterances that indicated changes in their conceptual frames that might have occurred but that were not perceived by the participants. The third part was to identify utterances that indicated a change directly associated with a particular source that might have led to a change in conceptual understanding.

Using a chart like Table 1 allowed for a comparative view and made it easier to explore the transcripts as a whole in order to focus on the collective experience. I explored each transcript to uncover and define the individual categories that emerged "within the context of identifying similarities and difference among transcripts and relationships between categories, as a group" (Åkerlind, 2005, p. 324). The analysis started with searching for the meaning, or what Åkerlind (2005) called "variating in meaning across interview transcripts . . . supplemented by a search for structural relationships between meanings" (p. 324). In this first part, the analysis was narrowed to the structural relationships between each participant's first and second interview to identify changes between the pre- and post-interviews. Once the analysis of the interviews in all four columns were completed, I examined each column separately.

It was important for me to recognize that all the scrutinized data from the two interviews formed "a pool of meaning" (Åkerlind, 2005, p. 326; Marton, 1986). As a

visual person, I chose to colour-code the groups of similar conceptions across the chart. According to Åkerlind (2005),

> [t]he pool contains two sorts of material: that pertaining to individuals and that pertaining to the collective. It is the same stuff, of course, but it can be viewed from two different perspectives to provide different contexts for isolated statements and expressions relevant to the object of research . . . The analysis starts by searching for extracts from the data that might be pertinent to the perspective and inspecting them against the two contexts: now in the context of other extracts drawn from all interviews . . . now in the context of the individual interview. (p. 326)

The charts allowed me to sort through material that was connected to the individuals and find the concepts or utterances that were evident across multiple participants. I colour-coded each similar utterance from across the participants to make each grouping stand out visually. I then placed all the items in the coloured group in a separate chart so I could see all of the similar views of the collective. I saw which utterances resonated with the entire group and which ones were outliers. Then, in order to uncover the significance of each concept, I added the number of participants who shared similar beliefs or conceptions. This helped to determine the first criterion of significance: group resonance.

4.3 Group Resonance

Group resonance is based on the overall reaction of the participants in a study to an experience (Hirschkorn, 2007)—in this case, the understanding of citizenship. Group resonance, or the ways in which an entire group shares the same conception or belief, was

important in this phenomenographic research because it allowed me to define the categories that identified the similarities and the differences within a group. This is also part of the "continual sorting and resorting of data along with the ongoing comparison between the data and the emerging categories of descriptions, as well as between the categories themselves" (Åkerlind, 2005, p. 324). While this process is time-consuming, it allows the researcher to study the variation in human meaning, understanding, and conceptions (Marton, 1981) while developing an awareness of the ways pre-service teachers experience a particular phenomenon, namely citizenship.

4.4 Frequency

The second criterion of significance is related to resonance, but, unlike the first criterion, it is based on "the relative salience of the participants' understanding" (Hirschkorn, 2007, p. 75) of citizenship. If a concept related to their understanding of citizenship appeared frequently in the transcript, as explained earlier in following Sjöström and Dahlgren's (2002) approach, it is an indication that this concept held greater meaning for the participant. Conceptions repeated by a few pre-service teachers in their individual interviews were viewed as significant. While these conceptions may not have formed the views of the collective, they were important because they allowed me to understand the various ways that pre-service teachers experienced the same phenomenon. In other words, I could identify different ways of experiencing citizenship by the same group, as many of the conceptions were logically related to one and other, usually by way of hierarchically inclusive relationships (Marton & Booth, 1997). The categories of descriptions I found in the interviews represented the qualitatively different ways of experiencing the phenomenon of citizenship.

Once I had established the categories of descriptions, I organized them hierarchically into the "outcome space" (Åkerlind, 2005, p. 2). This, according to Åkerlind (2005), is the "major forum for reporting phenomenographic results. The outcome space is considered to be the "space of variation" that represents all of the possible ways of experiencing citizenship, at this particular point in time, for the pre-service teachers in this study.

4.5 Analyzing the Concept Maps

Along with the transcripts from the interviews, I also used concept maps to uncover the conceptions held by pre-service teachers about citizenship. Each participant was asked to complete two concept maps as part of the interview process—one before each interview. While most study participants were able to complete this task, some students required a prompt in order to provide a frame of reference. The prompt given was the synonym cue *mind map* to help them access their prior knowledge about what the term *concept map* meant to them. They were all able to complete the task. In order to gain an understanding of pre-service teachers' conceptions about citizenship and the teaching of citizenship, I did not provide a concept map as an example for them to follow. It was important to simply analyze their conceptual understanding without including any aspects that could influence those conceptions.

The use of conceptual maps to evaluate the knowledge of participants is based on the theory of cognitive learning (Novak, 1990; Gardner, 1993). According to Lourdel et al. (2007) using cognitive maps is important in uncovering conceptions because

> [t]he processes that occur in memorization are perceived as constructive. Information is neither copied nor remembered as it is but is interpreted according

> to the knowledge that the person already has (Brien, 2002). Consequently, the students will easily remember information if they can connect it with notions that they already possess. (Lourdel et al., 2007, p. 171)

The interactions between concepts can be represented by cognitive maps. (Saàdani & Bertrand-Gastaldy, 2000, p.1)

Cognitive maps can be useful to represent both the concrete knowledge participants hold about citizenship as well as theoretical notions that are already known. Marchand (1997) emphasized that the use of cognitive maps can assist in identifying erroneous or partial knowledge. The purpose of using cognitive maps is to identify participants' knowledge, as well as to represent how this knowledge is interconnected in long-term memory (Iguanane, Marchand, & D'Ivernois, 1999). Mapping out the pre-service teachers' conceptions consisted of asking them to use the tool to associate their own words and thoughts about the term *citizenship*. In order to analyse the concept maps, I needed to develop a framework for the analysis.

The first part of the analysis used Kinchin's (1998) criteria—a qualitative scheme that identifies three distinct structures. These were present in this study and are as follows:

a) Spoke – a radial structure in which all the related aspects of the topic are linked directly to the core concept but are not directly linked to each other.

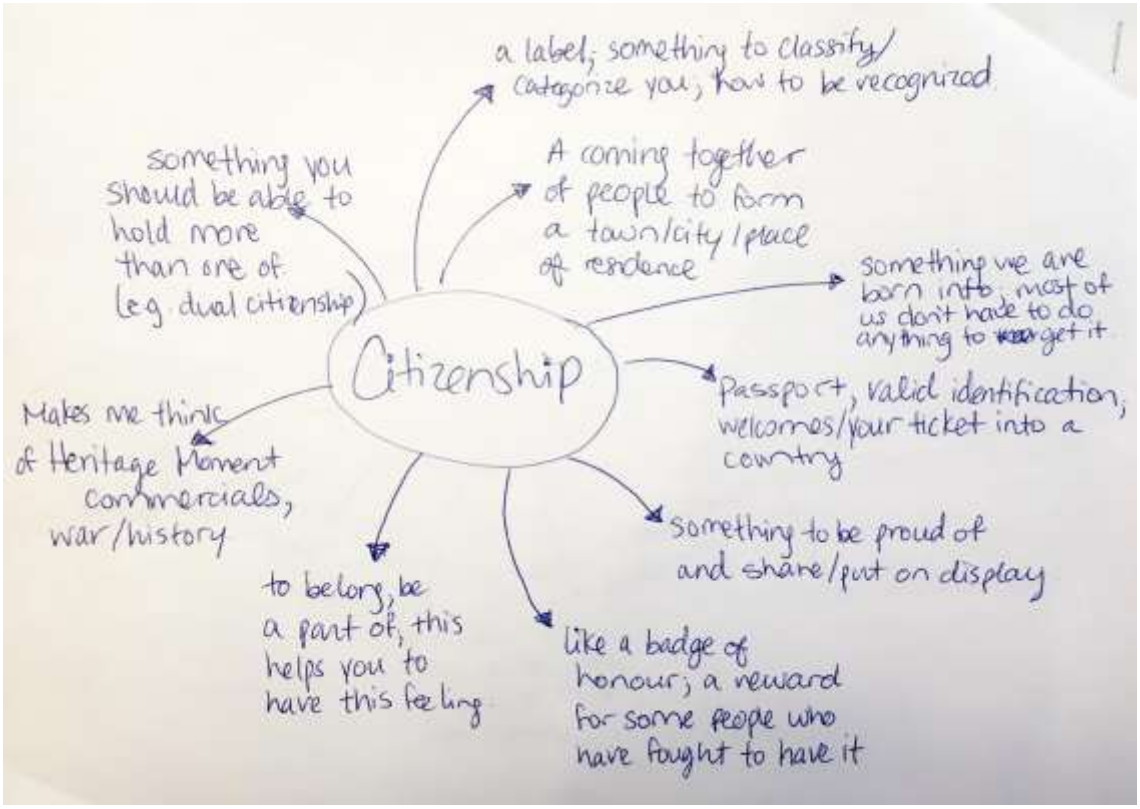

Figure 2. Spoke citizenship concept map from study participant

b) Chain – a linear sequence of understanding in which each concept is only linked to those immediately above and below. Though a logical sequence exists from beginning to end, the implied hierarchical nature of many of the links is not valid.

Figure 3. Chain citizenship concept map from study participant

c) Net – a highly integrated and hierarchical network demonstrating a deep understanding of the topic.

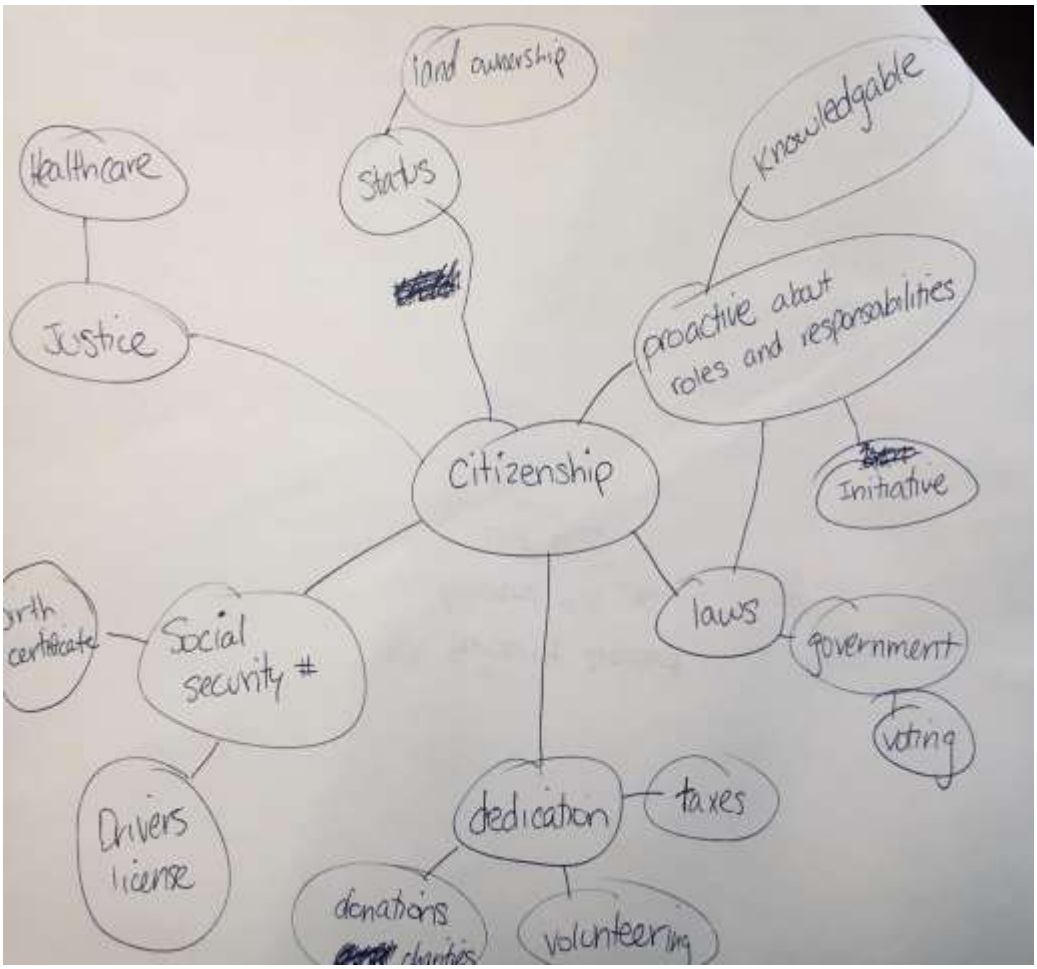

Figure 4. Net citizenship concept map from study participant

According to Kinchin, Hay, and Adams (2000), if a study participant holds a spoke structure (Figure 2), the addition of new knowledge will not cause any disturbance to the existing framework. The participant believes that any new understandings can be added in:

> It can simply be added in with a link to the core concept, but without any links to associated concepts. The result would be that the knowledge can be assimilated quickly, but only be accessed by reference to the core concept and not by reference to one or other of the associated concepts. (p. 48)

For participants with a chain structure (Figure 3), the addition of new knowledge will "be easy if there is an obvious break in (or premature end to) the sequence but may be problematic if a workable sequence is already in place as the additional concept may appear superfluous" (p. 48). Alternatively, they might believe that adding a new concept near the beginning of the sequence is so disruptive to the knowledge structure lower down that "incorporation of the new knowledge is rejected" (p. 48). Understanding a concept in the middle of the sequence may be difficult without travelling from the beginning.

For the student with a net framework (Figure 4), access to a particular concept may be achieved by a number of routes, making the knowledge more flexible. However, this requires understanding of the associated concepts "beyond their link with the core concept and so implies a wider understanding" (p. 48).

In this study each map was identified by type. It is important to remember that in phenomenography it is not the individual maps that are of most interest, but how the group conceptualized their understanding of citizenship. In this analysis I was looking to understand how the maps were understood by the group and to see the variations that existed within the group.

I also analyzed the maps to determine if, as a group, participants' understanding changed over time. To do this, I counted each map's semantic meanings to determine whether the complexity increased over time. In the first set of concept maps created at the beginning of the Social Studies course, I identified 185 semantic meanings from 20 maps—an average of 9.25 concepts per map. In the second set of concept maps the average number of semantic meanings increased to 15.1 concepts per map.

Not only did I count the semantic meanings, but I also analyzed them in terms of the types of concepts that were present. In the second part of the analysis, I adapted Legrand's (2000) study, which applied a technique of cognitive maps analysis to explore conceptual understanding of environmental education. While Legrand defined semantic categories rooted in the literature, in this phenomenographic study the categories emerged through multiple readings as I deconstructed them into what could be seen as a meaning unit (Giorgi, 2000). Ultimately, meaning units from 40 maps were coded individually. I then cross-checked the coding for consistency by reviewing the work to ensure that each map was coded consistently. As highlighted by Marshall and Linder (2005), the maps constituted a *pool of meaning*: the totality of expression of the concepts associated with citizenship offered by the pre-service teachers in the form of concept maps. I studied the maps to identify qualitatively core meanings. I then worked inductively, giving priority to the data and allowing categories to emerge (Rollnick, Mundalamo, & Booth, 2013). As a phenomenographic researcher I worked back and forth between the various potential categories based on structural considerations in order to arrive at an understanding of the characteristics of each map in relation to the others. I was careful to understand the changes between the first and second concept maps drawn by the participants.

Phenomenographic theory leads us to expect that key elements of the participants' way of experiencing citizenship will be represented in their map. According to Mavers, Somekh, and Restorick (2001), the researcher should be able to identify four or five distinctively different ways of experiencing the phenomenon. As concept words were repeated throughout the participants' maps, I sorted and counted every expression. This led to the creation a set of five distinct dimensions of conceptual understanding of

citizenship. The aim in using phenemenography with concept maps was to produce a "stripped description in which the structure and essential meaning of the differing ways of experiencing the phenomenon are retained, while the specific flavors, the scents, and the colors of the worlds of the individuals have been abandoned" (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 114). This particular approach grouped words connected to each other together to form categories. In this research five distinct categories emerged and I counted the number of expressions in each category. This led me to develop a hierarchy of categories. Analysis of the relative importance of the number of words in these categories allowed me to verify whether the concept of citizenship was appropriated by the pre-service teachers and translated into more concrete ideas and beliefs. The following categories emerged:

- Category 1. Social-Cultural dimensions
- Category 2. Geo-Global dimensions
- Category 3. Legal dimensions
- Category 4. Civic Engagement dimensions
- Category 5. Civic Orientation dimensions
- Category 6. All other expressions

In the first category, thoughts and expressions related to the conceptions of identity and belonging are part of the socio-cultural semantic category. Expressions like, "it's where you belong" or "I'm a Canadian" would be part of this category. Next, in Category 2, expressions that link to place or where they are from contribute to the geo-spatial dimension of citizenship. Participants who shared that citizenship meant "home" or "being able to work overseas" was linked to the geo-spatial dimension. Category 3 included any expressions tied to the idea of legal citizenship status versus non-legal

status. For example, any expressions that related to "dual-citizenship" or specific legal privileges were included here. Category 4 contained expressions of civic engagement or *civic behaviours* (see Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002) that included words or phrases related to formal politics, political advocacy work, any civil society organizations, and volunteering. These demonstrated specific links to others in their community. In the Category 5, civic orientations aspects were categorised to include expressions linked to the pre-service teachers' motivations for engagement. This category helped to delineate the conceptions linked to research by Westheimer and Kahne (2004a). The category contained participants' expressions that referred to citizenship as a personal responsibility, an example of their own participation, or in reference to social action or social justice. Finally, I chose to add a sixth category to include any expressions listed that did not fit within the semantic aspects. This created a space for comments or expressions that were ambiguous in nature and/or did not fit into the established categories.

4.6 Limitations of the Method

According to Lourdel et al. (2007), there exists "a certain level of subjectivity in processing the data" (p. 172) when classifying words within my semantic categories. There are instances where some words could be classified in several categories. For example, if a participant used an expression like "Me to We" in reference to their participation in the social enterprise/charity, I categorised the expression as a Category 4 comment. However, "an effective approach to citizenship cannot ignore their complexity and simultaneity" (Isin, Brodie, Juteau, & Stasiulis, 2008, p. 10), as several conceptions overlap. In this particular case, the "Me to We" expression might also be categorized as

Category 1 expression that would relate to their socio-cultural identity if they wrote “I am Me to We” as their understanding of citizenship. The limitation is the subjectivity of deciding which category best represented the meaning of the expression.

4.7 Understanding the Categories

In using these categories it is important to note that the first three categories “gather the nominal and concrete approaches of the concept” (Lourdel et al., 2007, p. 171), while Categories 5, 6, and 7 highlight “the capacity of abstraction” (p. 172)—in this case the complex multidisciplinary nature of the citizenship concept. In this approach, any concept listed that did not fit within the first five distinct categories was listed in Category 6. Along with the transcripts, I used charts for the category sorting. I sorted each item listed on the concept maps into one of the six semantic or meaning categories. Some concept maps contained words that I classified into several categories. For example, if a participant used the word a*wareness*, this could have two semantic meanings: “an awareness of citizenship” as an understanding of citizenship and “an awareness” as a value/virtue in and of itself. Charts also highlighted conceptions that were significant by showing them more frequently (Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002). Charts showed the concepts that resonated with the group of participants and appeared in many of the participants’ concepts maps. In Figure 5, Lisa described her understanding of citizenship in her first concept map as relating to people connected to culture, family, community, and culture.

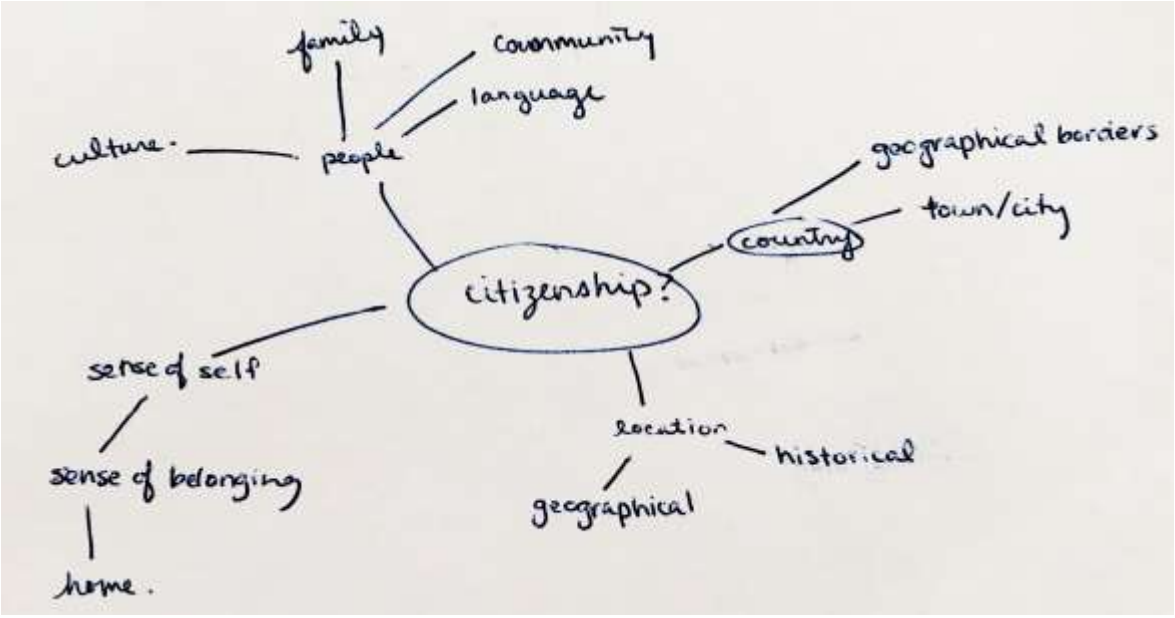

Figure 5. Participant Lisa's mapping from Interview 1

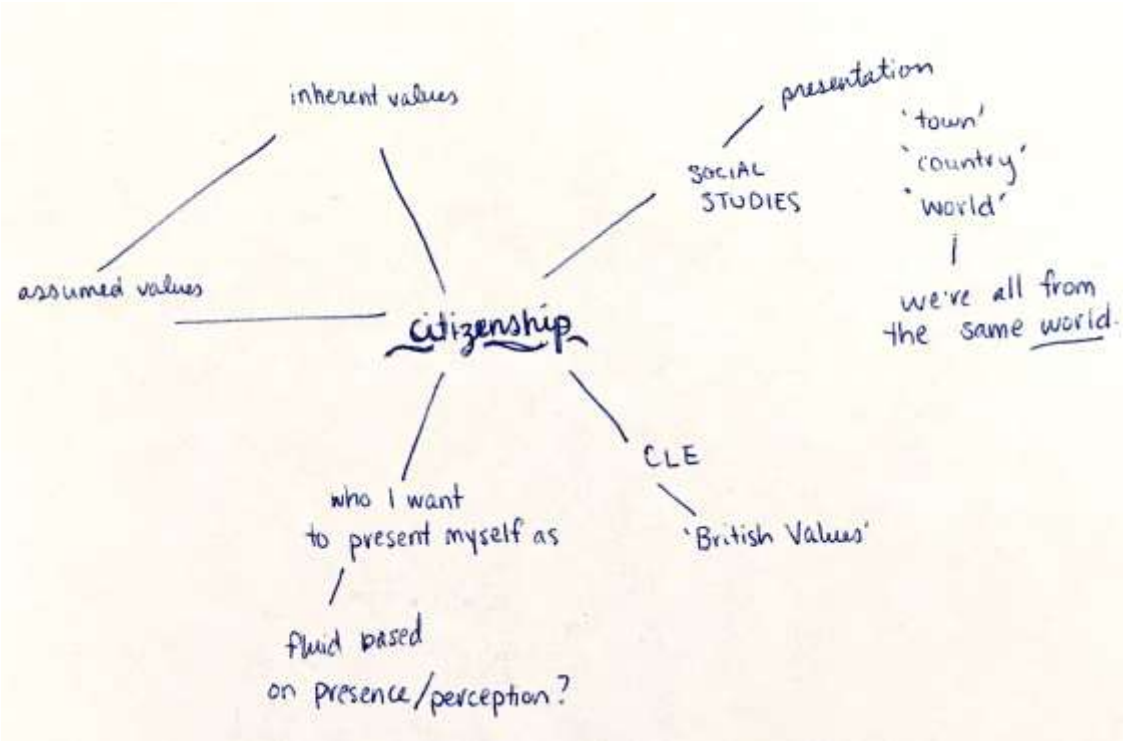

Figure 6. Participant Lisa's mapping from Interview 2

In the second concept map, Lisa described her conceptions of citizenship linked to social and cultural conceptions as “assumed values” and “inherent values.” Lisa’s first concept map had a higher count of concept words. However, it is evident that in Category 1, the socio-cultural aspects of her understanding of citizenship were based in one-word utterances of “people” where she exemplified this concept as “family, language, community, and culture” but did not offer any in-depth conceptions. By contrast, the concepts she held during the second interview were far more sophisticated. In the second interview she listed social-cultural concepts “inherent values” and “assumed values” to define her understanding of citizenship. According to Lourdel et al. (2007), a simpler map can reflect a broader and deeper understanding. In this case, Lisa’s original idea that the social and cultural elements of citizenship relate to family, language, culture, and community transitioned to being more about the values gained through these connections. In Table 2 I show my analysis of the semantic categories of the concept maps as well as my comparative analysis of each of the participants’ concept maps.

Table 2. ***Semantic Categories of Concept Maps***

Category	1 Social-Cultural Dimensions	2 Geo-Spatial Dimensions	3 Legal Dimensions	4 Civic Engagement	5 Civic Orientations	6 All Other Expressions
Semantic Analysis **Lisa 1**	People are the centre of culture, family community and language.	Country: - Geographic borders -Towns/City				
	Sense of Self directly linked to: -Sense of belonging -Home	Location is equally linked to: -historical -geographical Citizenship leads to: -country then to town & city (Country appears to be emphasized) -country then geographic borders Location leads to: -location and then to historical -geographical				

I used this approach to analyze concept maps from both interviews. Concepts that appeared to be frequent, such as the concept of identity and sense of belonging, are evident in this example. Concept map category charts were helpful to identify which categories of conceptions appeared most frequently with the group of participants. Based on the frequency and number of expressions that appeared in each category, I established a hierarchy of categories. These findings, along with the themes that emerged through the transcripts and the in-class observations, helped me uncover the conceptions of citizenship held by pre-service teachers as well as the change that occurred in these beliefs.

4.8 Analysis of the Class Discussions and Materials from the Class

The in-class observations included three types of data. I analyzed digital recordings from the visits, my observational notes, and the in-class activities directly related to a citizenship using the Sjöström and Dahlgren (2002) indicators of frequency, position, and pregnancy. Data from my own notes on the classes, where I had recorded what was said or not said in the class, helped to create a preliminary analysis, where I identified the most frequently appearing ideas for further examination (Harris, 2008). For example, in a group presentation on citizenship the introduction was:

> Today the topic that we're going to be learning about is citizenship and early learners . . . we're going to start things off with a short video where we will see different ways to change the world. We want to get your mind thinking of change in your schools, in your communities and on a global scale." (Recording 5, November 7, 2017)

In this example, the pre-service teachers selected to explore citizenship rooted in their identity as global citizens. Their choice illustrates that they identified with being part of an emerging world community where their actions "contribute to building this community's values and practices" and is based on two assumptions. One assumption that there is such a thing as an emerging world community with which people can identify and the second is that such a community has a growing set of values and practices (Israel, 2013). During this presentation in particular, there were no references to citizenship as the social and legal connection between the individual and a democratic political community.

I analyzed voice memo recordings of the classes using a similar approach to the interview transcripts. Unlike the interviews, which were single participant data, the in-class observation transcripts held the views of many participants, sometimes in overlapping discussions. These recordings were primarily of group dialogue related specifically to the understanding of citizenship. Once I had highlighted the indicators of frequency, position, and pregnancy, I pulled data from the contexts to form a pool of meaning (Marton, 1986). To group similar conceptions required two steps: 1) Data needed to be analyzed in context to ensure that the participants' meaning was accurately represented and 2) Data excerpts needed to be proved representative of the larger section of data (Irvin, 2003). I compared and contrasted these pools of meaning and formed criteria associated with each pool, just as I did with the interview transcripts and concept maps. Once I had established the categories of description, I organized them hierarchically into the "outcome space" (Åkerlind, 2002, p. 2). The *space of variation* was all the possible ways of experiencing citizenship that were uncovered within the pre-

service course at this point in time. I compared these with the findings from both the interviews and the concept maps.

4.9 Analysis of the Course Outline

In analyzing the course outline or syllabus, I limited my analysis to the course descriptions, goals, objectives, and other contextual or descriptive text for the two reasons outlined by Gorski (2009). First, I examined the content in a way that captured the theoretical and philosophical frameworks informing the course development. Second, these explicitly-outlined aspects tended to represent official and consistent aspects of the course. I was interested in the official curriculum as a way of uncovering the ways in which approaches to citizenship were codified in more or less permanent parts of the course outline. Understanding the content and expectations as outlined in the course syllabus helped to uncover whether any of the potential conceptual changes could be attributed to explicit course instruction.

4.10 Analysis Related to Concept Maps

I used concept maps because they "[suggest] teaching approaches that help students integrate new knowledge and build upon their existing naïve concepts" (Kinchin Hay & Adams, 2000, p. 43). This approach provided a valuable insight into the pre-service teachers' mental models about citizenship at the beginning of the Social Studies course and the changes in their understanding of citizenship at the end of the course.

The construction of the concept maps was intended to reveal the perceptions of the maps' authors, rather than to reproduce memorized facts (Jonassen, Reeves, Hong, Harvey, & Peters, 1997). The structure of each map was unique to each participant,

reflecting the participant's experiences, beliefs, and biases with respect to the understanding of citizenship. I used this approach as part of my phenomenographic research study to help determine the qualitatively different ways in which the pre-service teachers experienced the concepts related to citizenship. The concepts that reflected the group's beliefs were most important in determining the findings of the study.

Analysing the maps helped me to determine the complexity of participants' conceptual frames, to see how the group accommodated additions to their conceptual frames, and to establish a context for the key concepts and the degree of appreciation of a wider viewpoint (Kinchin, 1998) as they related to the concept of citizenship.

The maps were coded individually to determine the number of semantic meanings identified in the first interview and compared with those in the second interview. It was clear that, as a group, the pre-service teachers were able to explore in greater detail the conceptions linked to citizenship during the second iteration. Participants increased the number of semantic meanings on average by 4.65 items between the first and second interviews. In two cases participants did not add to the number of semantic meanings and in two cases participants listed fewer semantic meanings on the second map. This is one indication that as a group, the pre-service teachers had developed greater complexity in their understanding of the concept of citizenship by the end of the Social Studies course.

Table 3. *Types of Concept Maps and Number of Semantic Meanings Chart*

Pseudonym of Participant	Type: Concept Map 1	Number of Semantic Meanings: Interview 1	Type: Concept Map 2	Number of Semantic Meanings: Interview 2	Change in number of Semantic Meanings
1. Anne	Spoke	7	Spoke	7	0
2. Brandon	Spoke	7	Spoke	10	3
3. Claire	Spoke	5	Net	19	14
4. Davida	Net	10	Chain	19	9
5. Emma-Eliana	Spoke	17	Spoke	27	10
6. Fern	Spoke	9	Chain	15	6
7. Gray	-	8	Chain	20	12
8. Hilary	Spoke	10	Spoke	12	2
9. Ila	Chain	17	Chain	23	6
10. Julie	-	2	-	9	7
11. Kristy	Spoke	7	Spoke	11	4
12. Lisa	Chain	9	Chain	16	7
13. Mackenzie	-	11	Chain	13	2
14. Natalie	Chain	15	Net	12	-3
15. Olivia	Spoke	8	Spoke	8	0
16. Patricia	Spoke	6	Chain	7	1
17. Quinn	Chain	14	Net	5	-9
18. Ruby	Spoke	9	Chain	22	13
19. Samuelle	Spoke	4	Spoke	11	7
20. Tristan	Spoke	10	Chain	12	2
Total		185		278	93

Another indicator of complexity in the participant group's understanding is linked to the types of structures the participants used to share their conceptions. The map

structures identified in this study reflect the three types, denoted in the previous. Analysis section as ‘spoke’, ‘chain’ and ‘net’, are given in Figures 2 to 4 respectively.

Table 4. *Structure of Participants’ Concept Maps*

	Undefined	Spoke	Chain	Net
Map #1	3	12	4	1
Map #2	1	7	9	3

When the participants created their first concept maps, three did not show evidence of a clear understanding of a concept map. They shared their ideas about citizenship using structures that did not have the central oval or space to show the concept word as a central meaning. Instead, two of these three non-concept map samples appeared to be examples of an *expanding horizons* diagram, with concentric circles listing the concepts they understood but including very little detail. The third non-concept map was a drawing of a circle with sketched people around representing the world. It contained very few details. In the second iteration, two of the non-concept maps followed either a spoke, chain, or net. The third was a drawing of the world with a few concept words around it. This lack of complexity shows that few pre-service teachers lacked an understanding of what a concept map entailed for this study.

The map structures offer an important insight into how the levels of complexity changed over time for this group of participants. In the first set of concept maps most of the participants used the spoke framework to help illustrate their conceptual understanding. The spoke only shows one level of sophistication. Concepts can be added without consequences because the map is so simple. By having “little integration” (Kinchin, Hay & Adams, 2000, p. 48) where concepts are not connected, the participant

can add new concepts without affecting the "map integrity" (p. 48). Participants who used the spoke model in the first set of maps demonstrated "little or no 'world view'" (p. 48). They can add or lose a link or a concept without affecting their understanding of the other concepts listed. A few participants selected the chain model for the first map. This choice shows some of the participants had many hierarchical levels of understanding and were able to show sequences in their conceptual understanding. Although this choice indicates that some of the participants had a more complex understanding, it is important to note that in the chain sequence "map integrity cannot cope with additions, particularly near the beginning of the sequence" (Kinchin, Hay & Adams, 2000, p. 48). Should one link be lost, the participant could "lose meaning of the whole chain" (p. 48). Because the sequences were short and no participant drew a sequence of more than two links, the chain maps are still considered quite simple. In the sample group there was only one example in the first round of a net concept map structure. However, this map only showed one complex interaction at different conceptual levels. There was only one visible net connection on the map and for this reason I categorized it according to Kinchin, Hay, and Adams's (2000) concept maps framework into the net category. Most of the map remained a chain system and thus showed the same lack of complexity as the rest of the first concept maps produced by the participant group of pre-service teachers. Thus the concept maps related to citizenship in the first round of interviews were simplistic and lacked complexity in showing ideas related to citizenship. With their simple associations, little or no demonstration of processes and interactions of the concepts related to citizenship, and little integration of concepts—all evidence of a

limited “world view” (Kinchin, Hay, & Adams, 2000)—the pre-service teachers entered the Social Studies course with simple ideas about citizenship.

While the types of concept maps from the first part of the study showed little complexity in the participants’ understanding of citizenship, there appears to have been a shift in the types of concept maps used at the end of the study. The second group of concept maps clearly show that the level of complexity improved over the term. At the end of the term, many of the participants shifted from using a simple spoke map to using a chain map to demonstrate their conceptual understanding. A few also showed greater sophistication by choosing a net map to show more complex interactions at different conceptual levels. The net maps show the highest level of complexity; adding one or more concepts to the net does not interrupt the organization, as other routes are available to help make the concept links clear (Kinchin, Hay, & Adams, 2000). Interestingly, the non-concept map type to net type ratio flipped, going from 3:1 to 1:3. Most maps in the second round identified more levels in the hierarchy of the concepts. In some, sequences with more complex interactions appeared. This data demonstrates that the complexity of the conceptual understanding of citizenship and the ability to articulate such understanding improved over the course of the four-month period for almost all the participants in the Social Studies course.

How the structure of the maps changed over the time period indicates that the understanding of citizenship increased in terms of complexity. However, knowing that the conceptual frames changed over time is but one piece of the puzzle. It is important to understand specifically how the conceptions changed over time. In the next section I will

discuss the categories of descriptions that emerged from the maps to highlight the ways in which the pre-service teachers conceptualized citizenship.

Chapter 5 - Findings

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present the findings of the study. The demographic data is followed by the analysis of the transcripts, the concept maps, and the in-class observations. I analyzed these data using thematic reflection and a recursive process of analysis. The sub-research questions of how participants conceptualized citizenship, as well as where they believed they acquired their beliefs, conceptions, and understanding of the concept are presented through themes. I examine the changes that occurred in their understanding of citizenship and the factors that appear to have influenced the changes. Each of the themes and their sub-themes are showcased with quotations from participants' interview transcripts to demonstrate how the themes emerged and to support the findings.

5.1 Demographic Summary

Twenty pre-service teachers participated in the first interview. Nineteen participated in the second interview. The data group therefore consisted of 20 pre- and post-sets of data. The demographic information provided by the respondents showed that they had varying experiences prior to entering the two-year teacher education program. All participants were in their second year of the program. All participants were enrolled in the course titled EDUC 4777 Social Studies in the Primary/Junior. The ratio of women to men was 10:1. All participants were Caucasian and were between 22 and 30 years old.

5.2 Structural Interpretations

In phenomenography, the researcher must pay particular attention to using raw data from the research to interpret the findings, develop categories of themes, and, from these, identify gaps that may exist in the conceptual understanding of participants. Through a recursive coding process, I identified specific categories that I present individually in this chapter. The recurrence of similar responses was critical to identifying categories. I was faced with decisions about what was distinct enough in the data to create new categories that in turn led to themes.

With 20 respondents' data sets, similar utterances began to emerge as data were recorded, coded, analysed, and re-coded. As I made marginal notes, and themes emerged and repeated, categories began to stabilize. I then used organizational charts to record the categories and direct quotes from participants. Once the categories were clear, further data led to saturation and refinement of the category titles. These categories led me to develop the themes that emerged in this study.

As each utterance was recorded, I gave it a particular code or title. For instance, one participant stated in the first interview that in the "media I learned about the Syrian refugees coming to Canada but wanted to learn a lot more about it, so I did my own research to learning about the camps" (Emma-Eliana, Interview 1). This statement demonstrated that her conceptions related to citizenship were linked to immigration and that her conceptions about immigration's link to citizenship were informed by the media. Another important category in this one utterance was that the pre-service teacher was open to learning more about the particular situation. I thus also coded the statement to reflect the pre-service teacher's growth mindset, where she was actively researching

information to support her understanding. Three categories that emerged in that example: immigration, media, and growth mind-set. In the entire set of interview data many categories emerged, such as identity, belonging, and community. However, in order for these categories to develop into themes, group resonance and frequency needed to be evident. For example, almost all participants discussed citizenship in terms of how they identified as being citizens.

Many talked about being a citizen of the province or of the nation; being a Canadian also meant that they were Ontarians as well. This understanding of citizenship clearly reflected the elements of their personal identities and how they saw themselves as citizens. They spoke of their identities in various situations. This increased frequency across the individual transcripts as well as the large number of identity references across almost all the transcripts reflected a deeply-rooted resonance with the cohort. Because the category of *identity* appeared frequently in one form or another in most of the participant interviews, I determined it to be an important category across the data set. The category of identity was also present in the concept maps and the transcripts of the classroom observations. The appearance of the same categories across many of the data sets is not surprising, since the concept maps were used as springboards to help the participants articulate their experiences and views about citizenship. However, it is interesting to note that the categories that appear from the classroom observations also support the findings I discuss in this chapter.

5.3 Presentation of the Findings

In the data provided by the pre-service teachers to represent their understanding of citizenship in Social Studies in a pre-service program, one overarching theme of privilege

appears and five sub-themes emerge. Below I address each of these sub-themes individually and discuss the growth in the pre-service teachers' understanding that might be attributed to course content and experience in the B.Ed. program in general (e.g., in other courses and practicums [field service]).

In examining pre-service teachers' understanding of the concept of citizenship I considered the value of their knowledge representations (Alexander, 2006; Chui, 2012; Kahneman & Tversky, 2003; Vosniadou, 1999). I examined their knowledge representations at the beginning of the Social Studies course and again near the end of the course. This pre/post model for analysis helped me identify and examine the depth of conceptions. It also helped to attribute the source of change. Like Carey (1999), I probed connections between beliefs and conceptions to determine conceptual depth and stability.

Analysis of these data revealed five substantial sub-themes. The themes reflect the categories that emerged from two of the data sets: the concept maps and the interviews. The sub-themes are: 1) Place, 2) Legal, 3) Socio-Cultural, 4) Civic Engagement, and 5) Civic Orientation. Within each sub-theme I developed a hierarchy of categories by examining both the frequency and group resonance that emerged. I explored changes that occurred between the first concept maps and interviews and the second iteration of concept maps and interviews. Classroom observations support the findings from the interviews and concept maps. I used all three data sets to uncover the conceptions that pre-service teachers have about citizenship.

5.3.1 Citizenship as place.

The first theme is the *place* dimension. Pre-service teachers in this study appeared to have a clear understanding of *Jus soli* where citizenship on the basis of birth in a

country's domain automatically designates individuals as a citizen of that nation and that those who were not born there are excluded (Echeverri-Gent, 2011). In the first set of interviews and concept maps the concept of place appeared to have high group resonance. Of the 20 participants, 18 referenced citizenship as being related to their "country of birth," "birthplace," "community," or "the birthplace of my parents." This finding is interesting because it indicates a strong sense of place.

The sense of place is often linked to rural citizens and their "healthy democratic life (i.e. town meetings, agrarian cooperatives, and labor gatherings)" (Waterson & Moffa, 2016, p. 214); rural contexts offer "untapped possibilities for active democratic life" (p. 214). For example, Waterson and Moffa (2016) believed a strong sense of place could motivate a rural citizen's involvement in local politics. Other attributes common in rural communities, such as self-reliance, volunteerism, and a high sense of civic duty (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006), offer the possibility for improving democratic engagement. Based on the demographics collected it is uncertain how many of the participants originated from rural communities. However, the fact that they elected to complete their initiation to teacher education in a northern setting and may indicate they were drawn to study in a less urban environment.

While most participants stated *place* as an important part of citizenship, the number of utterances about place dropped in half by the end of the study. What is most interesting to note is the shift that occurred. In the second iteration the participants focused both on place of birth and how place was related to "country, province, or global," and how citizenship also reflected "country or countries you call home." One participant stated that "in our social studies presentation we learned that citizenship

relates to the town we're from, and our country and the world. We're all from the same world " (Natalie, Interview 1). The references to place did not relate only to the place of birth as a part of citizenship, but the participants now explored place as being less local and more global in nature. It appears that the pre-service group were developing a broader understanding of what place means in reference to their citizenship conceptions.

It is interesting to note the absence of references about citizenship related to collaboration within those nested places. The participant group made no mention of ideas or problems in their living environment at the local level or global level. They did not mention place in terms of how "communities and citizens [can] participate in planning processes aiming at empowering them to better manage their living environments" (Atzmanstorfer, Resl, Eitzinger, & Izurieta, 2014, p. 248). Instead, the participant group held a simplistic view of place as it related to their conceptions of citizenship.

5.3.2 Legal dimensions of citizenship.

The second sub-theme relates to the legal dimensions associated with citizenship. The participants shared an understanding of legal citizenship status and made utterances related to the status of non-citizens. The participant group made 23 references in the first part of the study that demonstrated an understanding of legal dimensions of their personal citizenship. The utterances related to political rights, civil rights, employment, and social rights, which is consistent with the findings of Golding & Landolt (2013).

5.3.2.1 Citizenship as rights.

Four participants used the term *rights* of a Canadian to describe their understanding of citizenship. Several participants gave specific examples of which rights

were important in their conceptions of citizenship. Participants described how healthcare, policing, and education were understood as rights in statements like this:

> I think so, yeah, definitely. I think that having taxes and the way that our taxes are right now is important because, it allows us to have the things that we do have, like the healthcare in Canada and, policing and education, and it allows us to put money back into our community. And, if we didn't have taxes, I don't know how we would put money back into our community and have our country or our province or our community run without them. (Quinn, Interview 2)

This participant clearly understood that paying taxes as a responsibility was important to secure certain social rights. Emma-Eliana in her first interview also felt that citizenship "gives you the right to work, to live and to vote in a particular place and pay taxes too!" This participant agreed that citizens have employment and social rights and that paying taxes as a civic obligation was important for good citizenship. A few participants mentioned the right to have a driver's license, a passport, and access to what Ila described as "legal documents" and "dual citizenship" if one qualified.

Non-legal status of citizenship references made by half the participants at both the beginning and end of the study stated that new immigrants and refugees did not hold the same rights as full citizens. Only two participants mentioned the inequity experienced by new immigrants with regards to completing the Canadian Citizenship Test, where many natural born Canadians might not be successful completing it and where there are "things that are not always free" (Quinn, Interview 1) like healthcare which, as Quinn (Interview 1) stated, "can be costly" for new immigrants. However, as a group there was a limited acknowledgement of this characteristic of different types of citizens. They presented few

specific examples to explain their understanding how the rights of non-citizens differed from those of legal status citizens.

In the second stage of the interviews there were fewer examples of legal status of citizenship (10) than in the first set (23). The utterances were similar and touched on concepts of employment rights, the right to hold a passport and to acquire a government issued birth certificate, and access to dual citizenship if one qualified.

In both sets of concept maps and interviews the participants demonstrated very limited conceptual knowledge related to legal and non-legal citizenship status. While as a group they shared many references to legal status with expressions such as "rights are important to Canadians" or that as Canadians "we have rights," which established a high frequency and high group resonance, the breadth and depth with which they discussed rights in particular was limited. For example, there were no discussions from this cohort group regarding ways to protect an individual's freedom from infringement by governments, social organizations, and other private citizens. There were no discussions regarding entitlement to participate in civil and political life in their communities, provinces, or the world. Participants in this study did not mention how the rights of certain groups in Canada are being repressed (e.g., Grassy Narrows and First Nations discrimination). Only a few participants discussed democratic rights such as voting; in general the cohort group did not reflect on ways to engage in formal politics. As a group, they did not discuss language rights, equality rights, equity rights for minority groups (e.g., LGBTQ, women) or mobility rights of Canadians. Emma-Eliana spoke of mobility rights of minorities when she described how certain visible minority groups are discriminated against when traveling abroad:

> Well, as a Canadian citizen you are, afforded a certain nationality, which gives you rights on a global scale, in terms of being able to travel without being hindered, but Canadian citizenship isn't universally, like the benefits are not universally afforded to everyone, in terms of, like, you might have Canadian citizenship, but based on other parts of your identity it might not be respected in the same way. So, if you're a person of colour, sometimes your Canadian citizenship is not respected in the same way, or . . . . For example, if you, like, there's been instances where people are discriminated against based on their skin, or what . . . [they are] looking like, but they still have the same Canadian citizenship and should be afforded the same rights. (Emma-Eliana, Interview 1)

It is evident that minority rights were important to this particular pre-service teacher; she felt regardless of their physical appearance all Canadians should be treated equally and fairly. Participant Julie shared her misconceptions about mobility rights related to international travel: " . . . the fact that we can all move around the world. So, if ever I wanted to be a citizen from Europe, well, if I went to work in Europe I can, kind of, skootch on over there " (Julie, Interview 1). It is clear from this statement that there were misconceptions, as this individual believed that one could have mobility rights on a global scale simply by traveling to another location, which is not the case in most countries.

In this study the participants did not discuss freedom of religion. Only one participant, Kristy, shared the term religion on both concept maps but did not elaborate on how religion influenced her ideas of citizenship. Participants did not share ideas related to freedom of expression or freedom of assembly and association. Participant Lisa

made reference to new immigrants having citizenship that gives them "access, rights and freedoms, and benefits" but provided little elaboration on what access, rights, and freedom meant to her.

Overall the participants in this group demonstrated a limited knowledge of legal and non-legal citizenship status. They understood that citizenship as a concept means that Canadians have inherent rights but as a group they offered few examples to highlight the rights they stated as a concept. They understood employment rights, healthcare rights, and the right to a passport. As a cohort group they also understood that having dual citizenship was a legal status given to those who qualified for this right. Although the term *rights* presented as a concept with high frequency and group resonance, it is clear that pre-service teachers in this study had a limited understanding of legal and non-legal citizenship status.

5.3.3 Socio-cultural citizenship.

In the third sub-theme of the socio-cultural aspect of citizenship, five distinct categories emerged in the pre-service teachers' understanding of citizenship. In the first interaction the following categories appeared: Belonging, Community, Sense of Pride, Identity, and Culture. In the second iteration, Pride as an important part of citizenship increased in frequency and in group resonance; however, the concept of community decreased considerably from 10 participants to only two. Another interesting note in the Socio-cultural theme was how identity as a concept was far more frequent in the second interview. In the first round only four participants highlighted identity as a concept of citizenship. However, in the second interview the concept of identity showed the greatest

group resonance, where 15 out of 20 participants referenced this conception as part of what citizenship meant to them.

5.3.3.1 Citizenship as belonging.

During the first set of interviews the participants' sense of belonging appeared to be the most important category, as it had the largest group resonance in the socio-cultural grouping. Eleven of the 20 participants described how having a "sense of belonging" or "belonging to an inclusive group" was an important part of citizenship. It is important to note that this was not the case during the second interview, where only seven participants described belonging as an important part of citizenship. Many described it as "unity" while others said, "the sense of coming together" or "where you belong and that doesn't always mean where you are born." Many described belonging to both Canada and Ontario as a citizen and some, like participant Davida (Interview 2), shared "it's unique because of influence of different rules and regulations found in each level of government," highlighting that they identified belonging as being more of a privilege than a state of being. Some described belonging as "being part of something" and described it as a "feeling" of belonging, while others described the sense of belonging feeling "like a family"—for example, "like a neighbourhood, work environment, we all become a family." Natalie described citizenship as belonging in this way:

> . . . like, your ticket to belonging to something to be a part of something, it's . . . it's an inclusive thing. It's, as far as I understand it, provides your entrance or acceptance to a country. [Okay] Gives you access to rights and freedoms, and benefits in some cases. (Natalie, Interview 1)

In this case, the sense of belonging to something was directly linked to the privilege one could receive. Mackenzie too described the privilege of having a sense of belonging as a safety net when she stated, “If you’re a citizen then you’re part of a bigger community so it’s where you belong. It’s where you can look to for help” (Mackenzie, Interview 1). The link to privilege continued to appear throughout other themes. The references to belonging, however, did not reflect a complex understanding. When referencing how they belonged as part of their citizenship understanding, participants made few references to complex constructs and few connections to interrelated components such as their ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic, and legal-political perspectives (Banks, 2017) when describing how they *belonged* to Canada.

5.3.3.2 Citizenship as community.

Along with belonging, the concept of *community* appeared frequently in statements by half the participants in the first interview. While the concepts of belonging and community are similar, the distinction was clear when participants highlighted that being part of a community (belonging) was important but also that “taking part in a community” was also important to their conceptions. This language supports the belief that the concept of community is not simply a passive notion but rather an active component of the socio-cultural dynamic of citizenship.

There also appeared to be a shift in the conceptions from the first interviews and concept maps to the second. At the end of the course, two participants’ references to community changed from statements related to “being part of a community” to the concept of community as being more “global” and “ecological” instead of “local.” The

most interesting finding is that half of the participants in the study who shared at the beginning that community was an important concept of citizenship did not express the same views at the end of the study. This might indicate that most of the pre-service teacher candidates did not see community as being an important part of citizenship because they saw the concept as being local in nature. The two participants who did refer to community as being an important part of citizenship perhaps made a shift in their cognitive frames of the term community, coming to see it as including a more global/ecological view.

5.3.3.3 Sense of pride as citizenship.

Next, the concept of pride appeared in the group's conceptions. Participants outlined it as "pride in one's nation," "I'm proud of being Canadian," and having pride in one's community and country. The sense of pride as it relates to citizenship also shifted from the beginning of the Social Studies course to the end as the understanding of pride developed from a focus on personal pride to "something to be proud of and share" with others and put on "display." Like the sense of community, there appeared to be a shift from a passive notion to an active one as the term progressed.

5.3.3.4 Identity as citizenship.

The concept of identity appeared to develop over the course of the study. Four participants discussed how identity and, more specifically, their Canadian identity was part of their understanding of citizenship. According to Joppke (2007), citizenship as identity refers to the behavioural aspects of individuals acting and conceiving of themselves as members of a collectivity. This identity is conceived as being part of the

nation or the "normative conceptions of such behavior imputed by the state" (Joppke, 2007, p. 38). In this study participants used simple terms to reflect their understanding, such as "I am Canadian" and "being Canadian is who I am." By the end of the Social Studies course, however, there was an increase in frequency, depth of description, and group resonance. There was an increase from 20% to 75% in the levels of group resonance for the concept of identity in this study where many of the participants discussed identity as being an important part of their understanding of citizenship. As evident in the second interview, they felt that identity was not just a term. At the end of the course they were able to provide detailed descriptions of what role identity played in their understanding of citizenship. Many discussed identity as it related to them on a personal level and explained how "citizenship becomes part of someone's identity" and "how you see yourself." They also understood identity as being fluid; one's identity could shift. Participants explained how a person can identify as a citizen "from more than one place" and that identity reflects multiple nested locations. One participant stated that, "my identity is fluid based on how I want to present myself and [how I want to] be recognized" (Patricia, Interview 2). This understanding of citizenship as identity reflected her personal experience as a dual citizen. She felt that her identity was influenced by her surroundings. If she was in Canada, her identity reflected her Canadian values and beliefs; however, when she was with her parents and grandparents overseas, she explained that she identified more with "her other culture" and that country's values and beliefs. Another participant saw her Canadian identity as a "badge of honour . . . it's like a reward for some people who have fought to have it" (Quinn, Interview 2). In this

instance those who “fought to have it” was in reference to refugees and immigrants who gained citizenship; this identity was one of earned privilege.

The concept of identity was also evident during the in-class observations. In groups the pre-service students were asked to complete an exercise where they provided examples from the Ontario Ministry of Education Citizenship Framework (Ontario Ministry of Education). This framework is a circular diagram highlighting the elements of Active Participation: Identity, Attributes, and Structures. In the *Identity* field in particular, the Ontario Ministry of Education’s focus is on “a sense of personal identity as a member of various communities” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 10). Citizenship under this heading highlights the following:

- Identify and develop their sense of connectedness to local, national, and global communities;
- Develop a sense of their civic self-image;
- Consider and respect others’ perspectives; and
- Investigate moral and ethical dimensions of developments, events, and issues. (p. 10)

As a small group they selected this example to identify their group understanding of identity. The pre-service teacher who shared this example felt that identity is related to place and community when she stated,

> Who your students are in their community and the need to respect everyone else’s identity. As an activity we thought of having students create a . . . my Grade 2’s made a family tree to discuss how their families created their own celebrations and the group accepted this as representative of identity.

It is clear with this cohort group that identity needs to be respected; this includes considering and respecting others' perspectives. What was not evident with this sample group of seven students was that they did not consider concepts about identity that reflected ethical and moral dimensions of issues. Their example did not delve into issues of identity that could arise for a student from a non-traditional family structure. Identity discussions might allow teachers and students to discuss how identity is complex for both students and teachers. However, these participants did not explore how completing a family tree might be an opportunity to discuss how some students might struggle with their own identities (e.g. only child vs. identity as "a big sister" in this Grade 2 example, or identities as a child from a same-sex couple). The pre-service teachers, when discussing the family tree example, did not move beyond a simple conceptual frame of the concept of identity.

Overall, the concept of identity was part of the pre-service teachers' understanding of citizenship, but it remained unsophisticated and superficial. None of the participants expressed in either set of data how identity related to their political or civic identities or how they saw themselves as agents of political action. Instead the focus on identity remained about how they saw themselves personally and was not related to the identity of any particular group. While most stated that identity was part of their understanding of citizenship, participants in this study demonstrated what Cook (1967) called "limited identities", where broader, civic definitions of Canadian society are held to include whatever linguistic, cultural, or ethnic origins make up their identities. According to Banks (2017),

> many citizens do not fully internalize the values and symbols of the nation-state, develop a strong identity with it, or acquire pollical efficacy. They focus primarily on particularistic group needs and goals rather than the overarching goals of the nation-state. (p. 1)

In this study, while the pre-service teachers increased in their overall awareness of identity as an important concept of citizenship, they failed to address more complex notions of citizenship.

5.3.3.5 Culture as citizenship.

The concept that was present but less significant in the socio-cultural theme was *culture*. References to culture as diversity were very limited in the data sets at the beginning of the study. The participants did not include the term *culture* in their concept maps and only one participant included the term *diversity* in the first concept map. At the end of the study culture was not included in their concept maps, but a few in the group explained how culture or *world diversity* was an important part of their citizenship conceptions. One participant explained that "citizenship is having no loss of culture" (Brandon, Interview 2), while another participant stated that citizenship "means diversity of culture and opinion" (Tristan, Interview 2). Lisa explained her conceptions related to culture in this way:

> Canadian . . . as a Canadian citizen? Well, it means someone to be fair and respectful. To be open and accepting to different cultures. To be a diverse . . . a person that's accepting diversity. [Hmm, hmm] Um, doesn't tolerate racism. Is someone that is inclusive of all peoples . . . And, someone that, sort of, keeps

> that persona in mind even when they travel, because they are representing the country that they're coming from. (Lisa, Interview 1)

Lisa's statement highlights that she believed being a good citizen meant that you need to accept different cultures and "not tolerate racism," and yet she referred to this action of accepting others as a "persona" that needs to be "kept in mind," which might indicate a lack of genuine belief about respect towards other cultures since it needs to be a conscious act. This too perhaps does not indicate an interruption to the construction of dominant cultures, a theme I will discussed further when highlighting the overall theme of privilege in this study.

These statements might indicate that a few pre-service teachers saw citizenship in ways that "begin to think about difference and diversity within a shared community" (Stevenson, 2001, p. 3). However, with so few references to culture, it is clear that pre-service teachers in this particular cohort group had a limited understanding of "cultural citizenship" as a way to "offer an opportunity to link the way changes in the economic and political sphere have had an impact upon the ways in which citizenship is commonly experienced" (Stevenson, 2001, p. 2). It is important to note that the group under study did not include aspects of culture like the recognition of differences. According to Stevenson (2001), "social movements in respect of race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, disability and others have sought to interrupt the construction of dominant cultures" (p. 4). With this group in particular, little was stated about the role of culture in citizenship.

While the number of conceptions from the beginning of the term to the end of the term are equal in number, the distribution within this sub-theme indicates some growth

that could be attributed to the course content. Within the sub-theme of Socio-Cultural Dimensions, the pre-service teachers in this study felt that belonging to a group was an important part of citizenship. However, the importance of belonging was not as evident at the end of the term. They felt proud to be Canadian and their understanding of pride increased to share conceptual frames that might indicate the beginning of a shift from personal conceptions of pride to "communities with multiple possibilities" (Anne, Interview 2), as they began to see the pride as pertaining to a group larger than themselves. When comparing the conceptual frames of the participants between the beginning of the term and the end, there appeared to be a shift in their understanding. There is evidence that as a group they were beginning to explore concepts that were less passive and were beginning to see citizenship in terms of action. Pre-service teachers do experience citizenship in socio-cultural ways. There is evidence that the conceptions they hold about culture and diversity reflect their own identities of their own privilege as white middle-class students. They appear to have difficulty exploring citizenship through various lenses. The Socio-Cultural Dimensions highlight an understanding of Belonging, Community, Sense of Pride, Identity, and Culture.

5.3.4 Civic engagement as citizenship.

How people engage in formal politics, political advocacy, and civil organizations formed the basis for the next sub-theme related to civic engagement. In the first phase of the study, pre-service teachers explored concepts related to politics, volunteering in general, and participation in civil society organizations in limited ways. Only one participant described *politics* as a concept that indicated her understanding of citizenship. In the first part of the study, four participants discussed voting as a concept related to

citizenship, and three participants described volunteering as an aspect of citizenship. However, utterances referring to civic engagement more than doubled in the post-course interview. For many, their understanding of civic engagement was directly linked to being a "good citizen." Emma-Eliana characterised her understanding of civic engagement as a means of "being involved in a lot of volunteer activities that have definitely impacted . . . my understanding of what it means to be engaged" (Emma-Eliana, Interview 2).

5.3.4.1 Politics as civic engagement.

The concept of formal politics was non-existent in the pre-course phase and was only mentioned by one participant) in the post-phase of the study when he described how "using federal funds to put back into services for our country and we shared different roles to make this happen" (Brandon, Interview 2). Another participant used the term "leadership." While it was included in the category of political advocacy, it was not substantiated by an in-depth explanation. These two utterances are outliers and do not represent the cohort's views.

5.3.4.2 Voting as civic engagement.

Five participants shared voting as a conception in the second set of concept maps and interviews, up from four in the pre-course interviews. However, none of the participants explored the topic in depth other than stating that voting was "an important part of being a Canadian" (Emma-Eliana, Interview 1. Ruby discussed how her parents had shared the importance of voting. She knew it was an important responsibility and felt that her beliefs about voting came from them. One participant stated, "the biggest right

for me is voting" (Emma-Eliana, Interview 1) but did not include voting on her initial concept map. In the second phase of the study she did include the concept on her map, adding that she still believed "voting is important" to her conceptions of citizenship. This time she provided a more detailed response: "you know, be it going out to vote, but beyond that think citizenship is an active and ongoing engagement in your community, whether it's that local level or going outwards national/global . . . that's how I see it" (Emma-Eliana, Interview 2). It appears that her beliefs about active engagement did not rest with one act. Instead, she went on to explain that a good citizen is someone who does "more than just vote." This appears to indicate an awareness that good citizenship is an ongoing active engagement from the local to the global. Anne also believed voting was important but did not elaborate, stating simply that it's "a certain age when you vote that finally makes you a citizen" (Anne, Interview 2). This statement together with the others about voting indicate that perhaps the pre-service teachers had not acquired a sophisticated understanding of voting as a form of civic engagement apart from it "being important." When probed, these participants did not explain why this was an important duty or why it is a right.

5.3.4.3 Civil society organizations.

Participants did not share civil society organisations in the concept maps, interviews, or classroom observations as ways to promote civic engagement. They do not appear to hold a place in the conceptions of citizenship for the group under study. In the first interview Lisa felt that civic engagement is in "all aspects of life from me, to my family and friends, and reflects my local community to my province too" but she did not mention how she engaged specifically in those aspects of her life. In the second

interviews Hilary described civic engagement as “being an active member of society” and Brandon explained “using federal funds to put back into services for our country” as an act of citizenship along with discussing various roles associated with funding. Neither student expanded with specific examples in their interviews. Participants mentioned little involvement in formal organizations, with the exception of one. Several participants said they participated in WE Day as part of the ME to WE organization and felt that this exemplified their understanding of good citizenship. WE Day, according to the organization’s website, is

> an annual series of stadium-sized youth empowerment events organized by WE Charity, a Canadian charity founded by brothers Marc and Craig Kielburger. WE Day events host tens of thousands of students and celebrate the impact they have made on local and global issues. Students earn their tickets by participating in the WE Schools program, a year-long service-learning program run by WE Charity. Each event features a lineup of social activists, speakers and musical performances. (www.we.org)

It is interesting that the language of ME to WE appeared in several participant responses, which may indicate that a school-based initiative with a social organization had influenced their cognitive frames about citizenship.

In reflecting on what citizenship meant to her, Quinn (Interview 2) questioned herself: “Why am I thinking about Craig Kielburger right now?” While she was not sure why this name had “popped into her head,” her thinking about citizenship was clearly triggered by the social movement from her school experience. Quinn also shared thoughts about citizenship from “when I was a kid.” She remembered thinking how surprised she

had been that just one boy from a small place would do "that," where "that" was taking action to combat child labour at the age of 12 and growing his advocacy into his popular social charity movement. Some of the participants in this study made reference to "change can happen with just one person," which is the message of the ME to WE and WE Day movement. However, none of the participants elaborated on the types of changes or social initiatives they had personally undertaken as a result of their participation in the ME to WE day or any other social cause to make the world a better place. In this study, there is some indication that social organizations helped shape cognitive frames about citizenship. However, instead of fostering an increase in participation and social action, awareness of such organizations appeared to contribute more to preserving their self-identity as citizens of privilege rather than to create young citizens who will actually behave in ways that change the world.

The participants were asked how their conceptions of citizenship might have been influenced. This could have led to sharing about how their parents had contributed to civil society groups. The pre-service teachers in this study did not mention any influence by their parents/guardians related to civil society organizations, and I did not explictly ask about this. As a researcher, I thought about my father's involvement with the Knights of Columbus and my mother's involvement with the Catholic Women's League, Open Doors, Amnesty International, and the Rotary Club. As children, my sister and I were often educated about activities my parents participated in as members of these groups to help those in need in our communities and abroad (e.g., letter writing campaigns where I was in charge of stuffing envelopes). In this study, however, none of the examples of volunteerism reflected their parent or family engagement in these types of organisations.

Also, none of the participants expressed having received help from civil society organizations like the Lion's Club, who support many underprivileged children in local communities (e.g., my husband in the early 80s received financial aid to play hockey as a child). This might have influenced their decision to participate or not participate in these types of organisations. While pre-service teachers overwhelmingly saw volunteering at the local level as an important part of civic engagement, it is also evident that pre-service teachers in this cohort group shared few concepts, beliefs, or ideas related to civil society organisations and thus did not have these as part of their cognitive frames when thinking about forms of civic engagement or citizenship.

5.3.4.4 Volunteering as civic engagement.

The category that held the greatest frequency and highest group resonance representing conceptions of civic engagement was the concept of *volunteering*. The majority of the cohort group—14 of 20 participants—held volunteering as an important concept of engagement in the second interviews, up from only three participants in the pre-course interviews. This concept appeared to be an important conceptual frame for this group of pre-service teachers. The participants recognised that volunteering included many options, including giving back time," "giving money," and "donations" in kind. Fern felt that she could engage by "making our society a better one by helping those who need our help" and Mackenzie discussed how she participated in organised events to support her community. Lisa's conceptions of volunteerism also included "attending community meetings and advocating for those in need" but she saw this as an act of "volunteering" and not as political activism. Ruby discussed how you have a responsibility to "contribute to the society you live in by doing volunteer work, you know

. . . just helping your community." All the examples of volunteerism related to the local level. None of the participants expressed an experience of volunteering outside of their communities. These results concur with the in-class observations where the students explored ideas related to volunteering. In all of the in-class data the pre-service teachers did not share any volunteering experiences outside of the local community. This finding echoes the earlier discussion of *place*, where participants focused on their local communities.

This high level of group resonance around volunteering may be attributed to the fact that volunteering is something they experienced throughout their elementary and secondary school years, unlike the concept of political engagement such as voting, where some of the participants described how they were influenced by their parents. For example, the pre-service teachers stated that when their parents voted, they too voted in the elections regardless of whether they were away at university and away from their parents' influence. On the other hand, volunteering is something that the pre-service teachers could relate to their own personal school experiences. Patricia expressed how she now volunteered "for a major charity" but also felt that a good citizen is someone who volunteers for something that is local. In her interview she stated that the larger organizations had an impact on her local community and that this was an important factor in selecting which organizations she wanted to volunteer with. Many of the participants expressed concrete examples of their participation in school-based initiatives that helped shape their civic engagement. Quinn discussed that "volunteering is important," saying she actively participated in Buskerfest and Special Olympics initiatives in her town.

Lessons about social action as part of citizenship were also explicitly taught by the teacher educator during the course. Perhaps these lessons also contributed to the change in how the pre-service teachers understood citizenship and more specifically volunteering. Hilary felt that the experience in the Social Studies course "shifted my idea of citizenship" (Hilary, Interview 2). She also stated that participatory citizenship is something that she is committed to 'for the rest of her life" (e.g., volunteering and donating). However, when asked in the interview if she would ever do more than volunteering to help others it was clear that even when asked explicitly, she was not so moved as to sign up to give a kidney if it would directly save someone's life.

Overall, the pre-service teachers did explore ideas of citizenship related to civic engagement in both the pre- and post-concept maps and interviews. Categories that emerged were political engagement through voting and volunteerism, where volunteerism appeared to be the strongest element of their engagement. Previous research has shown that, compared with non-members and non-volunteers,

> members of associations and people performing volunteer work are more supportive of democratic norms and values, more interested in politics and knowledgeable about political affairs, more politically efficacious, more tolerant and trustful, and more actively involved in politics. (Dahl & Abdelzadeh 2017, p. 1252)

Bellah (1985) highlighted that according to the socialization perspective, we develop the habits of the heart regarding important values and norms—such as reciprocity, trust, and cooperation—by having close contact with people of various backgrounds through associational membership and voluntarism. While the pre-service

teachers as a group in this study did not show any evidence of politics and political advocacy as concepts they held regarding citizenship, they did hold strong conceptions regarding their role as active participants engaged in volunteerism in local community activities even though participation in civil society organizations was not strongly evident. They clearly demonstrated some experiences that can be characterized as civic engagement. These personal experiences of volunteer work helped develop their conceptual frames of citizenship.

5.3.5 Civic orientations.

The final sub-theme relates to the participants' civic orientations. Studies have demonstrated that teachers are attached to views of social studies and citizenship education that relate to various citizenship orientations. Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) used a framework to highlight various civic orientations. They organized individuals' views into three categories: personally-responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizens. Patterson et al. (2012) used Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) framework to design a mixed method study to group teachers' thinking about citizenship and found that nearly two thirds of teachers felt a *good citizen* was synonymous with personally responsible citizenship, compared to a quarter attached to participatory citizenship, and just four percent for justice-oriented citizenship.

In this study the participants' civic orientations did not differ significantly from the results of previous studies. Almost all of the utterances that related to civic orientations reflected personally responsible citizenship. Three quarters of the pre-service teachers felt a *good citizen* was synonymous with personally responsible-citizenship. In the first interviews and concept maps 13 of 20 participants discussed civic engagement in

ways that reflected being a personally-responsible citizen. This number increased to 15 participants in the second half of the study. For example, in the first part of the study the concept maps held 28 conceptions related to personally-responsible citizenship, while only two references related to participatory citizenship. Surprisingly, none of the participants in the first concept map listed any concepts related to social justice. This may have been due to their lack of experience. In the post-course concept maps and interviews only two students mentioned social action and/or social justice explicitly on their concept maps and during the interviews. Lisa scribed in her concept map that "we have a duty and an obligation as a member of a community to give back" in a chain concept map with "social action" as the key word. Ruby simply listed the term "social justice" on her spoke map as a concept that she understood about citizenship. However, the data for this study did not solely rely on concept maps. It also relied on interviews and in-class observations. With only two participants sharing social action as a concept, it is not representative of the group's cognitive frame of citizenship.

During the second set of interviews Hilary shared her views about social action:

> Social action is good, because I feel a lot of the times, kids are introduced to social justice and social action, they're just not . . . it's just not talked about in the context of citizenship, I guess. But I feel like talking about citizenship and how you can be a citizen of different communities like your school, we can kind of ask those students, well you're a citizen of this school. How can we, as a group, make this school a positive place and a place where people are exposed to equal opportunity? And, how can we make sure everybody has a positive experience in school? Because as citizens of this school, we all have a role to

> play in making it a positive space. So, just kind of talking about what we can do within the school to be inclusive and to promote equality, I guess. Have a discussion about that. And then, even going into the broader sense like your community. So, okay, we're a citizen of the school but we're also a citizen of our . . . of [our city] so okay, what can we do in [our city] to make it a positive place to be for everyone, not just for yourself personally. (Hilary, Interview 2)

Hilary also shared how her conceptions about social action had developed from her experiences in the initial teacher preparation program through both the Social Studies course and her practicum. Her views about social action were consistent with some of the other findings that suggest that the pre-service teachers in this study focused primarily on actions to help the local community. Hilary also mentioned civic orientations related to participation:

> So, we could talk, I don't know about food drives. We can talk about, you know, just going out in the community and being participants in the community. Maybe, I don't know, we . . . when I was on practicum, we visited on Halloween, like, an old folk's home. We did, like, a little walk around just, I don't know, maybe to brighten up their day. (Hilary, Interview 2)

In this example the pre-service teacher's civic actions, while representative of a participatory orientation, again are focused at the local level. Her statement is also consistent with another finding that suggests that the pre-service students in this study were very much influenced by the initiatives and teaching strategies modeled to them while on practicum placement.

While by the end of the course few participants described their orientations relating to social justice or social action on their individual concept maps, there is evidence that it was not completely absent as a cognitive frame for this group. While many of the in-class discussions focused on "Canadian values" and being a "good citizen" by exhibiting positive character traits such as honesty, kindness, compassion, and having empathy, there is an indication that as a group of pre-service teachers did in fact have some beliefs and conceptions about social action and social justice. In the interview data, many of the references were directly attributed to their practicum/field experiences while on placement in primary and junior classrooms. In one of the Social Studies classes observed for this study, the pre-service teachers were asked to present a group project specifically related to citizenship. One group shared a presentation on *Citizenship for Early Learners*. They began their presentation with a video showing different ways to contribute to positive change the world. They asked the students in the audience to "get your mind thinking about ways to help your community and the global [one] as well." The group used a video that showcased responsible citizenship. They then asked their peer group to select two aspects of the video and discuss "which aspects of active citizenship speak to you?" The initial classroom discussion focused entirely on responsible citizenship. Some of the students argued about the benefits of laws and why it is important to follow them. The pre-service teachers discussed how you need to be lawful and that not all laws are just. Natalie expressed in her interview that "someone who protests can still be considered a good citizen even if they are fined for breaking the law. Fines are not the same as criminal . . . so that society can move towards a positive direction" (Natalie, Interview 2). During the classroom discussion the members of the

class appeared to agree, indicating some awareness of social justice. However, the discussion did not continue to expand on this social justice orientation. The pre-service teachers did not discuss any ways that laws might be unjust. Instead, the consensus was simply an awareness of inequities that existed for some citizens regarding how laws are enforced.

Next, the pre-service teachers were tasked with defining two qualities that would represent responsible citizenship. The group leaders did not provide the space to consider participatory or social justice orientations in this particular exercise. The cohort group was explicitly instructed to think of citizenship orientation strictly in terms of personally-responsible citizenship. They did not address the other two orientations as outlined by Westheimer and Kahne (2004a). Overall, the pre-service teachers stated their belief that "no matter what you have and what you are you have to show good character traits." A few students mentioned the importance of being a "good person" and "anyone can act in good ways." Others mentioned it was important that citizens "be informed about what's going on in your community and the world and to do something you have to be proactive" but did not follow up with examples of how one could "do something" moving towards a participatory orientation. One participant stated:

> I think everyone would agree. There's rules and regulations in society, and while you might not agree with everything, they're there to make us all follow the system and not go against it. There are different structures in society. There are people of different socio-economic status. (Carmen, in-class observations, November 7, 2017)

In this statement the pre-service teacher demonstrated her belief that rules are there to be followed. The visual cues and body language indicated that this statement referring to "different-socio-economic status" appeared to be negative in tone. She appeared dismissive when stating "of different . . . status," which might be indicative of her position of privilege. Others described active citizenship in this particular pre-service classroom setting as, "you can't go through life just being an ass" (Carter, in-class observations, November 7, 2017). The cohort's references were almost exclusively about how being a good citizen relates to character traits. These data support the findings discussed previously that pre-service teachers hold civic orientations that are predominantly related to personally-responsible citizenship. However, unlike the concept maps that did not show a high frequency or group resonance for participatory citizenship or social action, the in-class observations provided a different view than the concept maps alone.

Next, the Social Studies class also showcased the Ontario Ministry of Education Citizenship Framework as part of one group's presentation. The pre-service teachers explored the various elements that made up the framework and were asked to discuss how they were being good citizens in their respective communities. Again, there was no explicit mention of participatory or social justice orientations. The presenters asked how each pre-service teacher is "involved in your community and volunteering" and "being involved."

> What are the main elements of the citizenship framework? You're going to be a topic expert and explore three different layers and come up with a summary

statement and come up with an idea for either a primary or junior grade class. (Presenter 1)

In this case the pre-service teachers were asked to use their own personal experience or experience from practicum/field service to apply citizenship in the classroom. The concepts of *volunteering* or *being involved* were prominent in setting the stage for their discussions. As discussed earlier in the findings, volunteerism was a prominent conception in the earlier discussion on civic engagement and perhaps was influenced by this presentation. In order to provide context for this particular citizenship lesson in the Social Studies course, I will explain here the Ontario Ministry of Education Citizenship Framework to provide a context for the pre-service teachers' task of outlining examples of their own personal experience or experience from practicum/field service to apply citizenship in the classroom.

The Citizenship Framework (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018) is a circular diagram highlighting the following four elements: Active Participation, Identity, Attributes, and Structures.

Active Participation: In the Active Participation section the Ministry of Education presents citizenship as working "for the common good in local, national, and global communities and lists the following items" (p. 10). A sample way to do this:

- Voice informed opinions on matters relevant to their community;
- Adopt leadership roles in their community;
- Participate in their community;
- Investigate controversial issues;
- Demonstrate collaborative, innovative problem solving; and

- Build positive relationships with diverse individuals and groups.

The diagram also highlights the following concepts: decision making and voting; influence; conflict resolution and peace building; advocacy; stewardship; leadership, and volunteering.

Identity: In the Identity field the Ministry of Education focuses on "a sense of personal identity as a member of various communities" (p. 10). Citizenship under this heading highlights the following:

- Identify and develop their sense of connectedness to local, national, and global communities;
- Develop a sense of their civic self-image;
- Consider and respect others' perspectives; and
- Investigate moral and ethical dimensions of developments, events, and issues.

This part of the diagram also highlights the concepts of interconnectedness, beliefs and values, self-efficacy, culture, perspective, and community.

Attributes: In the Attributes field the model presents "character traits, values, habits of mind" (p. 10) as part of the citizenship framework. In this field students are asked to:

- Explore issues related to personal and societal rights and responsibilities;
- Demonstrate self-respect, as well as respect and empathy for others;
- Develop attitudes that foster civic engagement; and
- Work in a collaborative and critically thoughtful manner.

The Attributes field also highlights the following concepts: inclusiveness; equity; empathy and respect; rights and responsibilities; freedom; social cohesion; fairness and justice; citizenship; collaboration and cooperation.

Structures: The last part of the framework outlines structures that define "power and systems within societies" (p. 10). In this field, the aspects citizenship are presented as follows:

- Develop an understanding of the importance of rules and laws;
- Develop an understanding of how political, economic, and social institutions affect their lives;
- Develop an understanding of power dynamics; and
- Develop an understanding of the dynamic and complex relationships within and between systems.

The concepts presented as key ideas for students to understand are democracy, rules and law, institutions, power and authority, and systems.

As stated earlier, much of the data from previous studies and the concept maps from this study indicate that pre-service teachers hold strong civic orientations that motivate their civic engagement from a personally-responsible orientation. However, the classroom discussions held near the end of the term relating directly to the task based on the Ontario Ministry of Education's Citizenship Framework indicated that, as a cohort group, they showed evidence of orientations that included participatory citizenship, social action, and social justice. For example, as a group they discussed how they could create a poster to raise awareness of child labour or participate in food or clothing drives in a local community. They discussed how they could create a voting system in the class and they

talked about voting and political engagement. However, these views were not well-represented in the concept maps and interviews.

For example, two groups of four to six pre-service teachers discussed active participation within the context of the in-class activity. One of the groups was highly motivated to share an experience that one of the members discussed during the task. They felt it represented their views and beliefs and was an important experience to share with their peers. Thus it could be considered to be part of their beliefs about citizenship. They explained how this one story was representative of their group's understanding of social action/social justice:

> I did a novel study [on practicum] on *Iqbal* (D'Adamo, 2003) about child labour in Pakistan and the students were so emotionally invested in the characters that there were tears at the end. In the story and the main character actually dies. They [young students] were really invested in the issue and really cared about the children even if it was a fictional account and interested and keen to do what they could . . . [and] we talked about the different ways that you can personally work towards ending child labour like making sure that you're buying products that are responsibly sourced and stuff like that and to tie that to language and social studies because the Grade 5s were doing levels of government . . . to write to different representatives to ask them to act on our behalf and I gave them the options to write to their mayor or premier or the Prime Minister and they all chose to write to the Prime Minister the "biggest name" and it was cute and so passionate. (Katherine, in-class observations, November 22, 2017)

The pre-service teacher continued to explain how her young students were asked to create posters to raise awareness to incorporate social studies "going beyond" and not just being involved at the community at the school level. The pre-service teacher understood the importance of making her students aware of issues that required action at the global level. One strategy this particular pre-service teacher shared was how she used statistics to help support the concept of the number of children who are involved in child labour, making the link to other children their age as an instructional strategy. It is clear in this example that pre-service teachers do develop an awareness of civic orientations that move beyond simply personally-responsible citizenship to participatory citizenship and, as indicated by this example, are able to conceptualise social justice orientations. While this was only one example that was shared in the classroom observations, the cohort group accepted this sharing as reflective of their smaller group's beliefs about what citizenship education looks like in an elementary classroom.

While the interviews and the concept maps in this study indicated that pre-service teachers held civic orientations leaning towards personally-responsible conceptions, there is also some evidence that through their practicums and in-class discussions in the initial teacher education program they were developing a greater awareness of orientations leading towards more participatory and social justice conceptions.

The one-on-one interviews and the concept maps showed little evidence of the participant group's civic orientations relating to participatory citizenship and social justice orientations.

Lisa was one of the few who shared an example in the second interview about her new understanding of social justice as a concept. This lesson was explicitly taught by the teacher educator and she recalled it in this way:

> We did a, kind of, like, . . . a line in that one, and there is $60,000 and at the other end there is zero, and we were talking about paying taxes. Um, basically we did with our class, what are you willing to give to the people who have no jobs and that make no money, and that have no income? And, that really opened my eyes a lot, because a lot of us weren't even willing to give half of our pay cheque. So, it was, kind of, like, okay, as graduating as a teacher starting at a certain point, [Hmm, hmm] $60,000 was a good range, 'cause most of us would make it there and make that . . . make it there within the next ten years, let's say. [Hmm, hmm] So, that kind of opened my eyes a lot because it was interesting to see that not . . . no one was willing to give half their . . . half their pay cheque. Okay, so then if you're not willing to give half your pay cheque, [the teacher education stated] what are you willing to give? And, it just went to show that a lot of . . . a lot of people weren't willing to give enough, and I think it's definitely really important if you are willing to be a good citizen, to do something for those who are making no money. So, learned that, um, for me, as myself, I would definitely be willing to give volunteer hours. Things like leadership. Like, um, mentoring. Um, definitely willing to pay into taxes and give some of my money, but it was just interesting to see it put that way. I just thought that was super cool. (Lisa, Interview 2)

It is evident that the teacher educator modeled a lesson to teach explicitly about participatory and social action and that some of the concepts were internalized by some participants. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the frequency and group resonance for volunteerism as civic engagement increased from three participants in the first interviews to 14 in the second. Perhaps this shift was directly influenced by this particular exercise and the classroom discussion that ensued. However, during the interviews only two participants discussed this example and the other participants in the study did not provide any other examples of social justice or social action. This may indicate that additional exposure to the concepts and to opportunities for social action may be needed over time to solidify understanding of these concepts.

Overall, pre-service teachers in this study held civic orientations that were primarily reflective of a personally-responsible citizenship orientation as outlined by Westheimer and Kahne's (2004a) framework. While some previous studies (Patterson et al., 2012) indicated that few teachers hold civic orientations that are reflective of participatory citizenship, social action, and social justice, it is important to recognize that pre-service teachers are very much engaged in volunteerism as a form of participatory civic engagement. Some participants shared views relating to more sophisticated cognitive frames about their civic orientations by sharing some of the lessons and activities focused on social action and social justice that they experienced while on practicum/field placements. While these social action/social justice orientations were not evident in the individual interviews and concept maps to represent the cognitive frames of the group, the in-class observations clearly showed that some participants were assimilating new cognitive frames that demonstrated understanding of many of the more

sophisticated constructs through dialogue and as part of the Social Studies course activities.

5.3.6 Conclusion of sub-themes.

The sub-themes in this study reflect the categories that emerged from two of the data sets: the concept maps and the interviews. The themes that were uncovered were: 1) Place, 2) Legal, 3) Socio-Cultural, 4) Civic Engagement, and 5) Civic Orientation. Within each sub-theme, I developed a hierarchy of categories by examining both the frequency and group resonance that emerged. Pre-service teachers in this study demonstrated some shift in their conceptual frames from the beginning of the term to the end. There is evidence to suggest that as a group they were beginning to explore concepts that are less passive in nature and were beginning to see citizenship in terms of action by the end of the course. Overall, the participants in this group demonstrated a limited knowledge of legal and non-legal citizenship status and their conceptions of civic engagement through participation in civil society organisations were limited. Classroom observations supported the findings from the interviews and concept maps, but when determining conceptual frames of the group regarding social action and social justice, the in-class observations were critical in supporting the conclusion that pre-service teachers were developing understanding of social action and social justice orientations through experiences in both the practicums and the Social Studies classroom. However, as a group, the conceptions they held were still weak. As a group they did not reflect conceptions that attend to a more critical stance, including those prescribed in the Ontario Social Studies curriculum (e.g., investigate moral and ethical dimensions of

developments, events, and issues), a document outlining concepts related to citizenship that they will be required to teach.

5.4 The Privilege of being Canadian

When asked to define and explain citizenship within a Canadian context, one of the most common and overarching themes to emerge was the privilege of being Canadian. This theme appeared throughout the five previous sub-themes. Many of the references to privilege were not necessarily overt, as some were interwoven in many of the interviews and in-class discussions. This particular group in the pre- and post-interviews referenced conceptions about the privileges of being Canadian relating to maturity, age, travel, familial experiences, and/or current media influences.

Almost exclusively, participants viewed citizenship in Canada as a privilege that required a commitment to conforming, character-driven behaviour that included positive contributions such as being kind, helping, and following the rules. Some stated these characteristics in the negative form by including that citizenship required that their behaviour not be a "nuisance to society" (Brandon, Interview 1), that they not break rules or laws, and that they be productive members of the privileged society. Brandon went further to speak about

> responsibility to others around you . . . You're living in accordance to rules and regulations and try to follow. So, just trying to follow, like, the laws and regulations in place so that you're not really too much of a nuisance. (Brandon, Interview 1)

Frequently, participants mentioned belonging to the privileged citizenry of Canada as a concept they connected to citizenship. For example, Brandon also said,

> rather than just [a] passport, or country. I think it's just coming from, just living and, slowly growing up and, understanding what it is . . . when you're a kid you know you're Canadian. Yes, but, you . . . you don't really realize that you're a citizen of Canada until you're a little older and you, like, [you] get it. (Brandon, Interview 1)

While some saw their privilege as coming from their heritage or birthright, sometimes related to shaping their beliefs, others viewed it as a choice related to immigration. Lisa said, "If you're a citizen, then you're part of a bigger community so it's where you belong. It's where you can look to for help . . . somewhere to be free . . . express what they believe in . . . you're upholding those rules and responsibilities" (Lisa, Interview 1), while Julie emphasized this as often a hard-won privilege by new immigrants by recognizing "what they went through, and all the dangers that they went [through] in order to come to a safe place" (Julie, Interview 1).

Many participants were very specific about the privileges they had as Canadians. Privileges such as voting, safety, healthcare and government, holding passports, travel, being well-respected internationally, having work and jobs, and having a range of opportunities were some examples of privileges they explained during the interviews. An aspect of privilege of being a Canadian citizen highlighted the perspective of citizenship as a guide for decision-making and how to live life, focusing on the *doing* aspect of citizenship. Ruby felt that citizenship

> is with you your whole life and so, it's kind of a, not a skill but it's knowledge that kind of carries forward that helps you outside of the classroom and . . .

> everything . . . by making you more informed. It helps with decision making, perspectives to guide your daily life. (Ruby, Interview 1)

This aspect of citizenship as *doing* or participating as a privilege that requires a commitment to conforming character-driven behaviour was echoed by several participants when they identified actions such as helping society, being engaged in their community, and having an immediate impact on improvements in their community. Some participants expressed this *doing* aspect of citizenship as working together to achieve personal outcomes. Julie expressed her ideas of privilege as

> not breaking the law . . . not doing graffiti or anything to destroy community . . . taking care of the place you live; for example, recycling and stuff . . . being part of your community . . . take care of what you have and the people . . . being lawful and not negatively affect[ing] anyone else in your community or any other citizen. (Julie, Interview 1)

While others described their privilege as a *Call to Action*, they believed that all Canadians should work towards exemplifying their good citizenship because of their privilege.

> I'd say being respectful, I mean like we're working towards reconciliation, working towards helping climate change, those are things I think that Canadians have to be aware of to be a good citizen in this day and age. (Tristan, Interview 1)

In this example, Tristan's statement that he believes that Canadians "have to be aware of" certain things might imply that he himself is aware because of his own privilege as an educated person.

When Quinn expressed how she volunteered at "Special Olympics swim meet, Busker Fest charity to raise money for Epilepsy" (Quinn, Interview 1) and saw these actions as "being overall awesome" and how privileged she was to be able to do this, her conceptions about citizenship were not just related to her desire to volunteer. It was clear that she participated in these activities because she felt an obligation to do so; she saw herself as someone who is so fortunate that she in turn should give back to others. While this act demonstrates a strong sense of social engagement, it might also support her belief that as a privileged Canadian that she has a responsibility to help those less fortunate than herself.

Connected to this recognition that citizenship is a privilege was the acknowledgment that some Canadians, even among their pre-service teacher peers, are not all equally accepting of Canadian immigration. It appeared that personal connections to a Canadian refugee or immigrant had the impact of making a pre-service teacher more accepting of diversity and aware of issues of inclusion. Quinn in particular felt that pre-service teachers had an insular view about being Canadian. After experiencing the interactions among her peers in preparation for a debate in one of her pre-service courses, Quinn was shocked that many of her peers felt that Canadians should "take care of their own first," thus protecting their privileged position. The idea of privilege was represented by the perceived a lack of empathy for refugees and immigrants among her pre-service teacher peers.

> I've heard people. Like, well, you see comments online, or you see . . . even I . . . just as an example, last semester, I obviously won't say any names, but in our Diversity class, we were talking about refugees and how in our classrooms there

> will be, possibly, refugees in our class, and how to kind of, you know, make them feel better about their situation, kind of understand their background. And, so we were the group that had to, kind of, present on refugees. And, some people in my group I just found were so insensitive, that it was . . . like, it boiled my blood. But people were saying, like, oh these people shouldn't even be here, and these were people in my group. Like, . . . a couple . . . most of them, really, like, there was a group of maybe, six of us, and I would say the majority felt that way and they would say, like, they . . . why do we have to take them? Like, we need to take care of Canadians first. We should send them back to their country. And, then you see those comments online, so I guess that's why. (Quinn, Interview 2)

Clearly Quinn felt strongly about the negative aspects of immigration perceived by her peers and felt that her peers saw the privilege of being Canadian as their right, to the exclusion of others. Although it was clear that some participants recognised the limitation that existed about the conceptions of citizenship held by their peers, this participant also acknowledged the potential risk of challenging these privileged views. Quinn expressed how she struggled with trying to establish a sense of personal identity within a group of professional peers, by saying, "You adopt or allow certain actions to take place or be acceptable that you would otherwise not accept as an individual" (Quinn, Interview 2).

There was evidence of a small change in their ideas of Canadian privilege as they matured professionally and an increase in their interest in being involved as active participating citizens. A few stated that they became more "politically-driven [as they] got a bit older" (Mackenzie, Interview 2) or that they would become more interested in politics later on. It was also clear that participants saw the privilege of adding citizenship

(e.g., dual citizenship) to their existing global status but did not recognize that Canadian citizenship remained out of reach for many new immigrants. For example, Natalie was clearly struggling with her own personal privilege when she expressed how she strived to participate without being overly visible. She explained how she and her peers have the privilege to spend their "goods on local things to help their own country" (Natalie, Interview 2). This participant recognized this as a privilege to use her time and money in ways that contributed, but that they were not highly visible or personally risky. A common response among participants was to see participation as the act of volunteering while almost exclusively avoiding personal risk to their privileged status. Participants were, it seemed, strategically vague about commitments to social action as a citizen, as evidenced by the view that citizenship is, "taking a step forward to actually doing things about it" ["it" being social action] (Olivia, Interview 2). The inability to provide extensive examples of social action as a symbol of civic engagement appeared to address a lack of depth in their reflective responses. For example, one participant stated, "I don't know . . . following the laws . . . being involved" (Quinn, Interview 1) in response to a prompt about what she might do to act as a privileged Canadian in support of less privileged people.

Finally, examination of this theme of privilege revealed that pre-service teachers in this study struggled with concepts related to citizenship that may be linked to their lack of experience as one component of their growth as professionals. Participants in this study demonstrated weak conception regarding concepts of citizenship related to social action and social justice perhaps because they had never experienced some of the contentious issues that exist in society due to their personal positions of privilege. Most

of the pre-service teachers in this study admitted they were from middle-class families and had never experienced poverty, discrimination, or injustice. All the participants elected to study in Northern Ontario and were in a community that did not reflect much cultural diversity. Perhaps privilege as an underlying frame contributed to this particular cohort group's difficulty relating to situations that required advocacy and social action and led to some of the weak conceptions they had about citizenship. Fig. 5.1 presents some of the ways pre-service teachers in this study experienced citizenship as privilege.

Figure 7. Citizenship as privilege

In summary, the pre-service teachers expressed conceptions of citizenship as a privilege both explicitly and implicitly. While privilege was not a separate citizenship dimension, it appeared in the data as an important conceptual frame for how this particular cohort group experienced the concepts about citizenship. The concept of privilege appeared to overlap many of the other sub-themes.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the findings of the study. The demographic data was followed by the analysis of the transcripts, the concept maps, and the in-class observations, including comparisons of pre-and post-course conceptions. These data were analyzed using thematic reflection and a recursive process of analysis. The sub-research questions of how participants conceptualized citizenship, as well as where they believed they acquired their beliefs, conceptions, and understanding of the concept were presented through the sub-themes and the overarching theme of privilege. The sub-themes included place, legal dimensions (legal citizenship status v. non-citizenship status), socio-cultural dimensions, civic engagement, and civic orientations.

The findings in this study reveal that pre-service teachers in this particular group had a weak and immature understanding of the concepts related to citizenship that they were required to teach. The participants lacked experience with the concepts associated with citizenship. This was more evident at the beginning of the study than at the end. While there was some evidence of growth in their conceptual understanding and thus evidence of cognitive frames that became more sophisticated as the term progressed, it remains clear that pre-service teachers in this group continued to have a lack of understanding of key concepts they were required to teach.

Evidence suggests that pre-service teachers in this study make few references about citizenship related to collaboration within places where they lived and the groups they belonged to. Instead, most of the conceptions they held related to their local communities and local issues. They did not show evidence of understanding contentious global issues that could be related to the teaching of citizenship outside their local environments. There was also an absence of connections to interrelated components about ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic, and legal-political perspectives (Banks, 2017) when describing how they *belonged* to Canada. Participants in this group demonstrated a limited knowledge of legal and non-legal citizenship status. They understood that citizenship as a concept means that Canadians have inherent rights, but they limited this understanding to employment rights, healthcare rights, and the right to a passport rather than the right to apply for one. They did not show evidence of understanding more complex notions of rights through a political lens. The sense of pride and the concept of community as they relate to citizenship did appear to change from the beginning of the study to the end as they moved from a focus on personal pride to pride that included others outside of their local communities. The evidence suggests a shift as the term progressed from a passive notion of citizenship to a more active one more, focused on taking action.

The concept of identity is an important part of the group's conceptions of citizenship. However, it remains unsophisticated and superficial. None of the participants expressed how identity relates to their political or civic identities or how they saw themselves as agents of political action. Instead the focus on identity remained about how they saw themselves personally and was not related to the identity of any particular

group. While most stated that identity was part of their understanding of citizenship, participants in this study demonstrated "limited identities" (Igartua, 2006, p. 175) where broader, civic definitions of Canadian society are held to include whatever linguistic, cultural, or ethnic origins make up their identities. The pre-service teachers in this study did not appear to have fully internalized the values and symbols of Canada; they did not show a strong identity with Canada and did not demonstrate that they had acquired political efficacy. The participants in this study focused on their own needs and goals as new teachers rather than on the overarching goals of Canada and its education system (Banks, 2017). While the pre-service teachers increased their overall awareness of identity as an important concept of citizenship, they failed to address more complex notions of citizenship. Formal politics and concepts related to political advocacy were not part of the conceptual frames of citizenship for this group. References regarding politics and voting, while viewed as important forms of civic engagement, were only shared by a few participants and not by the entire group. Pre-service teachers in this study overwhelmingly saw volunteering at the local level as an important part of civic engagement. It is also evident that pre-service teachers in this cohort group shared limited concepts, beliefs, or ideas related to civil society organisations. They referenced the ME to WE campaigns as their only example of such activism.

As a group, the pre-service teachers in this study held immature conceptions of citizenship at the beginning of the term. However, they developed a more sophisticated understanding of citizenship based on the direct modeling by practicing and experienced teachers during their practicum placements. Their cognitive frames also developed when explicit instruction by the teacher educator in the Social Studies course addressed some

of the more contentious conceptions and when peer groups were allowed to share their thoughts and ideas about more complex issues related to citizenship.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

6.0 Introduction

The pre-service teachers in this study held weak conceptions of citizenship (Dower, 2000; Goodman, Bastedo, LeDuc, & Pammett, 2012; Oxley & Morris, 2013). More importantly, these weak conceptions related to the concepts prescribed in the Ontario Social Studies curriculum, a document outlining citizenship expectations that they were to be required to teach. The participants did not attend to a critical stance, and the data suggests that notions of privilege were uncovered as an over-arching theme. These appear to permeate the sub-themes relating to dimensions of place, socio-cultural contexts, legal dimensions, civic engagement, and civic orientations.

This chapter will begin by describing the weak conceptions the pre-service teachers held both at the beginning and at the end of the Social Studies course with reference to the elementary curriculum they were to be required to teach. Next, I will present how privilege appears throughout the data and discuss the sub-themes in relation to current literature in teacher education within a Canadian context. The information in the discussion will assist future teacher educators in their quest to improve teacher education by addressing some of the gaps in the pre-service teachers' understanding, challenging the neophyte teachers' ideas about citizenship, and suggesting targeted instruction to address the gaps that existed in the conceptions of the pre-service teacher candidates studied. This discussion has potent implications for initial teacher preparation programs in Ontario.

6.1 The Streetlight Effect on Citizenship

In the data in this study, it was evident that a majority of the participants held superficial and simplistic conceptual frames related to citizenship both at the beginning and at the end of their Social Studies course. The metaphor in the title represents the social sciences anecdote used by A. Kaplan (1964), referred to as *the principle of the drunkard's search*, also known as *the streetlight effect*. It stems from a joke from the 1920s:

> A policeman sees a drunk man searching for something under a streetlight and asks what the drunk has lost. He says he lost his keys and they both look under the streetlight together. After a few minutes the policeman asks if he is sure he lost them here, and the drunk replies, no, and that he lost them in the park. The policeman asks why he is searching here, and the drunk replies, 'this is where the light is.' (Freedman, 2010, p. 1)

According to the streetlight effect there is a tendency for people to search in the easiest of places rather than in the places that are the most likely to yield the desired results. The original anecdote comes from the ideas of an inebriated person seeking car keys under a streetlamp because the light is better instead of searching where he most likely lost his keys. In this case, it appeared that much of what the teacher candidates shared about their understanding was *under the streetlight*; their understanding of citizenship was superficial and was easily retrieved in hopes of satisfying the expectations of the researcher. The findings in this study are consistent with the current literature. Researchers have uncovered that pre-service teachers have preconceived notions about citizenship (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008) and lack the intellectual

dispositions (Journell, 2013) imperative to developing into teachers who value social activism and raising critical consciousness of 21st Century learners (Colley, 2017). Journell (2013) demonstrated how most teacher education programs "faintly monitor" (p. 157) whether pre-service teachers have the necessary content knowledge and argued that this is detrimental to their preparation for teaching controversial issues and democratic decision-making that rest on this knowledge.

Teachers who lack such intellectual dispositions or whose conceptions reflect a lack of experience may not be prepared to challenge the thinking of their students if their own thinking is deficient of the content knowledge that they will be required to teach. This was evident when many participants responded to prompts with the full admission that they were unable to provide examples of their understanding of citizenship. Most of the participants used single words to represent the understanding on concept maps and many were unable to elaborate on the meanings when asked to provide additional context or examples of what they meant during the interviews. For example, most participants included words like *belonging*, *nationality*, or *immigration* in their concept maps. They recognized these words as important components in the field of citizenship but could not explain what these terms meant to them. Similarly, many pre-service teachers stated that they did not feel confident in the examples and ideas they were expressing., especially at the beginning of the study. Although the group of participants alluded to categories of citizenship that are reflected in current literature about the concept, the lack of detail in the descriptions they provided and their own admission of ignorance was evidence of their weak conceptions of citizenship.

6.2 Roots and Shoots of Citizenship

Roots and Shoots is used to describe how as citizens we set down roots, we go back to our roots, and we seek out the root of our problems. Citizens have deeply rooted beliefs that ground their thinking and their actions. Shoots are when the stem grows and sprouting leads to flowering and branching out to potential fruition. As citizens we might branch out and expand our thinking when the conditions are supportive. The old adage *we reap what we sow* holds true both for plants and for citizenship beliefs. In order to better understand the dimensions of where citizens are in their growth cycles various scholars have developed frameworks. Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) described three kinds of citizens in democratic societies: personally responsible citizens, participatory citizens, and justice-oriented citizens. They developed this framework to order diverse perspectives. Others (see, for example, Peterson, 2009) also identified an active understanding of citizenship as incorporating commitment to four inter-related principles:

- Citizens possess and should recognize certain civic obligations;
- Citizens must develop an awareness of the common good which exists over and above their private self-interests;
- Citizens must possess and act in accordance with civic virtue; and
- Civic engagement in democracy should incorporate a deliberative aspect.

(Peterson, 2009, p. 57)

In this study, participants gave evidence of two of the three of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004a) perspectives of citizenship. Their conceptions attended almost exclusively to the personally responsible citizen and the participatory citizen. The pre-service teachers admitted that their own experience as students influenced the

cognitive frames they held about citizenship. In the current Ontario Social Studies curriculum in Grades 1-8 the primary focus is on both personally responsible and participatory citizenship. It does little to address social action and social justice. According to the Ontario Ministry of Education (2018), the Social Studies 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 . . . The curriculum recognizes that the needs of learners are diverse and helps all learners develop the knowledge, skills, and perspectives they need to become informed, productive, caring, responsible, and active citizens in their own communities and in the world. (p. 3)

The goals in Social Studies, history, and geography, and all the subjects in Canadian and World Studies as outlined in Ontario's Social Sciences curriculum guidelines envision students realizing the potential of the program as they:

- Develop the ability to use the concepts of disciplinary thinking to investigate issues, events, and developments;
- Develop the ability to determine and apply appropriate criteria to evaluate information and evidence and to make judgements;
- Develop skills and personal attributes that are needed for discipline-specific inquiry and that can be transferred to other areas in life;
- Build collaborative and cooperative working relationships; and
- Use appropriate technology as a tool to help them gather and analyze information, solve problems, and communicate. (p. 6)

The pre-service teachers in this study shared that they do in fact hold cognitive frames influenced by their own educational experiences where the goal was to develop citizens who are "informed, productive, caring, responsible, and active citizens in their own communities and in the world" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 6). With the exclusion of the "world" reference, the participants in this study reflected some of the expectations set out by the Ontario curriculum. However, the pre-service teachers showed limited evidence of a critical stance when understanding the role of citizenship in society. The participants provided few examples of agency. While most of the Ontario Ministry of Education expectations attend to the personally responsible and participatory citizenship dimensions, a few expectations are intended to help foster social action and social justice. For example, in Grade 6, students are asked to meet the following expectation:

- B1.2 analyse responses of Canadian governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and individual citizens to an economic, environmental, political, and/or social issue of international significance. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 132)

The Ontario Ministry of Education (2018) Social Studies document outlines examples that might help address this expectation specifically. For example, students can explore how the federal government, different NGOs, business-people, and individual consumers have responded to economic globalization. They can explore how different levels of government, health care workers, and individual citizens responded to the spread of H1N1 or SARS or how governments, development and human rights NGOs, and individuals, including students in their school, have responded to issues such as a natural disasters in other regions, child labour, child soldiers, climate change, or civil war and

refugees (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018). However, in only one instance during classroom observations did the pre-service teachers discuss citizenship in terms of human rights and ways they might teach their future students about child labour (i.e., the Iqbal novel study reference).

Viewing the pre-service teachers' conceptions of citizenship through Peterson's (2009) framework, only the first three of his principles were addressed and these only sparingly. As a group they vaguely provided evidence of the "deliberative discourse" (p. 57) of citizenship envisioned by Peterson. As indicated previously, the pre-service teachers in this study held a superficial understanding of what it means to be an engaged citizen and these limited conceptions do not reflect the expectations set out in the Ontario Ministry of Education's expectations for the elementary students they were to teach. While some of the participants possessed and recognized certain civic obligations like voting, most saw their civic obligations tied to volunteering in their local communities. As a group they did not understand citizenship as engagement through formal politics or political advocacy. None of the participants expressed participating in civil society organizations (Sears, 2014). The Ontario Ministry of Education's vision for the social studies, history, geography, and Canadian and World Studies programs is to

> enable students to become responsible, active citizens within the diverse communities to which they belong. 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. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 6)

Pre-service teachers need to understand concepts related to civic engagement that at a minimum address some of the expectations set out in the curriculum.

Overall, pre-service teachers in this study had cognitive frames that were influenced by the prior knowledge gained from their home environments, specifically by their parents. Their cognitive frames were also influenced by experiential knowledge over the course of their formal schooling, including the time spent in the pre-service Social Studies course, and to a lesser degree by the media. If teacher education programs have as a goal to support the development of sophisticated conceptions of citizenship that foster greater civic agency, it is critical to recognize these influences along with the shortcomings when designing Social Studies courses in an initial teacher education program.

6.3 Unpacking the Pre-service Teachers' Invisible Knapsack

Privilege as a conception of citizenship is the most significant finding in this research. Participants saw privilege as a benefit of citizenship and they also expressed the underlying privilege they experienced as a group. The title *Unpacking the Pre-service Teachers' Invisible Knapsack* refers to the seminal work of feminist scholar Peggy McIntosh, who identified a long list of societal privileges she received simply because she was White (Gilmore, 2014). McIntosh described her sense of privilege as follows:

> I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible, weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, codes, code books, passports, visas, clothes, compasses, emergency gear, and blank checks . . . special circumstances

> and conditions I experience which I did not earn but which I have been made to feel are mine by birth, by citizenship, and by virtue of being a conscientious law-abiding 'normal' person of good will. (McIntosh, 1989, p. 1)

The concept of privilege was evident in all the sub-themes derived from the pre-service teachers' understanding of citizenship. It was demonstrated in their perception of their own rights and privileges as Canadian citizens, through the limited ways they understood the rights of others, and through their underlying privileged positions in Canadian society. Frequently documented in the literature, pre-service teachers are described as "White, female, white middle-class, monolingual and from suburban home environments" (Haddix, 2015, p. 65). Those in this study reflected this description. They understood that citizens enjoy rights and privileges that are often unavailable to non-citizens (Gee, Morey, Walsemann, Ro, & Takeuchi, 2016). When discussing citizenship and what it meant to them, it was clear that their focus was exclusively on how they benefited personally from these rights and privileges. Their responses about their own identities, their sense of place, citizenship engagement, and civic orientations all reflected an understanding of citizenship influenced by their invisible privilege.

The concept of privilege was overtly understood as something to be earned. The pre-service teachers in this study felt that belonging to a community was a privilege rather than that of a state of being. For example, Brandon stated that citizenship means "that it doesn't matter where you are in the world, um, you know, race, ethnicity, culture, anything, when you have some sort of citizenship somewhere, whether it's one or two, uh, it's an identity. It's something that's a part of you . . . and hard for someone to take it away from you" (Brandon, Interview 1). They saw privilege as something to be earned

when they shared how they could contribute to making Canada a better place for all, while their sense of belonging continued to be directly linked to the privilege one could receive by being included in particular groups. For example, many shared how fortunate they were to belong to Canada and that new immigrants and refugees were fortunate because they too would be able to enjoy some of this privilege once it was obtained. One participant said, "It's a pass that welcomes you into a country. Your ticket in!" (Mackenzie, Interview 1). They did not make any references to the challenges associated with leaving one's homeland in search of a better life. In the eyes of the pre-service teachers, being a new immigrant to Canada was tied to naïve notions that once you were accepted into Canada all would be well.

As a group, the participants did not consider how their position of privilege impacted their own access to particular rights and privileges, nor did they acknowledge how some groups in Canada might not have the same experience. They did not perceive any barriers to employment or educational attainment; as a group they were all looking forward to careers as teachers. They did not acknowledge their own privileged position in their ability to gain employment in Canada.

There is evidence that pre-service teachers in this study understood there are a variety of rights that accrue to citizens, including political rights, civil rights, and social rights. However, when this group responded to prompts to explain what rights citizens hold, their explanations lacked depth. They made no specific mention of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms , which "protects those basic rights and freedoms of all Canadians that are considered essential to preserving Canada as a free and democratic country" (Constitution Act, 1982). The participants did not include protection of:

- equality rights for all;
- the official languages of Canada;
- minority language education rights
- Canada's multicultural heritage; and
- Indigenous peoples' rights.

Many of the concepts they shared were privileges and would not be considered rights under Canadian law (e.g., healthcare rights). Instead, their examples and reflections were comparable to brainstormed lists and were egocentric in nature, focusing on how they benefited personally from having those rights (e.g., right to education). The pre-service teachers all possessed the right to participate fully in the civic community of the country (Banks, 2017), yet most in this study expressed how they did not exercise their right to vote. Not voting at this particular time in the pre-service teachers' lives might also be attributed to living outside of their home jurisdiction, even though they could have requested to do so.

DeJaeghere's (2018) work supports the findings in this study that identified some of the notions of privilege that exist among both experienced teachers and less experienced teachers. He noted the disparity in citizenship conceptions of some educators between their conceptions of their own identity and conceptions related to an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) at the global level. Anderson (1991), explored the connection between the idea of the nation-state and the privilege and power to act and engage at the international or global level.

This ability to image a global community and to commit to action in support of enriching that community was not evident in the study data as a whole. One participant

was the exception; her conceptions were likely an outcome of her own immigrant experience. The remainder of the participant group in this study founded their conceptions of citizenship on the premise of the privilege of their Canadian identity. This premise led them to conceive of that identity as status, personally relevant, and providing the benefit of belonging on a belonging/exclusion continuum. When probed for examples of citizenship concepts, many of their examples focused on current world events (e.g., a refugee crisis that was heavily covered in the media) rather than being founded in deeply held beliefs, enriched by a variety of experiences.

Another important finding related to the pre-service teachers' conceptions of privilege was that they held limited recognition of marginalized groups. The Council of Europe (2008) stated that "whilst every individual, to a certain extent, is a product of his or her heritage and social background, in contemporary modern democracies everyone can enrich his or her own identity by integrating different cultural affiliations" (p. 18). This participant group was very homogenous; they were from Caucasian middle-class backgrounds and none of the participants self-identified as being a member of a minority group. The participants as a group did not appear to see the rights of *others* as an important component of Canadian citizenship. The theme of privilege appeared as the participants did not discuss the rights of visible minorities, homosexuals, or other minority groups. This perhaps reflected the "institutionalization of whiteness and the systemic factors that underscore its continued dominance," (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005, p. 147), also referred to in the literature as "white privilege" (p. 147), in teacher education in Northern Ontario. Going forward, it might be important to provide teacher candidates with opportunities to interrogate some of their prior knowledge,

experience, and ideas regarding varied racial and ethnic groups as well as their understanding of the ways in which these perceptions may inform their future work in the schools. This could become an entry point into discussions about privilege and oppression when exploring the rights of Canadians (Solomon et al., 2005).

As a group, the participants did not acknowledge how non-citizens might encounter discrimination. Their sense of privilege as a group was evident when they did not acknowledge any discrimination that exists in Canada. This was evident as only one participant of 20 mentioned racism as a challenge for some new immigrants. These findings are consistent with previous studies in Canadian pre-service teacher education literature (Levine-Rasky, 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Rezai-Rashti & Solomon, 2004) that presented a number of critical issues surrounding pre-service teachers and their relationship with social difference, "and more specifically, race, and Whiteness in education" (Solomon & Daniel, 2015, p. 194). Levine-Rasky (1998, 2000a, 2000b) found that pre-service teachers' negotiation of social difference was replete with tensions, contradictions, and inconsistencies based on their individual identities, social locations, and value systems. Schick (2000) demonstrated inconsistencies and contradictions in the way White pre-service teachers "profess liberalism and distance from racism while engaging in discursive repertoires that maintain and reproduce race dominance" (p. 194). None of the participants brought attention to the culture of their cohort group, nor did they draw any association between membership in a dominant social group and any advantages it may provide. When asked about where their conceptions of citizenship might come from, they were "markedly inattentive to the social contexts giving rise to relative circumstances of privilege and disempowerment" (Levine-Rasky, 2000b, p. 278).

This inattention to privilege was also present when referencing citizenship rights. The participants in this study did not consider the rights of minority groups in Canada. As a group they did not address the rights of Indigenous people, despite the fact that their university has more than 600 self-identified First Nations, Inuit, Métis students enrolled in their program and its campus partner college. The university is situated on the traditional territory of a particular First Nation. This omission may indicate what Rowinski and Sears (2019) called "privileged ambivalence and mythic nationalistic sincerity," expressing that this "should offer collective concern" (p. 1). Rowinski and Sears (2019) believed that

> given the current climate of public history debates in Canada, the United States, and around the world, that it is important to assess how prepared public education and teachers of social studies and history are to deal with discussions about decolonization and contested histories with young people. (p. 1)

This concern also existed with the pre-service teachers in this study, as many were to be charged with the responsibility of teaching citizenship without a clear understanding of the inherent rights of all citizens; this is fundamental to education in Canada.

With these omissions there appears to be a need for culturally responsive practice in teaching where pre-service teachers can reassess their place in history as situated within colonization. They must also take up the challenge to "expand their sociocultural consciousness" (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 22). Ladson-Billings (1995) proposed the implementation of "culturally focused pedagogy" within teacher education, believing that such a theoretical model "not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that

challenge inequities" (p. 469) that institutions like universities perpetuate. Stark and Fickel (2015) highlighted that "to enact this 'culturally-focused pedagogy' teacher educators must have the resonant socio-cultural knowledge of their communities, as well as the desire and skills to utilise this knowledge within their curriculum decision-making" (p. 9).

Battiste (2013) acknowledged that "any attempt to decolonize education and actively resist colonial paradigms is a complex and daunting task" (p. 186). She believed that teachers must reject colonial curricula that offer students a fragmented and distorted picture of Indigenous peoples, instead giving students a critical perspective of the historical context that created that fragmentation. Teacher educators must help pre-service teachers understand the "Eurocentric assumptions of superiority with the context of history and recognize the continued dominance of these assumptions in all forms of contemporary knowledge" (p. 186). One way to do this is to provide classroom exercises that allow pre-service teachers to disrupt and resist dominant Western pedagogies and consider "education within the context of Indigeneity and Indigenous knowledges, as well as opening up opportunities for critically examining the various complex layers and tensions inherent in historical and colonial relations" (Styres, 2017, p. 195). If pre-service teachers understand the privilege they experience and become aware of the centrality of land and ecology in "Indigenous mindscapes as they learn about the history of colonization that shattered sustainable ways of life" (p. 197), there is the potential for a substantial paradigm shift in educational opportunities (Marker, 2019) that might address some of the issues related to privilege and contribute to deepened cognitive frames about citizenship.

The pre-service teachers in this study had conceptual frames that were influenced by their own experiences. Many in the study expressed how their school experiences, along with their parents and the media, influenced how they understood citizenship. Participants identified the role of the family in fostering some of their conceptions. According to Solomon et al. (2005) it is important to recognize the centrality of parents in shaping the beliefs and conceptions of their children; however, "while the success of the students becomes attributable to parental involvement, so too is their failure" (p. 162). In this study it was clear that parents shared their beliefs about the importance of being a *good citizen* by following the rules and demonstrating good character traits; however, they may have not provided opportunities for their children to question some of the injustices in society. Instead, the participants in this study believed they were fortunate to have great families who taught them to be good citizens, never questioning their inherent privilege.

Within teacher education research, privilege has typically been ignored. In critical research privilege has been studied as if "separate from systems, structures, and ideologies of injustice" (Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, 2012, p. 188). Many of the pre-service teachers in this study were unaware of any injustices and therefore lacked the habits of mind to engage in the civic activism or social justice the curriculum demands. Privilege is deeply entrenched in the minds of pre-service teachers. This has implications for teacher educators to accept their responsibility to "provoke in relatively privileged audiences a sense of collective responsibility to act" (Stoudt et al., 2012, p. 189). This study has identified the conceptions pre-service teachers had about citizenship but, perhaps most

importantly, it has uncovered the need to interrupt the conception of privilege to awaken a sense of shared responsibility for positive social change.

6.4 The Allegory of the Cave: Reality is Shaped by Experience

Plato, one of history's most famous and earliest philosophers, explored questions about how citizens interpret reality in his famous *Allegory of the Cave* in Book VII of the Republic. The story begins with a scene painted of a group of prisoners who have lived chained to the wall of a dark cave their entire lives. They see human beings as though they were "in an underground cave-like dwelling with its entrance, a long one, open to the light across the whole width of the cave. They are in it from childhood with their legs and necks in bonds so that they are fixed, seeing only in front of them, unable because of the bond to turn their head all the way around". (Plato as cited in Oshin, 2019, p. 1) Shadows are projected on a blank wall and every day the citizens see only the image projected on the cave wall. For these prisoners, these shadows are for all intents and purposes real and they shape their entire reality. Now imagine that one of the prisoners escapes from the cave and walks outside into the sunshine to see the real world. For the first time exposure to light allows him to see the *true* forms of the shadows he once believed were real. In this Allegory, Socrates asks Plato what the released prisoner would think of those still back in the cave. He would likely feel sorry for them and their limited reality. If he returned to the cave and told the other prisoners about what he saw, they would probably ridicule him and think he was crazy. "Plato's Allegory of the Cave explores the tension between the imagined reality that we think is 'real' (shadows) versus the reality that is the 'truth' (outside the cave)" (Oshin, 2019, p. 1)

Much of what influences our cognitive frames is based on our exposure and experience. In this study the participants saw citizenship as deeply connected to *place*. Where they were born and where they were from shaped their understanding of citizenship. Place appeared in most of the participants' concept maps and interviews during the initial part of the study and is part of the first sub-theme uncovered from the categories of descriptions. While many mentioned their own understanding of citizenship with notions of where they were from, none of them mentioned how ideas or connections of place might influence others (e.g., immigrants, First Nations People). Like the Allegory of the Cave, the participants' reality was based on what they had experienced. Their beliefs about place changed somewhat by the end of the study. In the post- course interviews, place decreased in group resonance and frequency in the concept maps. In the second phase of the interviews their beliefs and conceptions appeared to change to include conceptions of place that encompassed a more global perspective. They had stepped out of the cave into the sunshine.

Once a person steps out into the sunshine to a broader view, perceptions change. While the participants' concept maps continued to show a lack of detail, their conceptions about place in the post-interview phase demonstrated a less insular egocentric notion of their own experience as Canadians who were born in Canada. This indicated an increase in their overall awareness of citizenship. In the second iteration, the data revealed a connection not only to one's birthplace as a concept of citizenship, but also to a variety of places. The idea appeared that place can reflect a broader understanding of the fluidity of citizenship (e.g., one can be from one place and yet identify as a citizen of another place). Practicing teachers work with a variety of students from a wide variety of circumstances

and backgrounds who may or may not share the same concepts related to place as an aspect of citizenship. These students need teachers who are able to understand various perspectives. Also, the Ontario curriculum requires that students as young as Grade 1 meet the following curricular expectation in the Inquiry: Interrelationships and Their Impact strand: "What types of organizations existed in the past, or exist now, to help new immigrants in Canada?" It is important that teacher education programs attend to this superficial understanding and provide their pre-service teachers with knowledge to help their future students meet these expectations.

The concept of place appears to be an unsophisticated conception of citizenship for pre-service teachers. As stated early in the findings, the pre-service teachers made no mention of ideas, or problems in their living environment at the local or global level (Atzmanstorfer et al., 2014). They did not mention place in terms of how "communities and citizens [can] participate in planning processes aiming at empowering them to better manage their living environments" (Atzmanstorfer et al., p. 248). Perhaps an important consideration for pre-service programs is to provide opportunities for candidates to engage in exercises that model how teachers might explore concepts related to culture and diversity and the challenges that communities face in the 21st Century.

6.5 We're not in Kansas Anymore: Changes in Perspectives

The pre-service teachers in this study had conceptions about citizenship that were part of the social-cultural dimension sub-theme, which included evidence linked to their sense of pride, belonging, community, and culture. They showed evidence of some change in their beliefs and ideas over the term of the study. In the pre-course concept maps and interviews many conceptions like identity and belonging focused on their own

personal experiences and perspectives. However, it is evident that through their practicums and through their experiences in the Social Studies course their beliefs about citizenship changed to reflect a greater awareness of varying perspectives. The title *We're not in Kansas Anymore* refers to the pop culture classic The Wizard of Oz, where the main character Dorothy goes on a journey of self-discovery. Through a variety of transformational events and relationships she encounters the great Wizard of Oz. This moment of self-realization transformed her and led down the path of self-discovery about who she was and the responsibilities she had to those around her. As in Dorothy's transformational experience, participants in my study began to recognize that their identities could be simultaneously local and global. They began to see citizenship through various expanded lenses that could include those of their future students. For example, some participants identified as being both Northern Ontarians and part of their family's ethnic origins (e.g., "I guess I'm a Northerner, but I'm also an Italian too, because of my family") (Olivia, Interview 1).

The sense of pride as it related to citizenship also changed from the beginning of the Social Studies course to the end. The participants' understanding of pride developed from one focused on personal pride to "something to be proud of and share" (Quinn, Interview 1) with others and put on "display" (Brandon, Interview 2). As with their sense of community and belonging, there appeared to be a change in the pre-service teachers' notions of citizenship from passive to active as the term progressed. At the beginning of the study, they felt proud to be Canadian and by the end of the study they explored how to show pride in things that they do as Canadians. Even with this small shift, the pre-

service teachers were unable to explain why they felt pride in being Canadian. This supports the conclusion that their cognitive frames were superficial.

The concept of identity appeared to develop more than the concepts of place, community, and belonging over the nine weeks of their course. Several participants discussed how identity and, more specifically their Canadian identity, was part of their understanding of citizenship. At the end of the course they were able to provide more detailed descriptions of how identity influenced their ideas about citizenship. They came to understand identity as being fluid, where one's identity could shift. They were able to provide some examples. Although identity as a conceptual frame changed to include more sophisticated conceptions (e.g., providing examples to illustrate their sense of connectedness to local, national, and global communities), at the end of the study the participants did not show evidence of being able to explore the moral and ethical dimensions of developments, events, and issues related to identity and citizenship. These dimensions are but some of the concepts that they were to be required to teach in Ontario schools.

Teachers in Ontario are required to attend to citizenship concepts related to the socio-cultural sub-theme. Concepts related to identity, belonging, community, and place are present in the six concepts of social studies thinking: significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, patterns and trends, interrelationships, and perspective. These underpin all thinking and learning in social studies (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018).

Students in the elementary grades explore connections within and between natural and human systems, including how they adapt to and have an impact on one

another. They explore various components within a system, interactions between components of a system, and relationships between systems. According to the Ontario Ministry of Education's (2018) social studies curriculum, students undertake some of the following inquiries:

- In what ways do people and the natural and built features of our community work together to help meet the needs of the community? (Grade 1, Overview)
- What does the Inuksuk tell you about the relationships between Inuit societies, the land, and the environment? (Grade 4, A2 .4)
- Which level or levels of government should address the issue of the sale and export of spring water from Ontario? (Grade 5, B1 .3)
- Why does the issue of invasive species require action at the international level? (Grade 6, B1 .3)

If pre-service teachers showed little evidence of being able to explore ideas related to citizenship that interrogated the moral and ethical dimensions of developments, events, and issues, how might they lead their students to the complex conceptions and knowledge required in the curriculum? Pre-service teachers must develop the skills and knowledge needed to lead learning about critical issues related to the moral and ethical issues inherent in fostering agency. This will in turn allow them to support their students to explore solutions to complex problems (e.g., invasive species and international implications or the controversial issues surrounding the sale of fresh water).

6.5 Discussion in Relation to Current Literature

In the sections that follow, I will discuss the findings in relation to various aspects of the current literature: curricular framework; how the form of government in the nation influences how citizens conceptualize citizenship; citizenship as civil, social, economic, and educational; and the tension between national identity and global-mindedness.

6.5.1 Curricular framework.

The current study was undertaken to investigate the nature of pre-service teachers' conceptions of citizenship and to compare growth in conceptions that may be attributable to their Social Studies course in the pre-service program. The specific research questions for this study included:

1. How do pre-service teachers understand citizenship?
2. What are the factors that influence the cognitive frames that pre-service teachers hold?

The curriculum guidelines in Ontario include a Citizenship Framework as presented in the previous chapter. This framework outlines four conceptions that permeate specific learning expectations throughout each unit of study contained in the guideline. An intention of this research was to explore conceptions and analyze these conceptions against the Citizenship Framework. The Citizenship Framework promotes almost exclusively personally responsible citizenship and participatory citizenship (see Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a). Specific learning expectations within units promote engagement with the community, with a focus on improving the community. However,

the guideline lacks direction for teachers to engage their students in deep engagement in contentious, and controversial situations. This finding was similar to findings by Cohen (2013) who found in interviews with various teachers using a case study approach that, while teachers wanted to promote participatory citizenship with students, each participant emphasized a very different aspect of participation. Those aspects ranged from building trust in a political system, to promoting civic participation including being active in the community, to classroom-based critical thinking exercises that sought to expose critical values. In the current study data, participants' understanding of their range of choices for actualizing their citizenship at the participatory level was very limited and dependent on the existence of well-known and high- profile organizations (e.g., ME to WE) with very specific agendas of service.

In my data, it was evident that pre-service teachers had not been reflective enough nor had they engaged in enough cognitive challenge exercises to question their own beliefs. This deficiency could be expected to lead to similar discussion-limiting outcomes in their future classrooms. To expand on pre-service teachers' conceptions of citizenship it will be necessary to support their exploration of the contradictions that exist in guideline mandates. Sim (2011) highlighted similar contradictions in the social studies curriculum in Singapore schools noting the existence of the notion of educating towards liberal citizenship on the one hand, while developing citizens who at the same time are loyal to the national identity (Sim, 2011). It was evident in the current study data that pre-service teachers envisioned using the curriculum guidelines while adapting key ideas and approaches to use the guideline differently based on their own views (see also İnce, 2012). Since a goal of teacher education is to, "guide pre-service teachers through

'difficult knowledge' or knowledge about inequity, racism, and global injustice" (Hayback & Sheffield, 2011 p. 486) teacher educators need to continue to re-conceptualize, interrogate, and present conflicting forms of citizenship views to enrich classroom discussions and cause pre-service teachers to extend their own conceptions and pedagogical competencies.

It is important for pre-service teachers to develop complex conceptual knowledge about citizenship as the richness of their conceptions relates to their beliefs and their instructional actions in a professional context.

Teachers' beliefs inform their practices but can also cause them to shut down democratic discussions of conceptions in the classroom if they are sources of personal discomfort and challenges to the teachers' beliefs. The stability of personal beliefs and subject confidence the teacher holds may impact how teachers of civics and citizenship concepts respond to challenges and democratic discussions of concepts and other alternative views that challenge the teachers' taken- for-granted conceptions of citizenship (Cohen, 2013; Kiwan, 2008). Such challenges to personal beliefs are even more problematic for pre-service teachers, as the current study shows the simplistic nature of participant pre-service teachers' conceptions. The citizenship skills proposed by Robertson (2008), including the skills of deliberation, negotiation/bargaining, and activism, need to be taught to pre-service teachers at both the knowledge and pedagogical content levels to help reduce personal discomfort and to allow them to examine where they are comfortable questioning their own beliefs to support later instructional efforts. Similarly, pre-service teachers need to question the weaknesses of action-oriented citizenship concepts. As stated by Castro (2013), these weaknesses include the

> fear to question the institutions in the community and how such institutions perpetuate any inequities that limit the realization of democracy and [connecting] the actions of citizens to achieve more personal goals rather than the aims of social justice. (p. 237)

This statement by Castro (2013) highlights trends found in my data, as participants focused on the achievement of personal goals, maintaining their own privileged position to the exclusion of the conceptions related to social justice.

6.5.2 Form of government in the nation influences how citizens conceptualize citizenship.

Government and citizenship experience influence pre-service teachers' views. This in turn can impact their future students' views. Nation-specific experiences with democratic or non-democratic processes, including the abuse of democratic processes, impact educators' views of citizenship and may interfere with their willingness to challenge the status quo. Citizenship conceptions have been a "dramatically evolving, geographically and historically specific concept" and have recently become a "center of debates on globalization" (Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 25). Global events, including travel, social media, and global issues such as national and international politics, international trade, and climate change have affected social relationships on a global level (Giddens, 1990). In the data from this study, pre-service teachers had at least a superficial awareness of these issues. Although they mentioned such issues in their conceptions of citizenship, the responses in their concept maps failed to connect these ideas in a way that would operationalize a sophisticated citizenship framework. Instead, in alignment with the findings of Szelényi and Rhoads (2007), the participants were aware of an "expanded

geographic scope of belonging, allegiance, and participation in an increasing global space" (p. 25) but lacked practical experience with participation. Similarly, these participants lacked a sense of their instructional role as transmitters of culture on a global scale, rarely recognizing themselves as "students with a sense of globally informed nationalism/regionalism [who] also recognize[ed] their role as transmitters of their cultures in a foreign land and spoke of themselves as cultural mediators" (Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 40).

Consistent with the findings of this study, Tonon (2012) identified a preoccupation with government-secured rights of citizens as opposed to the obligations of citizens. In speaking of the rights of identity, security, and protection, Tonon stated that

> if the owner of citizenship is a legal subject with rights and obligations, these rights can only be guaranteed in a political community and, in this sense, citizenship must be understood as the product of social relations and the practice of these rights in the public sphere. (p. 14)

Citizenship conceptions need to be more deliberate and extend beyond the citizenship rights to identity and protective factors that only serve to reinforce the privilege the participant group expressed. Conceptions of citizenship often reflect this duality between the individual and the collective, and the liberal individual versus the civic republican conception. In Metzger (2002) a liberal citizenship discourse is highlighted as it seems more appropriate for a pluralistic society, since a liberal approach promotes inclusion rather than exclusion of its citizens. While the data in my study shows evidence of pre-service teachers' beliefs in liberal citizenship, their conceptions of actions and proposals for personal citizenship involvement did not necessarily reflect their stated conceptions.

This finding seems to be consistent with the findings of Colley (2017), who pointed out the need for a citizenship conception that connected personal agency to democratic participation. Similarly, Castro (2013), Koutselini (2008), and Parker (2003) all addressed the interracial diversity tensions that are evident in the polar extreme visions of citizenship, with Parker (2003) promoting the practice of "listening across differences" (p. 223).

Researchers have worked to uncover the attributes, skills and dispositions, allegiances, and awareness levels of citizens in a democracy. This has resulted in binaries that define citizens in a variety of ways. For example, Castro (2013) defined citizens by allegiance and integration from a conservative-based perspective. In contrast, he also proposed awareness-based definitions of citizenship and loyalty centred citizenship where citizens are aware of the issues and concerns within a democracy. With this wide range of conceptions related to citizenship in the research, it is not surprising that the pre-service teachers have a superficial understanding of these conceptions and that these tend toward the more egocentric goals.

6.5.3 Citizenship as civil, social, economic, and educational.

Several studies have provided opportunities for new researchers to conceptualize a continuum of action from personally responsible citizen to participatory citizen that continues towards social action and social justice. Szelényi and Rhoads (2007) proposed four spheres of influence of citizenship: civil, social, economic, and educational (see also Koutselini, 2008). By considering these two conceptions together, researchers can identify dimensions of action in four areas of influence.

Although the sample of participants in this study reflected very clear limits in their conceptions as they extended to global responsibilities, many provided several examples of conceptions related to global rights, particularly the advantage advanced education gave them to seek economic advantage in other countries. Notably, they rarely spoke of the civic or social advantages of global citizenship. In contrast, another study of undergraduate students' conceptions of citizenship categorised conceptions into three visions of citizenship, all with global dimensions. Szelényi and Rhoads (2007) identified three conceptions of citizenship in undergraduate students. These included globalising rights and responsibilities, globally informed nationalism/regionalism, and free marketeering. Free marketeering conceptions emphasized economic aspects of citizenship, but they were expressed only by three participants in that study, each of whom was a foreign student in an American school. The concept of free marketeering related to citizenship was focused on " their desire to attain certain privileges for themselves and their families" (p. 41) through enhanced professional opportunities that would provide a road to financial success. As with the current sample, the participants in the study were "focused on individuals, not on countries" (p. 41). In other research, Koutselini (2008) found that participants in pre-service teacher education programs were more focused on the social and educational dimensions of citizenship. Koutselini attributed the strength of these trends to the contentious historical duality of citizens in the country in which the research was conducted. These two studies, while different in context to the current study, showed similar limitations to the breadth of the conceptions in contrast to the conceptual models proposed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) . This finding is somewhat surprising as pre-service teachers in the current context also

referenced a sense of belonging to contexts outside of Canada, whether as a global citizen or in a regional sense of citizenship, sometimes simply as an extension of their local or national citizenship status in relation to opinions regarding global issues (DeJaeghere, 2018).

6.5.4 Tension between national identity and global-mindedness.

I have already noted that data from this study showed students' appreciation of the safety of the collective, which they have by virtue of their own Canadian citizenship and the privileges it affords. "I'll just scoot on over there and work" (Emma-Eliana, Interview 1) was a statement that exemplified the theme of privilege. In this research pre-service teachers saw the advantages of group protection because they were Canadian citizens. Other studies (see, for example, Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007) found that citizenship conceptions related to the right to international movement, economic and career advantages of citizenship portability, and moral duties of citizens at tension with their risk tolerance. They generalized that the pre-service teachers' sense of belonging affected their concepts of citizenship. All of these findings are applicable to the current study. It was particularly notable in my study that participants, while cognisant of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, saw the responsibilities as collective and set limitations on their potential to contribute to their risk tolerance. That is, they were prepared to take action in global contexts, provided that is was safe to do so (e.g., ME to WE excursions), and they were less inclined to risk social action individually than as part of a group. These trends may reflect the career stage of the participants. Consistent with trepidation about risk tolerance, some of the pre-service teachers in my study explored the concept of diversity in some responses but they did not call for "critical citizenship that emphasized

social justice, human rights, and equality" (Dajaeghere, 2018, p. 357). More importantly, the responses were superficial as they were unable to share what that diversity and globalisation looked like in a real context.

As stated in Section 5.3.1 on place, pre-service teachers in the current study frequently emphasized the importance of being part of a group and a community as a characteristic of good citizenship. These findings reflect the research of Milligan et al. (2011), who identified that belonging and participating in local communities was considered an important tenent of citizenship by teachers, while citizenship as a relationship between the individual and the state was typically treated with ambivalence. However, these same participants did not appear to have the necessary conceptions of citizenship that allowed them to, "explore the tensions, conflicts or citizenries that might be glossed over or silenced under the banner of citizenship as belonging" (p. 296). The common finding among all of these studies is the perception by participants that there was a connection between agency and democratic participation (Colley, 2017).

Falk (1993) identified five categories of global citizens:

1. the global reformer of supranational government;
2. the elite class of globe-trotters engaged in global business activities;
3. individuals committed to global economic and ecological sustainability;
4. supporters of regional governance structures (e. g., the European Union); and
5. transnational activists involved in grassroots organizations fighting for human rights and democracy. (as cited in Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 28)

Although this topology identifies several high-risk categories of global engagement, the current group of pre-service teacher candidates identified few conceptions consistent with

transnational activism as a global interest, but hedged their risk of involvement by concurrently identifying well-established and well-regarded agencies through which they would engage in such activism (e.g., ME to WE). In reflecting on transactional activist activities or related global events these study participants frequently expressed relief and gratitude that their personal circumstances gave them the advantage of safety in relation to those who could be helped by grassroots organizations (e.g., refugees, migrants). Rather, they frequently framed citizenship as an historical concept focused on "the possibility that it could benefit [their] students' democratic participation, decision making, and taking informed action in the present (Barton, 2010, 2011; den Hayer, 2003; Seixas, Peck, & Poyntz, 2011, as cited in Colley, 2017, p. 156). This characterization is important to understand as we expand conceptions of citizenship, including citizenship in transnational or nested communities such as those found within groups promoting environmental stewardship, because of the global nature of modern challenges in today's world.

Problematic in the conception of fluid citizenship groups and global citizenship concepts is the role of international human rights law. In the pre-service participant sample, limits to risk tolerance were strongly evident. Yet commitment to global action requires high risk tolerance. Pre-service teachers may subconsciously recognize the dangers inherent in taking risks in international contexts when laws in this context are "the product of political power, pragmatic agreements, and a limited moral consensus" (Koutselini, 2008, p. 164). It may be that pre-service teachers, by limiting international actions, are questioning the universal acceptance of international human rights laws in

light of current international events (e.g., the Guatemalan caravan) that were prominent in news reports at the time of the interviews.

6.6 Instrumental view of Citizenship: The Path to Employment

Pre-service teachers may hold an instrumental view of their own citizenship because they are so focused on their own career trajectories in global markets. An instrumental approach focusses professional education on career goals with an immediate interest in employment. In the context study, and in previous research by Ong (1999), research participants viewed international education and educational experience as a form of "flexible citizenship" (Ong, 1999, as cited in Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 26). The flexible citizen is required to "respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong, 1999, as cited Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 26). It was evident that the current study participants understood and appreciated the security of Canadian citizenship as they anticipated the possibility of career opportunities outside of Canada. It was also evident the pre-service teachers understood that their opportunities as global citizens were influenced, and perhaps driven by, global capitalism and that their opportunities as teachers would allow them to exercise "certain professional expectations" (Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007, p. 27) if they travelled internationally for employment. Marginson (2017) noted that globalisation afforded the well-educated and well-traveled citizens of the world opportunities to engage in activities internationally that may not be available to the less well-educated.

> At a given level of income, those with degrees are much more mobile than those without degrees. In other words, higher education helps to democratize mobility, providing you can get higher education in the first place . . . or those with

> degrees, above a modest threshold of income there is little change in potential mobility. This suggests that because higher education helps graduates to achieve greater personal agency, it reduces the limits set by economic determination and class, constituting greater personal freedom in its own right. Conversely, those who lack higher education have less freedom. (p. 25)

Education in international contexts through course work or professional employment as a teacher is likely to have a framing effect on knowledge construction (Kahneman & Tversky, 2013) as international travellers socially construct new ideas to related to citizenship. Therefore, through the avenue of international experience, we could expect early career teachers to develop a more extensive conception of citizenship than was demonstrated by the current sample of pre-service teachers.

6.7 Local to Global

It may be that pre-service teachers require further training to address contentious issues (see, for example, *The Case for Contention*, Zimmerman & Robertson, 2017). Although they showed evidence of seeing their pre-service classroom as a public sphere allowing for evidence-based discussions of beliefs, current research data did not indicate conceptual outcomes related to these discussions. That is, existing opportunities for discussions of beliefs and conceptions neither fostered tolerance for diverse opinions, nor did they allow pre-service teachers to challenge traditional viewpoints. Several researchers have found that when conceptual debate is not fostered or the nature of democracy is not challenged, the transformative outcomes of conceptual frame evolution do not occur (DeJaeghere, 2018; Gutmann, 2004; Tupper, 2006). As the evolution of the concept of citizenship is "at the intersection of global and national contexts" (Szelényi &

Rhoads, 2007, p. 42) such debate and reflection are critical to teacher development. Szelényi and Rhoads (2007) referred to de-centering" (p. 35) as the process of interrogating existing conceptions to extend the context of citizenship beyond the local and national to the global. The de-centering process recognises that locale influences how individuals think about citizenship. De-centering may also support pre-service teachers' conceptions of social action in a global community, as these are currently and commonly found to be very limited (Colley, 2017). It may be that current pre-service teachers are being trained to rush to co-operation and compliance; they may be avoiding the interrogation of concepts of citizenship, thereby endangering the depth and stability of their conceptions. While the concept of global citizenship "is still rarely mentioned by teachers" (Rapoport, 2010, p. 185; see also Journell, 2013) it was a theme frequently mentioned by participants in the current study, indicating potential for further expansion of their cognitive frames.

6.8 Implications for Teacher Education

Findings in this study suggest that pre-service teachers have preconceived notions about citizenship (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008) and lack the intellectual dispositions (Journell, 2013) that are imperative to developing into teachers who value social activism and raising critical consciousness needed for 21st Century learners (Colley, 2017). How might pre-service programs, specifically the Social Studies course, attend to some of the challenges that arise from the weak conceptions of citizenship that pre-service teachers hold?

Perhaps teacher educators need to consider how we might leverage pre-service candidates' strengths, rather than fixating on perceived shortcomings. Heinbach, Paloma

Fiedler, Mitola, & Pattni (2019) suggested that by focusing solely on the challenges—in this case the lack of sophisticated cognitive frames about citizenship— teacher educators create a deficit mindset. While this might reflect the good intention of supporting pre-service teachers in developing sophisticated cognitive frames, it may in fact lead to "problematic assumptions" (Heinbach et al., p. 2). Teacher educators might make assumptions that all pre-service teachers hold these underdeveloped conceptions about citizenship. Course planning is often done to address the greatest needs of the group. However, if teacher education is approached from a strength-based frame of reference, where few students in the cohort do in fact hold more sophisticated conceptions, as outlined in the findings from the in-class observations, we might be able to counter a deficit mindset (Heinbach et al., 2019). For example, a pre-service Social Studies course could include classroom discussions about identity, privilege, and civic engagement. Teacher educators could identify pre-service teachers who hold more sophisticated conceptions by using a concept map strategy like the one outlined in this study, ensuring that these conceptions are included various in-class discussion groups.

A strength-based approach could also reflect the strengths of the group in general. By incorporating Sears' (2014) four domains of civic engagement—volunteering, participating in civil society organizations, being active in political advocacy work, and taking part in formal politics—teacher educators can develop experiences for pre-service teachers that can move them to more critical approaches.

Most of the participants in this study felt that volunteerism or giving back to their community was an important concept of good citizenship. Volunteering as civic engagement is characterized as "helping and caring, service provision, leisure-time

activity, and associations that sustain democracy" (Henriksen & Svedberg, 2010, p. 95). Using a strength-based approach could encourage pre-service teachers to expand how they engage as good citizens. Since volunteering has been characterized as a "privileged concept which tends to be decoupled from the world of political struggle because it is embedded in a discourse of neutral altruism" (p. 95), encouraging pre-service teachers to participate in various types of civic engagement activities related more towards activism helps support the development of cognitive frames that recognize more complex processes of civil society. Janoski (2010) presented a multi-level approach to understanding the processes and transmission mechanisms of volunteering and social activism. By providing pre-service teachers with an awareness of the importance of various types of civic engagement, as well as the interdependence amongst them, pre-service teachers will develop more complex cognitive frames about citizenship.

According to Janoski (2010), a multi-level model of civil society engagement encourages citizens to volunteer in ways that mobilize people to participate in politics and in social movements that work to improve conditions in society for groups. It is important to consider that the goal of teacher education is not to develop teachers who are activists. Rather, the goal is to develop teachers with a greater understanding of citizenship and its complexities. Good teachers, like good citizens, need to understand that civic engagement should move beyond doing good deeds to more critical approaches when creating learning situations for students. This might lead to improving the lives of others through democratic participation.

When pre-service teachers are encouraged to go beyond volunteering for a political campaign or to share an experience of political engagement outside the

classroom setting, they may develop more sophisticated conceptions about civic engagement. Assisting with a political campaign, participating in political advocacy work, or volunteering for a civil society organization over the course of their two-year Bachelor of Education program might lead to the development of more robust cognitive frames about citizenship beyond what Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) called personally-responsible citizenship or participatory citizenship.

It was evident in this research that pre-service teachers wanted to be *good citizens* and *good teachers*. They were eager to develop the skills and habits of mind needed to create change in the world. A strength-based approach might create an awareness of what *good* looks like in terms of the Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum's expectations about exploring the world through a critical lens. Instead of asking pre-service teachers "What is citizenship?" and defining it in the pre-service program through the Ontario Citizenship Framework, a better strategy might be to ask the candidates to live the experience of citizenship education by engaging in citizenship-based political activities. Through hands-on political advocacy, pre-service teachers might develop more sophisticated cognitive frames about citizenship that would enable them to attend to the gaps in their conceptions.

Another strategy for a strength-based approach to teacher education is to acknowledge the prior knowledge and the values pre-service teachers hold about the importance of volunteering and extend this conception to explore more critical views about volunteering. By exploring concurrent issues surrounding their volunteering, they might develop the habits of mind to foster a deeper understanding of civic engagement. For example, when addressing issues and types of volunteering, students can be asked to

describe any concerns that might arise regarding the rights of those who use those services (e.g., a soup kitchen patron who is denied because he/she has lost their driver's license due to health concerns and has no identification). Another strategy might be to discuss specific activism within their jurisdiction and have them explore some of the concerns about the political or social issues (e.g., human rights) that led to the activism (see Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). Pre-service teachers could also be invited to investigate how the charities they volunteer with use the funds they raise and to determine criteria for selecting such organizations. According to Banks (2017), good citizenship education needs citizens to "take action to implement and promote policies, actions, and changes that are consistent with values such as human rights, social justice, and equality" (p. 367). The actions that transformative citizens take might be based on supported investigations of the organizations that they select for volunteer work. They might also be encouraged to explore how sometimes organizations or individuals violate existing local, provincial, and national laws. Examples are "actions taken by transformative citizens such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks that violated national laws but helped actualize values such as human rights and social justice and eliminate institutionalized discrimination and racism" (Banks, 2017, p. 367). By using a hands-on strength-based approach in teacher education, teacher educators may guide pre-service teachers to develop deeper cognitive frames related to civic engagement and to citizenship. It is important for pre-service teachers to develop complex conceptual knowledge about citizenship as it is clear that the richness of their conceptions relates to their beliefs and their instructional actions in a professional context.

In this study, few pre-service teachers understood the importance of political engagement outside of volunteering and fewer yet participated in civil society organizations. A strength-based approach could encourage pre-service teachers to participate in a civil society organization through a service-learning component in their initial teacher education program. According to Kahne and Sporte (2008), "the impact of civic learning opportunities and of experiencing service learning was both sizeable and substantially larger than any other measure . . . including students' prior commitments to civic participation" (p. 753). According to Billing, Root, and Jesse (2005), students who reported stronger engagement in service-learning were statistically significantly more likely to "gain in civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions" and to "become more civically engagement in general and [to feel] greater efficacy" (p. 54). They also found that participation in civic or political action was "positively related to civic knowledge and civic dispositions" (p. 54). One of the key findings was the importance of duration, where service learning that lasted one to two months had the highest impact and that which took place over a semester "had the greatest civic impacts" (p. 54).

What must be remembered is that service learning is but one of a number of active learning approaches that include "following current events, discussing problems in the community and ways to respond, providing students with a classroom in which open dialogue about controversial issues is common and where students study topics that matter to them," and "exposure to civic role models" (Sears, 2014, p. 5) to help foster greater commitments to civic participation.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

This phenomenographic study examined the conceptions that one group of 20 pre-service teachers held about citizenship within a Canadian context. This study used interviews, concept maps, and classroom visits to help identify the conceptions the pre-service teachers held. This process provided evidence of the changes that took place in their beliefs, attitudes, and dispositions as they related to citizenship and the teaching of citizenship.

These were the research questions:

1. How do pre-service teachers understand citizenship?
2. What are the factors that influence the cognitive frames that pre-service teachers hold?

The data demonstrated that the complexity of the pre-service teachers' conceptual understanding of citizenship and their ability to articulate such understanding improved over the course of the four-month period for almost all of the participants in the Social Studies course. However, the cognitive frames they held continued to be superficial and did not attend to a critical stance. The pre-service teachers held conceptions related to:

1) Place as an important concept of citizenship;

2) Legal dimensions of citizenship;

3) Socio-Cultural dimensions of citizenship;

4) Civic Engagement and

5) Civic Orientation.

As a group, they did not reflect conceptions of citizenship that attended to a critical stance, including those prescribed in the Ontario Social Studies curriculum, including specific concepts that they were to be required to teach.

Pre-service teachers in this study held weak conceptions related to citizenship and these were shrouded in their own personal privilege. Concepts related to social action and social justice were especially weak as many expressed that they had never experienced some of the contentious issues that exist in society due to their personal positions of privilege. This study highlighted how this particular group of pre-service teachers held concepts related to citizenship that were linked to their lack of experience as one component of their growth as professionals.

7.1 Limitations of the Study

The findings of this study should be considered in the context of several limitations. First, this study was conducted at one university in Northern Ontario. It was clear in my proposal that the intended purpose was to study the frames of one group at one university, in one Social Studies course. To improve the overall validity, a study with several cohort groups throughout the province might lead to a larger sample and thus greater construct validity.

Another limitation is that this was the first time that I as a researcher undertook interviewing as a method of data collection. Upon reflection, I realized that in some cases further follow-up questions perhaps might have led to uncovering more varied and in-depth conceptions about citizenship. For example, when questioning participants about the types of activities they did as part of being a good citizen, many listed “volunteering”

and I asked them to tell me about it. Instead, I could have asked if they knew of other types of activities that would promote good citizenship. I could have asked more guided follow-up questions like, “Are there other ways that good citizens can engage to promote positive social change/political action?” since this might have given me more information about how they conceptualized good citizenship even if they did not engage personally in volunteering and citizenship work such as in political activism or assisting with political campaigns. The interviews that provide the data were designed to encourage respondents to reflect on their own experiences. As the analysis concentrated on interpreting the participants’ meaning rather than on pre-defined concepts the analyses represent a free discourse where the participants shared their thoughts and feelings without being led to an intended outcome. I was conscientious not to lead the participants by suggesting conceptions. The interviews were open-ended and allowed the participants to discuss anything they felt contributed to their understanding of citizenship. Given these limitations, the findings are consistent with those of the previous studies that reported pre-service teachers hold weak conceptual frames of citizenship.

7.2 Future Work

Teacher education policies and programs fit within a larger social, political, and ideological context (Popkewitz, 2018). Knowing that many pre-service teachers have a limited understanding of the conceptions of citizenship they are required to teach, teacher educators can develop and implement specific strategies to attend to the pre-service teachers’ conceptions of privilege, to improve their understanding of rights for minority groups, and to encourage civic engagement. As an example, including a civil society organization service-learning requirement in a future Social Studies course might

contribute to change in the pre-service teachers' conceptions and lead to a more in-depth understanding of citizenship. Using a phenomenographic approach, a longitudinal exploration of concurrent education students could be conducted. At Laurentian University, the students in the first year Indigenous Ways of Learning course would be an excellent study group as they continue through a five-year concurrent education program. Further study of pre-service teachers early in their teacher preparation course might uncover the conceptions pre-service teachers hold as they progress through the initial teacher education program. This could lead to exploring how specific strategies influence the development of their conceptual frames of citizenship and affect their practice as teachers. The goal would be to develop in pre-service teachers more sophisticated understanding of the concepts that they will be required to teach.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

Over the duration of one 36-hour Social Studies course it is difficult to expect that all pre-service education students would acquire complex conceptions of citizenship. However, it is possible to set the stage for improving teacher education by explicitly challenging pre-service teachers' ideas about particular topics related to the concepts of citizenship along with providing targeted instruction that models teaching strategies to meet the curricular expectations new teachers will be required to teach. Teacher education programs should commit to improving civic engagement by incorporating program activities that support volunteering, participation in civil society organisations, involvement in political advocacy work, and activities linked to participation in formal politics (Sears, 2014). These initiatives could help support the development of clearer conceptions related to citizenship while building on the knowledge base of pre-service

teachers who enter the program. Understanding that many pre-service teachers begin the program with conceptions related to their own privilege is a start. By unpacking what they bring in terms of their own experiences as learners and shining the light on some of the gaps in their conceptual knowledge about citizenship, teacher education program can set the stage for pre-service teachers to develop more critical approaches to the curriculum areas they will be required to teach.

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Appendix A

Participant information letter

UNB
EST. 1785
UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

Monday September 11th, 2017

Dear Pre-service Teacher:

This purpose of this letter is to invite you to provide your consent for your participation in an important research study. The focus of the work is on **how pre-service teachers understand some of the core ideas related to citizenship** a concept that you will be required to teach.

The research will be done through the collection of a reflection about what citizenship means to you as part of your classwork, as well as individual interviews. This will simply involve a discussion about a concept map activity related to your understanding of citizenship. The interview can be done at a time of your choosing and will involve **two** interviews lasting between **30 - 45 minutes**. One will be at the beginning of your Social Studies course and the second one will take place at the end of the course. The interviews will be audio-recorded. The information I collect will be for research purposes only. You will not be identified by name when information is analyzed or in any findings that come from the study. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from the research, and to withdraw any information you have provided, without penalty, up to one month after the interview has taken place. Your instructor will not know who has decided to participate and who has not, so that your decision to participate or withdraw cannot have any impact on your standing in the class or on your final grade.

As a participant, you understand that:

- Participation is voluntary and that you can withdraw from the study at any time without consequence by notifying the principal researcher, Jennifer Straub.
- You agree to be audio recorded during the interview. The interview data will be audio recorded for subsequent verbatim transcription. A researcher will transcribe each interview verbatim and will label each interview by using a respondent-based coding method (ex. PA1,PA2…) in order to ensure your confidentiality and anonymity.
- Your name and location will be kept confidential throughout the project and onward. Any identifiable information will not appear on any documents.
- All information collected will be anonymized and entered into a secure database accessed only by the principal researcher and the members of the researcher's supervisory committee, Dr. Alan Sears, Dr. Mark Hirschkorn, Dr. Lyle Hamm. The database, reports generated by the data, consent forms, and other information collected for analysis will be securely stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's private office behind a locked door. All electronic files will be password protected. All archive will be stored securely for a period of five years from project completion. The data will subsequently be destroyed by shredding (i.e. printed material) and through a deletion program (i.e., electronic data).
- There are two copies of this consent form. You will keep one copy and provide the signed copy to the principal researcher.

Project reports detailing the findings of the study will be generated for peer-reviewed journal publications and conference presentations.

I agree to participate in this study, and I have received a copy of this consent form.

Signature (Participant): Date: Sept 11, 2017

Copies of the research project results will be made available to all participants.
I would like to receive a copy of the final report of the study:
☒ Yes ☐ No

If yes, please provide your contact information:
Address: ___
Email addres

I have attached an information sheet that answers some of the questions that you might have. If you have any further questions about this work, you may call me, Ms. Jennifer M. Straub, at 705-498-4233 or you can contact me by email: Jennifer.straub@unb.ca. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and certified by a Research Ethics Board at the University of New Brunswick as well as the Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee and the University Research Ethics Board at Nipissing University. If you wish to contact someone not associated with this study to ask questions or raise concerns please contact Dr. Alan Sears, Professor Faculty of Education University of New Brunswick Fredericton, New Brunswick, E3B 5A3, Phone 506-453-5178.

The University of New Brunswick's Research Ethics Board as well as Nipissing University's Research Ethics board have approved this research project.

I trust that I can look forward to your cooperation and hope you might find it an interesting experience.

Yours sincerely,

J. Straub

Jennifer M. Straub, OCT, PhD Candidate

Appendix B

Question Sheet for Participants

SOME QUESTIONS THAT YOU MIGHT HAVE ABOUT THE STUDY

Q. Why was I selected for the study? **A.** We need to enroll a broad cross-section of pre-service teachers. Why??

Q. Do I have to participate? **A.** No, and you may withdraw from the study at any time if you do decide to participate and later wish to withdraw from the study.

Q. What exactly is involved? **A.** You will be asked to complete a simple reflection answering a specific question related to education. Then, if you are interested, you will be invited to draw a concept map and share with the interviewer what you think about it. The subject matter of the interview will relate to important ideas associated with one of your pre-service program's topics of study.

Q. How long will it take? **A.** There will be two interviews, which will each take between 30 – 60 minutes, so I will not intrude too much on your after school time.

Q. What are the benefits of participating in the study? **A.** The study is an opportunity for you to contribute to a large-scale investigation, which aims to map how pre-service teachers understand the core ideas of citizenship, a concept that they are required to teach. By discovering how pre-service teachers think about these ideas, teachers and curriculum planners will be able to design more effective instruction to help new teachers better understand these ideas.

Q. What are the risks? **A.** There are no real risks. People involved in the work generally find it interesting.

Q. Will my information be kept confidential? **A.** Yes. The information we collect will be for research purposes only. You will not be identified by name when information is analyzed or in any findings that come from the study.

Q. Have university authorities approved this? **A.** Yes. But remember, whether you participate is entirely a matter for you to decide.

If you have any further questions about this work, I can be reached by cell phone at 705-498-4233 or at home 705-580-2485 or by email at jennifers@nipissingu.ca, or Jennifer.straub@unb.ca

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and certified by a Research Ethics Board at the University of New Brunswick REB file # as well as the Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee and the University Research Ethics Board at Nipissing University. If you wish to contact someone not associated with this study to ask questions or raise concerns please contact: Dr. Alan Sears, Professor Faculty of Education University of New Brunswick Fredericton, NB, E3B 5A3 Phone 506-453-5178

A FINAL NOTE: Thank you for helping me with this important work!

Curriculum Vitae

Candidate's full name: Jennifer Michelle Straub
Universities attended (with dates and degrees obtained):

MEd, Curriculum: French as a Second Language, OISE/University of Toronto, 2004

BEd, Nipissing University, 1998

BA, Laurentian University, 1997

Publications:

Books:

Maynes, N., Straub, J. (2010) Social Studies: Innovative Approaches for Teachers. Pearson Higher Education

Articles:

Straub, J., How do I increase student motivation to speak French in an L2 Classroom/French Immersion setting? The Ontario Action Researcher. 5:1-8

Conference Presentations:

- 2019 Presented workshop for Laurentian University's Centre for Academic Excellence-Presentation Series for faculty professional development: "10 Ways to Skyrocket your Teaching Scores". This workshop was designed for new and experienced professors looking for innovative ways to specifically improve their teaching evaluation scores. Fostering a classroom culture that is both caring and challenging, safe and productive only happens through a sustained effort.

- 2014 Presented workshop for Professional Week, Schulich School of Education, Nipissing University: "How do I answer this and not get fired?" The workshop showcased some of the interesting and sometimes controversial questions that teachers are often faced with when teaching in the Primary, Junior and Intermediate division classrooms.

- 2011-2012 Consultant and workshop presenter, Problem-based Learning Case Writing Retreats for the Northern Ontario School of Medicine's Postgraduate Medical Education Programs: Paediatric Medicine; Internal Medicine; Anaesthesia and Psychiatry