Chapter 4
Citizenship and Social Studies Curricula in British Columbia, Canada:
Contemporary Realities and Alternative Possibilities

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ABSTRACT

This chapter begins by reviewing the history of citizenship education in social studies curricula in British Columbia (BC), Canada, as a way of framing how the topic has been understood. It then discusses the latest curriculum revision in the province, which is in the process of being implemented. This new revision has dramatically changed the style of the curriculum in comparison with previous revisions, while also maintaining continuity in some areas, such as its conception of citizenship education. After this review, the author discusses issues related to the new curriculum such as its specific focus on particular concepts or theories which can limit teacher views and practices related to citizenship education. The chapter concludes by discussing alternative curriculum-framing and teaching ideas for citizenship education and social studies in general that connect into contemporary work and contexts.

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, provinces are responsible for administering public schools, including managing teacher regulation and certification, developing school policies, allocating funding, designing curriculum and recommending instructional strategies. Limited Federal (national) involvement in provincial policy and curriculum development occurs through the influence of some Federal policies, such as the policy of Multiculturalism (Di Mascio, 2013). In the province of British Columbia (BC), citizenship education is generally integrated into Social Studies courses, following a nineteenth century pattern. This chapter

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reviews major revisions to social studies curricula over the twentieth century in the province, including the latest curriculum revision, which is just in the process of being implemented, focused on how citizenship education is or has been conceptualized. It finds similar threads and trends related to the aim of creating good, national and political citizens over the century, with the addition of some critical citizenship features in more recent guides. The chapter then discusses some of the limitations with this citizenship education program found in government guides due to its primarily political nature and its limited conceptions of how citizenship and social studies can be understood and taught. These may relate to a lack of broad-based involvement in the conceptualization and creation of curricula. The chapter concludes with some alternative ways of thinking about citizenship education and Social Studies, such as expanding views of how the subjects can be understood and taught, which include attention to considering democracy as a lived concept and to present realities, issues and influences, such as social media.

BACKGROUND

Public schools were established in a number of Western nations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Prussia was one of the first nations to develop public schools. This state closely connected public schooling to the development of nationalistic citizens who were supportive of the nation (Broom, 2012; Cordasco, 1976). The United States, England and Canadian provinces such as Ontario followed this pattern. BC, Canada's most Western province situated along the Pacific Ocean, established public schools in the later nineteenth century following Ontario's lead. BC joined the Confederation of Canadian provinces in 1871. Shortly after, in 1872, the new province passed a School Act that stated that public schools were to be free and administered by a Board of Education.

BC's Department of Education (now Ministry of Education), under a Superintendent, was responsible for establishing and managing public schools throughout the province. Government schools were set up around the province with the use of money (grants to schools) and the development of certification requirements for teachers at these schools (Broom, 2016a). That is, the government provided grants to communities that wanted to establish schools. However, the schools had to be accountable to the government, and school inspectors were set up to visit schools and report on them. Inspectors evaluated teachers and schools based on a number of categories including teaching performance, using standardized forms. For example, one teacher's inspection report of 1928 commented on the "tone" of her room, discipline, and teaching ability-methods (Brough, 1928, p. 1). The government (under the Superintendent of Schools) issued varied types of teaching certificates based on teachers' achievements on tests. Normal Schools were established to train teachers. The first Normal School in BC opened in 1901.

In the late nineteenth century, the Department of Education developed subject-based curricula, including History and Civics. The History curriculum was closely inter-weaved with the development of citizenship, focusing particularly on developing students' political citizenship. One textbook, for example, presented a "nation-building narrative" (Anderson, 2006; Wertsch, 2010) that aimed to foster students' sense of connection to the fledgling Canadian nation, recently founded through the Confederation Act of 1867 (Broom, 2012). While Confederation united provinces, Canada remained part of the British Empire until after World War II. In Civics, students were to learn "traditionalist" citizenship practices, such as following political news, being knowledgeable of government structures and processes, and engaging in civic activities such as voting (Department of Education, 1919, 1927; Jenkins, 1918; Sears & Hughes, 1996).

As public schools developed during the age of modernization, rationalization, and bureaucratization, they came to reflect these influences in their forms and processes (Broom, 2016a; Katz, 1987; Tyack, 1974). At the turn of the twentieth century, in the age of "high modernity," philosophies focused on planning and expertise were popular (McDonald, 2009). These ideologies were illustrated in, for example, the use of graded classrooms, the streaming of students by perceived ability and structured school schedules (Broom, 2016a; Callahan, 1962; Dunn, 1980). Student exams were consistently used to ensure standardization and control of schools (Fleming, 1996).

Social Studies, as a subject, was first implemented in the province in the 1930s and underwent major revisions in 1967, 1985, and 1997. Renaming and reframing History and Civics as Social Studies emerged from trends in the United States, which were followed by some Canadian provinces including BC. The course of Social Studies developed in the United States due to the changing nature of American society and the perceived need for a new course to help develop "good" citizens supportive of the nation state (Evans, 2004; Jorgensen, 2012). Like other parts of North America, curriculum revisions in BC were associated with a number of factors including changing socio-economic conditions and government officials who supported educational change as modernization (Department of Education, 1919-1968; Ministry of Education, 1985-2017; Broom, 2015a). In BC, curriculum reform is led by the Ministry of Education, which invites particular individuals, such as practicing teachers, scholars, or members of the teachers' union (the British Columbia Teachers' Federation [BCTF]) to participate in the process. Some individuals with particular views that may connect to contemporary educational theories have influenced the process of curriculum revision in the province over the twentieth century (Broom, 2015a).

In Social Studies curriculum revisions undertaken over the twentieth century, as has been the case in other places (Evans, 2004, 2011), attention has been given to Citizenship Education. Connecting into the original aim of public schools and the development of nation states, citizenship education has been valued as a key component of public schooling, as illustrated in this quote from BC's Putman and Weir Royal Commission report of the 1920s:

The development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship actuated by the highest British ideas of justice, tolerance, and fair play should be accepted without question as a fundamental aim of the provincial school system. Such an aim has stood the test of time. (Putman and Weir Royal Commission Report, 1925, p. 38)

The next section of this paper will review revisions to Social Studies curricula over the twentieth century, focused on their citizenship education programs, setting the background for a discussion of the latest curriculum revision in the province that is just in the process of being implemented.

REVISIONS OVER THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Citizenship Education, as mentioned in the previous section, was embedded in History and Civics curricula during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in BC. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, a new curriculum guide was released and called "Social Studies" (Department of Education, 1930, 1933, 1936, 1937, 1939). This new course of Social Studies was modelled on the American course, which developed from the recommendations of the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies (Evans, 2004; Nelson, 1994; Ravitch, 2003; United States Bureau of Education, 1916) that aimed to address changing

social conditions in the nation. In BC, the new curriculum aimed to develop a "common culture," that is, to assimilate diverse social groups under a British colonial state through progressive-based pedagogy rooted in Dewey's work. Dewey (1916) was an influential American educational philosopher who argued that education is a social process in which students engage in learning through "experiences" with their peers and with the support and guidance of the teacher, through discussion and inquiry-based learning. Dewey's ideas influenced the American committee in its development of its Social Studies courses. The American Social Studies courses engaged students in studying contemporary social life through History, Economics and Political Studies and included civics, or Citizenship Education. In BC, Dewey's language framed the 1930s curriculum guide's opening statement. However, content stayed similar to that of previous guides: students learned about government structures, and related Historical content was primarily focused on the study of historical dates and events and framed within a positive and moral nation-building narrative of the development of Canada (Broom, 2012). Students would appreciate the government and nation and would be aware of their civic rights and duties, such as following the news and voting. They would also understand their social citizenship responsibilities by being good neighbors.

After minor revisions to Social Studies during the 1950s, which maintained curricula's focus on detailed historical study of events, B.C.'s Department of Education released a new Social Studies curriculum in 1968 (Department of Education, 1941-1960, 1968). The curriculum drew from American thinking again by adopting Bruner's "structure of the disciplines" approach. Teachers were encouraged to use a variety of texts with different historical interpretations. Students were to be like "mini" social scientists and engage in learning through instructional strategies based on social science processes such as inquiry. Curriculum guides featured various themes, and equal attention was given to History and Geography education. Citizenship Education was embedded in the History curriculum and aimed to develop students' knowledge of government forms and structures, Canadian nationalism, appreciation for democracy, and recognition of the need for cooperation to solve issues. Students were also to develop critical thinking skills.

In 1985, the Ministry of Education revised the curriculum again, returning to the old pattern of detailed study of historical events found in earlier guides (Ministry of Education, 1985). The curriculum's introduction made a few general statements that had a progressivist (Deweyian) tone, such as education aims to foster the growth of students and consequently benefit society. The guide continued to aim at educating "good citizens" in and for a democracy (Ministry of Education, 1985, p. 10). Students were to study Canadian government structures and processes, law, and the nation-building narrative, supplemented with some content on cultural perspectives and Multiculturalism, Human Rights, global issues, and "Global Village" rhetoric. Attention to Multiculturalism and Human Rights were likely connected to national (Federal) level trends, to the development of laws and policies including the Canadian and B.C. Multiculturalism Acts, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the B.C. Human Rights Code. The development of skills, such as critical thinking, were given attention. Students were to develop the values of being respectful, cooperative, and inclusive.

Revised again in 1997, the curriculum guide (Ministry of Education, 1997a, 1997b) began within a few premises about how students learn in different ways. Content and skills were presented using objectives. Attention was given to Multiculturalism and inclusion, and an appendix claimed that issues related to social justice or equity had guided the curriculum's development. The guide stated that the main goal of Social Studies was to create "thoughtful, responsible, active citizens who are able to acquire the requisite information to consider multiple perspectives and to make reasoned judgements" (Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 1). The guide included a few concepts drawn from critical pedagogy,

such as questioning concepts like "power"; however, students were to learn much of the same citizenship content contained in earlier guides including rights and responsibilities of citizenship, government structures and processes, the nation-building narrative (the story of the development of Canada), law, and global citizenship. Students were to learn to value human rights, cooperation and democracy, and to develop skills such as critical thinking.

A minor revision of this curriculum occurred in 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2005a, 2005b), which focused some attention on inclusion and equity. Citizenship education was given an expanded role with the development of an optional Civics 11 course (Ministry of Education, 2005c). This new course included similar content to that of earlier guides: students learned the roles, rights and responsibilities of political citizenship and knowledge of the structures and processes of the Canadian government. In addition, students were encouraged to participate in addressing social issues. The course had students explore the ability of various groups to implement change, the effectiveness of Canada in managing issues, and ways of getting involved. Students were to be active in the sense that they were informed and participated in actions that aimed to improve society. Some attention to critical theory principles such as equity and social justice was found in concepts exploring, for example, unequal power relations among various groups in Canadian society and the inclusion of some negative historical events related to the Canadian government's actions in the past.

From this review, we can conclude that citizenship education has been a consistent feature of BC Social Studies guides over the twentieth century, even if the presentation format and the guiding educational theory and vision of curriculum documents have changed over time. The guides have often been framed within contemporary educational theories, as curriculum developers have looked to popular educational theories in their design. Some consistent features of citizenship education have included the creation of good political citizens, that is, of individuals who are knowledgeable of government structures and processes and of citizen rights and responsibilities, such as following the news and voting. Further, students have been required to learn to value democracy and be aware of the development of the nation of Canada—that is, to study Canada's nation-building narrative (Broom, 2012). In the middle and later part of the twentieth century, attention to skills development, and respect and appreciation for multiculturalism and pluralism emerged, as the Canadian government increasingly supported multiculturalism. As well, attention to global issues, global citizenship and social inequities and injustice increased. Thus, the programs of citizenship education have been largely traditionalist over the twentieth century, with some features of transformative (critical) citizenship education (Sears & Hughes, 1996) added to programs of study later in the twentieth century perhaps due to the influence of academic work on Post Modernism and critical theory, and with connections to contemporary contexts, issues, or educational theories. Contexts have influenced how curriculum has changed (Broom & Evans, 2015b). For example, Canada's evolving social dynamic in relation to the development of Multiculturalism as a national policy has led to emphasis on teaching Multiculturalism in schools. Increasing pluralism can be connected to increased attention to social justice. Concerns about the environment have been echoed in environmental education, and attention to developing students' capabilities for the twenty first century has been reflected in increased attention to skills development.

Curriculum revisions have been linked to calls for change due to the need to "modernize" curricula: consistently the BC Ministry of Education has aimed to keep curricula up-to-date through regular revisions which connect to contemporary educational theories, and to perceived educational or social needs (Broom, 2015a): the 1930s curriculum revision aimed to bring in Deweyian and progressive concepts as the student body expanded during difficult economic times; the 1960s revision aimed to address the

perceived shortcomings of a curriculum that was argued to be too student-focused and not academic enough when social sciences were expanding at universities and the 1980s and later revisions, swung back in favor of student-focused learning in the Deweyian (progressivist) orientation, as student-based learning was emphasized. Curriculum revisions have often been followed by a backlash from teachers. In the 1930s, for example, journal articles chronicled teachers' concerns with the new curriculum (Broom, 2015a). Further, research has shown that neither the 1930s or 1960s revisions were fully implemented in teachers' classes: teachers' lessons remained focused on traditional practices such as lectures, notetaking and tests (Broom, 2015a; Clark, 2004; Hodgett, 1968; Sutherland, 1986). The latest curriculum revision, as will be discussed next, has continued to emphasize student-centered pedagogy.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: CONTEMPORARY REALITIES

BC's Ministry of Education is currently implementing a major curriculum revision across grades and subjects. The curriculum has moved away from using lists of prescribed learning outcomes (educational objectives) and is, instead, focused around "Big Ideas," which give teachers more freedom to decide the details of instruction. The new curriculum is organized around five core competencies that students are to acquire: communication, creative thinking, critical thinking, positive personal and cultural identity, personal awareness and responsibility, and social responsibility (Ministry of Education, 2017). The OECD, from which the Ministry may have taken the idea of competencies, defines a competency as: "more than just knowledge and skills. It involves the ability to meet complex demands, by drawing on and mobilising psychosocial resources (including skills and attitudes) in a particular context. For example, the ability to communicate effectively is a competence that may draw on an individual's knowledge of language, practical IT skills and attitudes" (OECD, 2003, p. 4). Thus, a competency involves skills but is broader, as it also includes other elements such as attitudes and knowledge. Teachers are encouraged to use active and personalized learning practices, such as inquiry-based learning.

Like previous curriculum guides, the curriculum states that the goal of Social Studies is to develop "active, informed citizens who are able to think critically" (Ministry of Education, 2017). While the curriculum is more open in the sense that teachers can choose the specific content, competencies and activities they would like to focus on using the "big ideas" as guides, the discussion page about Social Studies includes a review of citizenship education that is similar to that of previous guides: students study history and geography to understand their society better and learn about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and democracy in order to develop into active citizens, in the traditional sense of participating in improving their society by addressing issues. As in previous guides, attention is given to skills development, cultural pluralism/multiculturalism, global issues, and some negative stories of Canada's historical development that illustrate social injustice, and thus the need for a more socially-just society. New areas include attention to Indigenous ways of knowing and to fostering students' social-emotional development. The latter seems to connect to perceived needs to increase students' capacities and skills in order to empower students as learners and better prepare them for changing social and economic times.

Like previous guides, Social Studies is generally focused on history content and instruction. However, as Big Ideas guide the design of the curriculum, the curriculum is more open to teachers' instructional decisions. Teachers can choose the specific content areas and teaching techniques they want, while considering their students and class dynamics. For example, the grade 10 curriculum, based on Twentieth Century Canadian and World History, has four big ideas: global and regional conflicts have shaped the

world, a number of factors influence the development of political institutions, different world views influence ideas about Canadian society, and historical and contemporary injustices influence our views of Canada as an inclusive and multicultural society (Ministry of Education, 2017). Thus, teachers can consider their students and specific interests in selecting the particular historical events over the twentieth century that they will focus on teaching to their students through the Big Ideas of the course and with the use of student-centered instructional strategies. This new guide also includes more critical and negative Canadian political and social history to that found in previous guides, illustrating the influence of critical pedagogy or Post-Modern critiques. For example, students are to learn the history of racist and damaging acts by the government such as Residential Schools and prohibitive immigration policies. In the early twentieth century, Native (Indigenous) Canadian children were taken away from their families by the government and placed in harsh and strict boarding schools (called Residential Schools), often run by religious groups (Catholic or Protestant churches). The children were often mistreated at these schools and deliberate attempts were made to erase their cultures. The negative impacts of these schools on Indigenous Canadian families have been felt up to the present. Other negative government actions during the twentieth century include the government's racist policies, such as the head tax on Chinese immigrants and the *Komata Maru* and *MS St Louis* boat incidents. The *Komata Maru* was a boat with South Asians and the *MS St Louis* boat was full of refugees from the Holocaust. The Canadian government refused to allow passengers on both of these vessels to disembark in Canada. In earlier school textbooks, these events were not discussed, as the books aimed to build positive national feeling.

A new feature of the revised Social Studies curriculum is its focus on Peter Seixas' (Seixas & Morton, 2012) historical thinking concepts as a guide to instruction. Over the grades, students are expected to study history connecting into Seixas' concepts of historical significance, use of primary sources, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective, and ethical judgement (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness). These aim to create historically literate people (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness). Historical significance explores what makes an event historically significant by considering factors such as whether the event resulted in change and led to insights. Significance is argued to be constructed in narrative and to change over time, depending on perspectives. Use of primary sources is learning about the past through the critical use and deconstruction of historical primary source materials. Continuity and change considers what has stayed the same and what has changed in relation to historical or contemporary time periods. Cause and consequence explores the various short term and long term causes of events and their effects. Historical perspective helps students to recognize that historical periods are different to the present one in terms of social, economic, ideological and other perspectives and lived contexts and conditions. Lastly, ethical judgement engages the students in discussing how historical events with damaging consequences (such as war or holocaust) should be understood or evaluated in the present and considers questions of values. Attention is given to varied historical perspectives and how these influence the process of historical understanding.

A second element which is given greater attention in the new curriculum document is Indigenous principles and practices (Smith & Rogers, 2015; Tupper, 2012). In previous guides, the inclusion of Indigenous ways of thinking and history were limited, if mentioned at all. The last guide makes explicit connection to Indigenous principles stating:

The First Peoples Principles of Learning provided a crucial lens for teacher teams when drafting curricula, and all curriculum teams included Aboriginal representation. The teams put great effort into

embedding Aboriginal knowledge and worldviews in curriculum in authentic and meaningful ways (Ministry of Education, 2017).

Attention to Indigenous principles, practices, culture and history may be connected to the national Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which has aimed to address Canada' history of poor treatment of Native (Indigenous) Canadians (National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation). This federal commission has included the sharing of racist and painful events experienced by Indigenous Canadians in the past with the aim of establishing a healing process and developing recommendations for "reconciliation."

Curriculum Reform: Issues, Controversies, Problems

In general, the main model of citizenship education found in BC curriculum documents over the twentieth century includes consistent elements focused primarily on Marshall's (1950) political citizenship: students are to study the rights and responsibilities of political actions, such as voting, and to develop knowledge of government structures, processes and laws. Social citizenship in the sense of being active in improving society has also been a consistent element, with civic citizenship in the sense of studying legal and human rights also given some attention, particularly later in the century. The latest guide includes these three models of citizenship while at the same time adding Indigenous ways of knowing. It also includes more critical history which aims towards increased social justice through its content on equity, social injustice and political and social historical events which have had damaging effects on segments of Canadian society.

This curriculum conceptualizes citizens to be one-dimensional in the sense that students acquire knowledge, skills, and dispositions to act in their societies in ways which have aimed to maintain the status quo (the current government structure), even if the government is not portrayed as ideal: the government is portrayed as one that can be maintained and improved through engaged citizenship action. Individuals are understood to be one-dimensional, as the assumption is that acquiring the skills and knowledge studied through the citizenship education curriculum will lead to particular civic behaviors, such as voting and actively engaging in addressing social issues, without consideration of the multiple and complex means through which individuals come to negotiate, or develop, their citizenship identities (Broom, 2016b).

While more recent curriculum documents have a more critical stance on government in that they include negative historical events, the overall aim of creating citizens who understand their rights and responsibilities and critically act to make a better society are consistent with the maintenance of the current government. As the government develops and implements curricula (with teacher input on committees), the argument could be made that state-developed curricula aims to maintain its own legitimacy through school curricula. Public schools were established by nations with the aims of creating good citizens (Broom, 2012; Broom & Evans, 2015b; Cordasco, 1976) and this remains the case today, even if citizens are seen to be more "critical." The following section discusses some issues related to how citizenship education has been understood and framed in BC curriculum guides over the century and provides suggestions for educators to consider and possible alternative directions for future curriculum revisions related to citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION RECOMMENDATIONS: ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES

The previous section of this chapter discussed the history of citizenship education in BC and ended with a review of the latest curriculum guide just being implemented. It illustrated continuity in the maintenance of traditionalist views of what "good citizens" are and what behaviors they engage in, while adding social justice elements and more attention to competency-based learning and social inequalities, Indigenous perspectives, and Historical thinking processes in more recent curriculum documents. This section discusses limitations with the conception of citizenship found in government guides.

Limited Visions

Social Studies, and citizenship education in particular, has been dominated by one-dimensional and doctrinaire programs, emphasizing factual knowledge, skills and values-acquisition in a manner that aims to support nation states. In academia, the field of citizenship has moved from a political socialization perspective to an understanding of how individuals actively construct their civic and social understanding through their lived experiences and interactions in society (Carr et al., 2016; Omoto, Snyder, & Hackett, 2010; Overton, 2010; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Yates and Youniss, 2006; Youniss & Levine, 2009). Scholars are coming to theorize that individuals are not one-dimensional vessels to be filled by state-legitimated visions of "good citizenship" (Broom, 2016b; Evans, 2015). Instead, individuals construct their own understandings of what citizenship means and entails. This view has implications for Social Studies and citizenship education teaching and learning, as it values varied human abilities and natures, and focuses on people and not nationalistic aims.

Connecting to current work in other fields such as holistic medicine and science, people can be understood to be composed of a number of different elements that are found both within (mind, heart, and spirit) and outside (social and environmental factors and relations) of them (Broom, 2016b; Overton, 2010). These elements are related together and interact continuously, thus forming dynamic beings. Factors such as personality, attitudes, knowledge, skills and lived discourses are developed through changing and ongoing interaction with influences such as lived experiences, context, culture and local and global perspectives and events (Broom, 2016b; Carr et al., 2016). The self, in other words, is continuously forming and evolving in interaction with factors, contexts and conditions.

By beginning our thinking about education with people, with our students, rather that state-legitimizing aims, new possibilities for considering how citizenship education is understood in the twenty first century open up. For example, the focus of citizenship education could be the actualizing of the varied potentials that encompass individuals, that is, on fostering flourishing in the Greek sense of *Eudaimonia* (Broom, 2010). More attention could be given to considering or answering questions such as who are we, what we believe, and what we aim to achieve in our lives.

Personal Identity and Behaviour

From this understanding of individuals as continuously growing and evolving, we can understand students to have unique civic and personal identities formed through varied lived experiences, which are embedded in diverse contextual and cultural factors (Broom, 2016b; Carr et al., 2016; Colombo, 2016; Dowds, 2018; Waters & Fivush, 2014). Identity is understood to be a person's acquired attitudes, values, and beliefs about self, others and life that shape how an individual understands him/herself and interacts with others. Identity also encompasses a political and social identity, that is, a sense of connection to

others, and is illustrated in particular social and political actions, within particular social, cultural or political spaces. Many factors can shape identity including family, culture(s), social, political, economic and other social and contextual factors, experiences, and education. This work on identity and citizenship is important as identity shapes beliefs and behavior (Colombo, 2016).

Scholars have illustrated the significance of youth identity to civic beliefs and behaviors. For example, scholars have argued that contextual factors such as changing economic and social situations can influence youth's beliefs and actions in Europe (Colombo, 2016). Economic and social issues can foster negative feelings that can impact youth's feelings of civic identity and belonging and thus their attitudes and behaviors (Dowds, 2018). These experiences may limit youth's engagement with traditional concepts of political, social and civic citizenship. Youth's civic identities and behaviors, that is, are influenced by their lived contexts and their relations to and experiences of social, economic, political and other conditions (Dowds, 2018; Enzo, 2017; Waters and Fivush, 2014). In other words, perceived youth political, social, or civic apathy, or changing forms of political and social behaviors among youth, may be linked to lived contextual factors and perceptions of social, cultural and economic conditions and possibilities. Civic beliefs and identity are not simply the product of education. How youth connect to their political and social communities and their perceptions, forms and types of citizenship can be shaped and linked to a number of diverse influences. Youth's identities and their sense of connection to groups and places can influence their levels of engagement, social and political behaviors and actions within the particular spaces and places they inhabit. Youth maybe less likely to participate in their communities (which is a manifestation of social citizenship) if they don't feel that they are members their communities (Broom, 2016c; Howe, 2010). Alternatively, youth may choose to engage actively in new or varied forms of political or social behavior (Colombo, 2016). For example, European youth seem to be increasingly active in supporting right wing political movements (Bayer, 2016). Civic identity, in short, is linked to beliefs about self and place, one's sense of belonging, and political and social actions and is shaped by lived experiences, contexts and conditions that may form outside of formal schools walls (Carr et al., 2016). Social media, further, can shape perceptions of events and news in informal and uncertain ways, as youth engage in varied forms of knowledge acquisition from diverse and often unregulated social media platforms.

This attention to diverse elements that shape who individuals are as citizens provides opportunities for expanding how we understand and teach citizenship education, for it acknowledges that students come into the classroom with a rich set of civic beliefs, attitudes and identities developed through their lived experience, contexts and conditions. Rather than ignoring this complexity through viewing students as empty vessels to be filled with state-legitimated "civic attitudes and behaviors" promoted by state curricula and in the interest of state or national aims, citizenship education could begin by exploring what students believe, act and live related to what citizenship means and might entail in the twenty first century, within the diverse contexts and conditions youth inhabit or experience.

Alternative Historical Frames

As described above, Seixas' (Seixas & Morton, 2012) six historical thinking concepts are embedded in the new BC curriculum for teachers to use in teaching a more critical history. While these concepts are useful for students to learn, both teachers and students may consider that there are alternative ways of thinking about and engaging in Social Studies, history education and citizenship education. Firstly, Social Studies itself is a course that can be differently conceptualized. Evans (2004), for example, presents four

different conceptions ranging from history-based traditionalist models, to discipline-based models and Deweyian-based, integrated courses.

Reviewing BC's Social Studies revisions over the twentieth century, BC has generally followed a model of Social Studies as history (except with the 1968 social studies model): while the framing statements of curriculum documents may be stated in the language of contemporary educational theories, the curriculum content has generally focused on history, that is, on the learning, discussion, and interpretation of historical events. Teachers can consider alternative ways of thinking about what Social Studies is and encompasses, with implications for the kinds of methods they use and how citizenship education is incorporated and taught (Broom, 2015c; Evans, 2004). For example, if a teacher chooses to consider Social Studies to be a Deweyian, cross-disciplinary study of contemporary topics through student-centered inquiry learning (Evans' 2004 Meliorist category), they may not need to focus on Seixas' historical thinking concepts. They may prefer to focus on elements and factors of inquiry-based learning, and they may conceive of good citizens in Dewey's sense of individuals who collaborative in their communities in order to bring continued development (growth) to their communities. Alternatively, a teacher who is interested in teaching across various disciplines (Discipline-based or Evan's 2004 Mandarins category), may be interested in considering insights that can be gained from the study of diverse disciplines, ranging from Sociology, to Psychology, Archeology, Sociology, Economics and Anthropology. The concept of a discipline-based course, also known as the New Social Studies, developed during the 1960s when the Social Sciences grew in universities and Bruner's (1987) Structure of Disciplines theory became popular (Evans, 2004). It framed the thinking behind BC's 1968 curriculum guide. Theorists of the New Social Studies viewed Social Studies as a discipline (subject)-focused course with a discovery-learning curriculum (Evans, 2004). This conception expands Social Studies beyond a course in History to broadly encompass the Social Sciences. Students are to learn to conceptually grasp the theoretical and organizing principles of each of the Social Sciences that are argued to encompass Social Studies. Learning was thus understood to be an active process in which students became like social scientists themselves as they engaged in inquiry or student-based projects. The teacher was a guide and a model. For example, students studied primary documents in order to learn Historical knowledge and conceptually grasp "what" history was and what its methods were. They could take part in simulated Archaeological digs in order learn about Archaeology and learn Archaeological content. They could explore or engage in scientific labs or study a landscape in order to map it and acquire Geographical knowledge and understanding of the subject. As Bruner stated:

Every subject has a structure, a rightness, a beauty. It is this structure that provides the underlying simplicity of things, and it is by learning its nature that we come to appreciate the intrinsic meaning of the subject…Discovery involves the finding of the right structure, the meaningfulness (Bruner, 1987, p. 244).

Under this conception of Social Studies, teachers can incorporate various disciplines' framing concepts, their methods of collecting data and insights gained from their research. Citizenship education is thus studied through the lenses of various social sciences. For example, in Political Studies, students can learn about traditional political citizenship as well as new models and thinking about political engagement. In Sociology, they can explore how societies understand citizenship and how factors and beliefs such as pluralism influence views. In History, they can learn about the history of the evolution of legal and human rights and of democracy. In Anthropology, they can be introduced to how the concept of citizenship is understood in different places and cultures. Through these various studies, which change

overtime to reflect new research and theories in the disciplines studied thus create a living, dynamic course of study, students can develop rich and layered conceptions of citizenship. Through discussion and reflection activities, students can develop their ideas of what citizenship is and entails. Studying various disciplines can expand students' understanding of our world today and of the various ways of looking at our world and key global and local issues. The Social Sciences offer valuable research and conceptual insights to students, yet they remain mostly absent from school study in BC. One example of a rich project related to the Social Sciences is that of the historical suitcases activity (Nesbit, 2007) in which students read the book *Hana's Suitcase* and then work together to create their own suitcases with descriptions accompanying the artifacts included or created, and based on inquiry research conducted in various social sciences, including History, Sociology, Economics, Anthropology and Political Science. Students can use disciplinary concepts, tools and knowledge of various disciplines in this exploration, which can be connected to the larger theme of citizenship.

Another way of viewing Social Studies and citizenship education is as an exploration of local and global social issues in order to develop critical understanding and engagement with contemporary society (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 2011; Evans, 2004). These teachers, who Evans (2004) names Recontructionists (or Reconceptualists), may prefer to focus on critical deconstruction of discourses and self-reflection, with the aim of increasing students' critical thinking and critical engagement with their society. In this view, citizenship education could include narratives, discussions, and inquiry projects which explore social injustices in society and aim to develop students' active engagement in improving their society. Inquiry-based learning can be approached in many ways. One example is that of case-based learning where students are introduced to a problem or issue in a case-based narrative (Broom, 2015d). An engaging and open-ended scenario begins a student-led inquiry to find possible answers or solutions to the issues or problems presented in the narrative. After reading the case, students respond with their initial views shaped by their lived experiences and knowledge through guided class discussions. The students then work in groups to answer questions on the case through inquiry research. Students share their learning in their groups and then share their group learning with the class through student-led activities and discussions. The inquiry concludes with individual reflective essays which allow students to process their learning. As an example, students could explore the meaning, frequency, and impact of poverty among Canadian youth of varied ethnic backgrounds. The students would begin with a narrative of various youth's lives in their communities as a starting point to engage them in the issue. Students would then use guiding questions, plus their own open inquiry questions to conduct research on the issues highlighted in the case narrative, such as to find statistics and definitions of the types and impacts of poverty on youth in Canada today. Questions could include: how can poverty be defined, what are its manifestations and impacts on individuals and society, how are social rules and norms involved, what are the impacts on children and youth and how can the issues identified be managed. The case study project thus becomes a rich inquiry into the meaning and processes of local and social citizenship. Other activities with a social justice perspective include Historical and contemporary photo analysis, primary and contemporary document analysis of historical and contemporary events or issues, and mini in-class and larger group research projects. Students can also develop contemporary and historical empathy through stories, books, and readers' theatres. They can identify ideological positions through debates and panels, conduct inquiry projects on historical or contemporary issues and questions, and compare and contrast the impacts of historical and contemporary events. All of these activities can aid students in developing a critically-minded citizenship.

Additionally, if a teacher wishes to focus on Social Studies as largely history, there are other ways of framing history instruction outside of Seixas' six concepts. Two examples are Wertsch's (1993, 2010) work on mediated historical consciousness and Sandwell's work on history as mystery (Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History). Wertsch (2010) argues that our thinking is mediated through a number of social and cultural processes and tools. His sociocultural perspective leads him to view individuals as constructing meaning through cognitive tools found in their sociocultural settings. These tools, such as narratives, shape how and what individuals know. Tools are found outside of individuals, therefore, meaning making is "distributed": It is made through the interaction of tools and unique "agents." He expands on these ideas in his work on collective memory, discussing how narratives are shaped and consumed. As an example, Wertsch describes "collective memory" in Russian school texts. He argues that the Soviet State aimed to shape a particular national identity in students through its teaching of "collective memories" in school textbooks. These official accounts included both "dialogical functions" and "schematic narrative templates." Wertsch concluded that, while the Soviet State intended to inculcate a particular collective memory and while individuals were able to recite it, they did not necessarily accept it. Individuals educated after the collapse of the Soviet State did not write about historical events in the same manner as those educated in the Soviet State, for they questioned the material. Interestingly, however, individuals of both eras used the same schematic narrative template, one that was deeply and invisibly embedded in its culture. A hidden continuity remained. Wertsch's study highlights the Soviet State's controlling use of education and textbooks with the aim of creating loyal citizens. Considering Wertsch's work, teachers could approach citizenship education through a discussion of which and how social tools influence thinking and action and critically explore how different texts are created and read and how they influence the way in which individuals and groups have created and do create meaning and action.

Another way of looking at history education is using Sandwell's project-based learning. Sandwell has developed a number of mysteries to engage students in solving historical crimes or questions through an inquiry-based study of historical events, social conditions and materials (Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History). Mysteries include studying materials in order to identify whether someone was guilty of a crime, identifying what happened to somebody or something and exploring what happened in a historical event, such as what happened on the ill-fated Franklin voyage in Arctic Canada.

Teachers may also wish to add new elements to their instruction that connect to innovative ways of thinking, such as holistic education models (Miller et al., 2018). For example, mindfulness and ecological consciousness work is growing in popularity. The first focuses attention on the individual, and his or her thinking and on managing oneself in order to engage effectively in learning and personal development (Kabat-Zinn, 2013). It considers how thinking influences action, and how individuals can shape action, concepts that tie closely into what citizens are and do and what citizenship means and entails. Ecological consciousness considers the individual's connection to the natural world and the interrelations, effects and consequences that bind us together in one global and shared ecosystem (Broom, 2017; Cachon, 2015; Orr, 2004). Focusing on these areas provide teachers with new methods and activities, such as connecting one's thinking processes to those of contemporary and historical actors, considering the consequences of actions and choices on local and global systems, and exploring what visions of citizenship are related to these ideas.

Attention to Social Media

Youth are growing up in Canada embedded in and attached to technology. However, their engagement is not necessarily thoughtful (Kane et al., 2016). Youth can be misled into supporting particular concepts or discourses uncritically. Students, for example, can buy into media advertising and social media messages. To address this, educators can connect citizenship education to media literacy education through fostering students' critical thinking and critical media literacy skills, teaching students to analyse media by identifying codes, stereotypes, discourses, and messages (Kellner & Share, 2005). This connects to Wertsch's work on exploring discourses that structure social meaning. Wertsch builds on a tradition of critical scholarship, including Vygotsky's (2004) work on the socially-constructed nature of knowing and Bakhtin's (1986) concept of dialogic texts, both of which can also be studied. Bakhtin (1986) argues, for example, that texts include multiple, layered voices and readers engage in making meaning through interaction with these complex, layered texts and their own diverse concepts, thoughts, aims and contexts in ongoing dialogues that link past, present, and future (Bakhtin, 1986). Citizenship education thus becomes framed by Eliot's concept that "the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past" (Eliot, 1919).

Students can study multiple points of view on topics, multiple forms of texts and learn to identify the main messages and tools used to portray particular messages, exploring biases, perspectives, and the differences between facts and opinions, and how one's self, perspective, culture and context can shape the meaning that is arrived at. Students can explore contemporary and historical societies by exploring the strengths and weaknesses of different perspectives on events and social issues through multiple, diverse, multi-layered and dialogical texts. Students can analyse the supporting arguments used and research the factual basis of claims. Students can also learn to identify examples of good and poor logic and logical fallacies. They can come to recognize the dynamic and constructed nature of their thinking, and of narratives and citizenship, rooted in presentism but also connected to the past and the future.

Expanding the Locus of Control

After two hundred years of government control and regulation of schools, with a resulting limited view of citizenship articulated through a mostly traditionalist, political citizenship program—perhaps it is time to consider expanding who is involved in the administration of schools and development of curriculum (Evans, 2011). Research has found that Social Studies, and citizenship education in particular, are unpopular teaching and learning areas: students find citizenship education boring and incomplete (Broom, 2016c). This might tie into the limited and dry political citizenship education program found in curriculum documents. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, the development of public schools was intricately intertwined with the ideologies of modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and developing nationalism that led to state educational aims of creating good, nationalist citizens (Broom, 2016a). Our world is very different today to that of 1800. Individuals are aware of the issues caused by rationalized, modern approaches that can exacerbate global issues such as global environmental damage and increasing social inequalities. It is also possible that students find it difficult to engage with citizenship education, as the subject does not consider the manner in which citizenship attitudes and behaviors are developed through lived experiences (Broom, 2016b; Carr et al., 2016). Citizenship education and school administration in general could be expanded to include more of the voices of teachers, parents, students and local communities, rather than the traditional pattern of government-led

curriculum reform (Broom, 2015a). Varied groups including parents, teachers, students and community members could participate in the development of diverse types of curricula and citizenship education programs and materials which meet the needs of varied students and expand the diversity of teaching topics, materials and tools. By expanding the locus of school curriculum development to communities, educators and parents, opportunities for the flourishing of innovative and diverse educational schooling options, and rich and varied conceptions of what citizenship is and entails, open up. Educators could create their own focused programs—all helping to develop citizenship in youth in multiple ways that connect to youth's lived experiences, hopes and beliefs. The government could focus on distributing funds to varied programs and ensuring that these meet certain standards such as those related to the knowledge and skills to be acquired. Perhaps it is time, in the twenty-first century, to consider new options to that of one mandated curriculum and a traditional citizenship education program and provide space for the flourishing of new possibilities and visions—thus meeting the needs of varied youth and not having a "one size fits all" industrial model focused on government aims. While the latest curriculum revision does open some initial spaces for this to happen through its use of Big Ideas and themes which allow teachers to choose the content, materials and activities for their lessons, the underlying conception of citizenship education remains similar to that of previous guides, suggesting a possible schematic narrative template (Wertsch, 2010) of what citizenship education entails in the province.

By expanding the number and variety of individuals who participate in curriculum development related to citizenship education, new visions and possibilities of what citizenship is and entails can be imagined. This might be a more fitting process for a twenty-first century democracy, and it opens up possibilities for the empowerment of youth. Empowering youth will be visible in how youth come to manage themselves actively and with responsibility and ownership for their actions (Broom, 2015d). Empowering youth includes features such as developing students' abilities to work independently to achieve common goals, learn to apply guidelines, consider varied perspectives, and collaborate with others. Educating youth to empower them builds self-esteem, positive identity, self-control, participation in a community, and engagement, elements on the Boston University Making Decisions Empowerment Scale (2012)—and all elements that can aid in the development of a rich vision of lived citizenship. Teachers can slowly release their students to take on increasing amounts of self-directed learning. They can begin with encouraging their students in inquiry work and slowly move to providing guidance on projects and, lastly, to enabling youth to direct their own learning, using Dewey's (1916) theory of experience-based learning.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Future work can research how teachers, students, and community members are understanding what citizenship is and entails and how these connect (or don't connect) to government views and state- developed curriculum. Research can also consider how broadening teachers' views of citizenship through multi-dimensional models of youth and citizenship may influence their views and practices of citizenship education. Further, research and work can continue to explore the meanings, purposes and processes of Social Studies for the twenty second century. Social Studies, that is, has continued to illustrate twentieth-century concerns and materials related to democratic and industrial society. Now, as society and the globe evolve and new challenges and issues arise, such as those related to climate change, dramatic population increases and migrations, and social and global challenges related to health, globalization, economic

inequities, ideological clashes, social media, and environmental damage, Social Studies theorists and curriculum developers can expand their thinking of what the course entails, how it can be taught, and what its aims and processes might be.

CONCLUSION

In British Columbia, Canada, citizenship education has been largely integrated into Social Studies courses. The aim of creating "good citizens" has been a consistent aim of Social Studies and this has largely focused on creating good, political citizens who value concepts such as democracy and multiculturalism. Scholars and teachers in other nations and contexts can engage in similar reviews and explorations of how citizens are conceptualized and the aims of their Social Studies or citizenship education curricula. Connecting into Social Studies' consistent aim of creating "good citizens" in BC, for example, teachers and researchers can explore the values underlying different positions of what citizenship and active citizenship are and the implications of such views for society in general and individuals, including those related to the nature of citizenship advocated by nation states. Scholars, teachers and students can consider alternatives possibilities in diverse contexts. Individuals can engage in "complicated conversations" (Pinar, 2012) with each other in which they explore the meaning of citizenship in the twenty-first century, and the kind of world and society they aim to be a part of, which is not just indoctrination into state aims. These discussions relate to individuals' meaning-making regarding the aims of living life well, of flourishing, in Bakhtin-like dialogues that connect past, present and future meanings in an exploration of the kind of democratic society, of citizens, people have been, are, and aim to be. These discussions cross national and international borders and boundaries as they related to the aims, or purposes, of life.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Bureaucratization: Increasingly complex administrative structures and policies developed by governments as they took control of the management of schools and other social institutions in the nineteenth century.

Citizenship: Belonging to a national or social group as a member, which entails rights and responsibilities to and within the group.

Citizenship Education: Citizenship education can be understood in different ways, depending on the aims and perspectives that frame the subject. It can be divided into "traditional" conceptions of citizenship education, focused on political behaviors such as voting, or more "transformative" conceptions (Sears, 2009; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, Flanagan, 2010). Besides its common political education element, citizenship education may also include attention to social citizenship, such as being good neighbors, and civic citizenship focused on civil rights and their protection (Marshall, 1950).

Civic Citizenship: Citizenship focused around legal and civic rights and responsibilities.

Mandarins: One of Evans' (2004) categories of Social Studies reformers who largely promoted a disciplinary or subject-based view of Social Studies during the 1960s. These social scientists promoted an academic, discipline and inquiry-based view of what Social Studies encompassed. Students were to follow the methods and processes that social scientists use.

Meliorists: One of Evans' (2004) categories of social studies reformers who viewed Social Studies from a progressivist (or Deweyian) perspective, in which they aimed to teach students to improve society through an issues or problem-based approach.

Modernization: A concept related to European's Scientific Revolution and to industrialization that humanity will improve or progress through the use of science. Using scientific means, machines and processes can be developed that will be more efficient and effective.

Political Citizenship: Citizenship in the traditional political sense of knowledge of political structures and institutions and of participation in political processes such as following the news and voting.

Rationalization: A process focused on efficiency, which connects modernization to economic means of production such as as Capitalism. It studies processes, such as assembly lines, in order to find ways of making them most efficient (cost effective).

Reconstructionists: Another of Evans' (2004) categories of Social Studies reformers who view Social Studies through a social justice lens. They aim to remake a more socially fair and equitable society through critical teaching.

Social Citizenship: Citizenship defined as engaging in positive behaviors towards other community members, such as being a good neighbor.

Traditional Citizenship Education: Conception of citizenship education focused on teaching traditional activities associated with political life, such as following political news and voting.

Transformative Citizenship Education: More transformative conceptions of citizenship education associated with changing the ways in which individuals think about and participate in their societies, often with a focus on social justice (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 2011).