How is Citizenship Represented in Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)? A Content and Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

*Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)* is arguably considered the flagship journal of research in social studies education. *TRSE* has been published on an uninterrupted basis for more than 40 years, dating back to its first publication in October of 1973. Given the longevity of *TRSE* and its status within the social studies field, the journal has given considerable attention to the cause of citizenship and citizenship education, a cause the social studies field agreeably prides as its governing rationale and source of academic responsibility. According to its mission statement, *TRSE* serves to “foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge and understanding of the purpose, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations” (NCSS, 2012, para. 1). As such, this dissertation study examines the creation and exchange of ideas concerning citizenship within *TRSE* over a 40-year period (1973-2013).

Utilizing a multiple methods approach (both content and discourse analysis) this study identifies nine citizenship discourse categories emergent from the *TRSE* anthology that are situated within four Perspectives (Practical, Critical, Connected, and Technical) that locate each discourse category within a larger contextual frame. Additionally, the discursive formations that ultimately bind each discourse category across time are identified along with intertextual chains, interdiscursive attempts, and fields most commonly visited within each discourse category. This study sheds light on a systemic shift concerning the citizenship discourse within *TRSE*, one that,
over time, is increasingly informed by a critical epistemological assumption or stance with regards to what may be considered the status quo of American political and civic life; the implications of which are discussed further.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

One night after dinner and after putting our two children to bed and cleaning up the evening dishes, my partner Candy and I managed to escape the stresses of life – at least for the moment – and retire to our living room couch and enjoy some quiet, late night conversation. General small talk about the day’s events and such initiated our chat, but somehow in our exhausted physical states, we managed to become more self reflective and in-turn the nature of our conversation shifted and soon arrived at more substantial matters. We talked mostly about our relationship and paths taken – we laughed about the unlikelihood of such a relationship as ours actually working for most people. We had after all, spent much of our yearlong courtship apart; she a fifth year veterinary medical student in Guatemala, and me, I was cutting my teeth as a first year teacher at a middle school in North Carolina. What had begun as an innocent online exchange between two young professionals, quickly evolved into a long distance relationship and our eventual marriage. Looking back, we prided ourselves in the successes of our shared journey thus far – which included the birth of our two children – and for the moment things felt good.

The pride-induced comfort we experienced that night proved short lived, however, as the landscape of our conversation shifted toward future affairs. At the time of this late-nigh chat we had been married for six years. Candy had just completed the five-year requirement of permanent residency status needed to apply for United States citizenship and somehow, her eligible status was brought into our focus. With no real desired outcome in mind - in terms of her response - I asked her about this, “Are you going to apply for [U.S.] citizenship?” Without hesitation, she responded “Why?” “Why should I become a citizen?” Not expecting the question to be volleyed back so quickly and with such directness, I was perplexed - even more disturbing,
however, was the ocean of a pause that subsequently transpired as I probed for a response. Certainly six years of experience as a social studies teacher would enable me in this moment to articulate an insightful reply to this most fundamental of civic inquiries – not to mention three years of graduate studies. Sadly, the search proved futile and unresponsive. Despite my experience and civic knowledge all I could comeback with was four trivial words, “so you can vote.” Candy, almost expecting this response, began a harangue about her unhappiness with American politics and the direction she felt the government was taking. Her exact words here I do not recall specifically, not because I was not listening, but because of the immediate disappointment I felt as a result of my response. Just within the confines of this late-night conversation between partners, I had reduced the concept of citizenship and all of its embedded nuances, privileges, and responsibilities to that of selecting candidates for public office – in this moment I felt professionally incompetent.

Days later the disappointment experienced as a result of this conversation remained with me. Feelings of disappointment, however, eventually changed into increasingly frequent episodes of curiosity. I pondered whether my own uncertainty about citizenship and its significance – when challenged – was it an isolated case or could it represent a more common situation within social studies education and amongst social studies practitioners? If this case was not isolated, I began to wonder what factors could contribute to such an uncertainty surrounding this most central of concepts to public education? As a classroom teacher I felt that citizenship was consistently interwoven into my planning and instruction – but, in retrospect, was the concept so tightly interwoven that its contours were never brought fully into focus, called into question, and challenged? I was not sure. Had the concept of citizenship – under
these circumstances - been defaulted to a reified conceptualization, one that was endorsed and promoted by the curriculum? That late night conversation called all of this into question.

With so many questions and curiosities percolating in the aftermath of this chat (and further consideration that this case was not isolated but possibly one “visibly hidden” amongst other social studies educators and practitioners), the conversation itself, became the launching pad for further inquiry. After all, the cognitive dissidence and disequilibrium I experienced (in retrospect) captured, much like a photograph from days-gone-by, my professional identity at that specific moment in time. My identity and professional disposition was still strongly influenced and nurtured by my biography and experiences as a classroom teacher. When charged with why someone (a recent immigrant) should become a citizen I was (to a large extent) relying on my familiarity and untroubled experiences as part of the public education culture, and more specifically the lessons I taught middle school students. Coupled with this however--and to muddy the self reflective identity waters even more--at the time of the conversation I was starting my second year of full-time doctoral work. With this, I was not fully acclimated to or fluent in the expectations and actions associated with being an academician – actions not limited to reading journal articles, writing conference proposals, reviewing manuscripts and submitting for publication. If we look more intimately at the photo described, it reveals (in hindsight) an identity swirling in the transitional space of career and personal change, an identity not firmly anchored in any professional context, but rather driven by notions of survival and the desire for both personal and professional validation.

Given my nascent professional identity and the transitional spaces of residence mentioned I made the conscious decision to ascertain (if possible) how the field of social studies education and social studies scholars in particular, have grappled with the notion of citizenship
and citizenship education. More specifically, what conclusions (if any) has the field arrived at concerning the nature of citizenship and how does that conclusion relate to the students we serve? What are the points of agreement across the landscape of social studies discourse? What about the points of departure and conjecture? And what are the implications of how citizenship is conceptualized within the field’s discourse, in relation to how citizenship is actualized in social studies classrooms as well as amongst both practitioners and social studies teacher educators? Grappling with such questions ultimately provided the basis for this study.

In order to entertain such questions more precisely and design a study that spoke to the motivating discontent that inspired this work, I decided to focus on one journal’s coverage of citizenship and citizenship education. I chose a journal that I peruse the most, one arguably considered the flagship journal of research in social studies education (VanSledright & Grant, 1991, p. 289): *Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)*. *TRSE* has been uninterrupted in publication since 1973. The more than 40-year (1973-2013) compendium of this journal served as the necessary “terrain” or “universe of discourse” for this study. Given the journal’s reputation and longevity, the following two questions served to frame this study:

- How is citizenship represented within *Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)*?
- How have these representations emerged?

Following this introduction are four more chapters. Within Chapter Two I review existing literatures concerning both the nature of the social studies and the nature of citizenship and citizenship education. My focus on the social studies includes a cursory analysis of its origins in K-12 schools as a core academic subject and further, how it is operationalized and implemented in classrooms. The review of the social studies also includes attention to desired outcomes in terms of student development and/or academic progress and is then situated within
the more recent zeitgeist of curricula standardization and the push for standardized assessment. Following the nature of the social studies, I shift attention toward citizenship: both conceptually (what does it mean?) and how it is enacted in schools (i.e. citizenship education). Providing sufficient understanding concerning these core components of the research questions was deemed requisite for this study. Further, given the location of the research questions, the review concludes with an examination of the infrastructures and cultural inner workings of academic publishing and in doing so, opens space for further conversation concerning forces that ultimately shape academic discourse.

Chapter Three details both the methodology and the specific methods employed for this study. Next, I unpack the decision for a multiple methods approach (both content and discourse analysis) in order to explore the citizenship discourse within the TRSE compendium. An analysis of each selected method, coupled with the rational for such an approach, is provided to demonstrate methodological alignment with the study’s research questions. The content analysis portion of this study addressed the first research question (How is citizenship represented in TRSE?) and was guided by the following three questions:

- What is the author of the selected text advocating in relation to citizenship and/or citizenship education?
- What are the terms and/or expressions used to identify political membership, identity, values, participation and knowledge?
- What kinds of moral, civic, and/or educational values does the author defend?

The discourse analysis portion of this study addressed the second research question (How have these representations emerged?) and was guided by the following questions:

- What is believed to be common knowledge within discourse categories?
• What evidence do we see of interdiscursivity and intertextuality (intertextual chains) within discourse categories?

• What fields shape these conversations?

Chapter Four of this study is dedicated to communicating research findings. Based on the multiple methods approach and framed by the research questions, this study identified nine discourse categories across the 40-year period examined. These discourse categories are housed within four Perspectives that, in turn, serve to locate each identified discourse within a larger contextual frame. Additionally, the discursive formations (or common knowledge) that ultimately served to bind these discourse categories across time and editorial regimes are identified. This study sheds light on a systemic shift concerning the citizenship discourse within TRSE – one that, over time, is increasingly informed by a critical epistemological assumption or stance with regards to what may be considered the status quo in the field. The implications of which are discussed further in the discussion portion of this study.

In Chapter Five, the implications concerning research findings are discussed and then situated along three continuums which have both informed and inspired this work, and also contributive forces for future work and further inquiry: 1) For Myself, 2) For Practice, and 3) For Scholarship. I now turn my attention to the review portion of this study that begins with a look at my theoretical framework and the specific works employed to assemble it.
Chapter 2: Review of the Literatures

In this chapter I will explore the literatures concerning social studies education, citizenship and citizenship education, and conclude with a look into the structures of academic publishing. In order to do so while being mindful of my research questions:

1) How is citizenship represented in Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)?
2) How have these representations emerged?

I have cross-pollinated the works of Gallie (1956), Bourdieu (1996), and Foucault (1977) in the development of my theoretical lens. This cross-pollination has enabled me to economically parse and direct the literatures into the trajectory of this study.

Theoretical Framework

Within my theoretical lens I have addressed Gallie’s (1956) notion of essentially contested concepts and attempted to clothe the ideas of social studies education, citizenship and citizenship education with the essential conditions or parts unique to them. In doing so I have directed attention more quickly toward underlying points of departure that have ultimately framed how these concepts are theorized within the literatures and maintained within scientific communities. In order to tease apart Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts and critically examine tissues binding its basic components within the context of social studies education, citizenship and citizenship education, I experimented with Bourdieu’s (1996) illusio, field, and habitus. The convergence of illusio, field, and habitus provides me with an environmental space in which to situate expressed logic within the literatures stemming from underlying assumptions captured by Gallie’s (1956) work. Within Chapter Three, I introduce the work of Stuart Hall (1997) to protract further meaning as it relates to systems of communication and language that put into motion cultural representation within the envisioned space. Foucault’s (1977) notions of
political technology of the body and panopticism, draped with Bourdieu’s (1996) illusio, enabled me to survey and capture sites of impact and broader implications as essentially contested concepts are put into motion by way of academic publishing. What follows is a more detailed inspection of my theoretical lens; I begin by depositing the concept of citizenship within the apparatus of Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts to demonstrate theoretical and philosophic alignment.

**Essentially Contested Concepts**

The concept of citizenship is a charged one (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Parker, 1996b). Individual interpretation and understandings of citizenship and its parameters and attributes such as affordances and responsibilities, vary within and across cultures and larger populations (Banks & Nguyen, 2008; Beiner, 1995; Ong, 1999). Unlike more readily agreed upon concepts such as automobile, water, or holiday – citizenship has conjured a murkier translation in light of its debatable constitution (Parker, 1996b). With this in mind, Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts frames a structured interrogation regarding the very basic and contestable nature of the concept of citizenship. According to Gallie (1956) essentially contested concepts can be understood as those concepts of which “the proper use inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users” (Gallie, 1956, p. 169). To sketch this out further, Gallie (1956) puts forward seven conditions that he asserts are common to essentially contested concepts:

1. The concept must be appraisive – it represents a valued achievement.
2. The associated achievement must be of “internally complex character” in that its value is “attributed to it as a whole” (p. 172).
3. Its value when articulated must refer to the contributions of its features or parts.
4. The accredited achievement associated with the concept must be modifiable in nature able to adapt to changing circumstances – Gallie later refers to this as “open” in character.

5. Each user of the concept is cognizant of its alternate use by other parties – however, one recognizes that her/his own use of the concept must be maintained against other uses.

6. The derivation of the concept used is one evolved from an original exemplar – one whose “authority is acknowledged by all of the contestant users of the concept” (p. 180).

7. Contestation of the concept’s use sustains the exemplar’s achievement and development in a favorable fashion.

Gallie’s (1956) frame for essentially contested concepts, as mentioned, serves to expose roots of dissention amongst scholars and their arguments. In Gallie’s (1956) view, disagreements surrounding conceptual exchange could be linked to underlying assumptions or views regarding individual use of the concept. Gallie (1956) would suggest, the higher the recognition of an alternate use of a concept as logically possible (within a scientific community), the greater critical value of one’s own interpretation of the concept used. This line of thinking would also suggest that as one defends one’s own view, dialogue would become more heated and passionate. Attempts to converge others users of the term become more pervasive as well. Increased attempts at conversion within citizenship discourse, for example, may also represent a view on the part of the scholar that the logic of an opposing view has become more plausible in their own thinking, or alternatively, a threat to their own line of reasoning. Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts, employed as an apparatus, identifies viewpoints expressed at the conceptual level and further, teases out motivating factors that inform those viewpoints. But to
interrogate the viewpoints mentioned, a more critical stance is incorporated to inspect the surrounding structures whose influence within published works must be considered.

Field and Habitus

To further cement the contours of this study’s theoretical frame the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1996) and Michel Foucault (1977) are employed to critically illuminate factors and experiences that shape conceptual understandings. The work of Bourdieu (1996) and Foucault (1977) have proven particularly helpful when looking more intently at how structures within academic publishing shape the field’s discourse. Beginning with Bourdieu’s (1990,1996) notions of field and habitus I demonstrate why such a critical approach is warranted in this work.

According to Bourdieu (1990), field represents a setting, or put more precisely, a locus imbued with power relationships; of which agents are located in accordance with accumulated symbolic capital – which Bourdieu characterizes as “both the instrument and the object of competitive struggles within the field” (p. 141). In theory, agents pursue symbolic capital, in the form of recognition, consecration, etc. for the purposes of attaining more coveted locations within the field (setting). Bourdieu (1996) affirmed an infrastructure of operations within fields that must be understood and analyzed in order to apprehend the social realities they (fields) manifest:

1. The field must be situated/located within the embedded field of power. *The field of power, for Bourdieu (1996), represents the “space of relations of force between agents or institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy the dominant positions within different fields” (p. 215).*

2. Acknowledge/analyze the internal workings (structure) of the field, realizing that it (the field) operates as a “universe obeying its own laws of functioning and
transformation, meaning the structure of objective relations between positions occupied by individuals and groups placed in a situation of competition for legitimacy” (p. 214).

3. Finally, a close inspection of the “habitus” (see also Bourdieu, 1985) of agents who inhabit the field is warranted. *Habitus, Bourdieu (1996) defines as, “the systems of dispositions” which ultimately serve as the “product of a social trajectory [socialization] and of a position within the field”* (p. 214). Habitus, as such, can be conceptualized as the viewpoints and dispositions of agents that is both present and in a state of continual evolution and dictated by her/his socialized context within the field.

In addition to illuminating structures that may affect discourse concerning published works within the context of this review, Bourdieu’s (1996) notion of field and habitus provided insight regarding the power-imbued context in which agents are located – a location that may be dominated by competition and agent quest for capital. One cannot help but ponder the effect elements such as power and competition might have on shaping the citizenship discourse within *TRSE*.

**Pushing Further: Bourdieu’s Illusio and Foucault**

After internalizing notions of field and habitus and the possibility of competition and power as factors that influence discourse we arrive at Bourdieu’s (1996) illusio. It is at the conjunctural interpass of habitus and field that Bourdieu (1996) described as the source of a “game” or “illusio,” which he explained further,

> Each field produces its specific form of the illusio, in the sense of an investment in the game which pulls agents out of their indifference and inclines and predisposes them to put into operation the distinctions which are pertinent from the viewpoint of the logic of the field, to distinguish what is important. But it is just as true that a certain form
of adherence to the game, of belief in the game, and that the *collusion* of agents in the illusio is the root of the competition which pits them against each other and which makes the game itself. In short, the illusio is the condition for the functioning of a game of which it is also, at least partially, the product.” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 227-228)

Envisioning fields of discourse enthralled in a competitive game with specific rules and expectations of those who play does warrant certain concerns, in particular the implications surrounding decisions to adopt a logic in which the field identifies areas of importance. How would such a structure affect discourse within a scientific community? If we localize such logic to conceptual understandings and meanings of citizenship within a scientific community’s discourse, it does at first glance, seem plausible that those understandings could quickly become insular in nature, which might inhibit production/construction of meanings attached to citizenship within social studies education (e.g. see Dewey, 1910; Hickman, 1990).

Along the lines of adopting a shared logic within a field, as suggested by the illusio, and amidst an environment laden with power relations and competition for capital, Foucault’s (1977) “political technology of the body” unveiled insight that compels, or possibly requires individuals to play the game.

But the body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. This political investment of the body is bound up, in accordance with complex reciprocal relations, with its economic use; it is largely as a force of production that the body is invested with relations of power and domination; but, on the other hand, its constitution as labor power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection (in which need is also a
political instrument meticulously prepared, calculated and used); the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and subjected body. (Foucault, 1977, p. 25-26)

Foucault’s (1977) work here begins to speak to productivity. In Foucault’s (1977) view individuals (scholars) exercise or demonstrate value only when productive, which can only happen as a result of subjugation and by corollary, docility. Docility, according to Foucault (1977), is attained through discipline, which he viewed as an art of rank: “It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 145-146). The distribution of bodies according to Foucault (1977) is the true source of power; “Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies…in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relations in which individuals are caught up” (p. 202). By converging Foucault’s (1977) thoughts, merged here with Bourdieu (1996), the motivating rationales involved to play the game are illuminated. According to Bourdieu (2000), one cannot benefit from the game “without being taken in by the game” (p. 153). A real subjection according to Foucault (1977) is “born mechanically from a fictitious relation” (p.202), or an illusion (illusio). Foucault would refer to this as the panoptic schema:

Our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance; under the surface of images, one invests bodies in depth; behind the great abstraction of exchange, there continues the meticulous, concrete training of useful forces; the circuits of communication are the supports of an accumulation and a centralization of knowledge; the play of signs defines the anchorages of power; it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the
individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies. We are much less Greeks than we believe. We are neither in the amphitheater, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine, invested by its effects of power, which we bring to ourselves since we are part of its mechanism. (Foucault, 1977, p. 217)

By overlaying the works of Bourdieu (1996) and Foucault (1977) we arrive at the possibility that individuals and/or scholars are woven into the structures of the field of discourse and once there are shaped and subjected by the field, its rules, and logic (or illusio). The structures uncovered appear to have significant impact on discourse and conceptual understandings within scholarly communities. In the following section I begin the business of the review, which is rested atop three conceptual pillars. After exploring Pillars 1 and 2, I take a step back and review territories covered thus far and then situate my travels within the study’s theoretical framework. Doing so enables me to chisel out further meaning from the literatures and begin the process of installing Pillar 3, which when considered alongside Pillars 1 and 2, creates the space or location where my research questions reside. But first, I unpack the logic and rationale for conceptualizing literatures as three pillars.

**Resting the Literatures Atop Three Pillars**

Given the nature of the research questions--1) How is citizenship represented in *Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)*? And, 2) How have these representations emerged?--and considering the environmental context of which they reside, I made the decision to situate them firmly atop three conceptual pillars: 1) the nature of the social studies, 2) the nature of citizenship and citizenship education, and 3) the role and structure of academic journals (see Figure 1) for the review portion of this dissertation study. Doing so, provided the context and
terrain needed to sustain the momentum of my research questions, but also provided organization and a tightened sense of focus for the review as a whole.

Figure 1: Review of the literatures conceptualized as three conceptual pillars.

I began the inquiry by first laying a foundational understanding of the context and infrastructures of which citizenship is most commonly conveyed to students in the United States, and with this, the nature of the social studies. By “nature” of the social studies, the pillar has as its core a characterization of what the social studies look like in schools and what motivating factors and rationales have substantiated its position as a core subject within K-12 education in the United States. Within this pillar multiple layers, perspectives, and questions are explored regarding the nature of the social studies. These layers included efforts at defining the social studies, its purpose, its dissemination in schools (how the curriculum is structured and presented to students), and the role and influence of standards and standardized assessment with regards to
the social studies in schools. With this I answer the question: What is the nature of the social studies – and how does the nature of the social studies connect with the concept of citizenship?

After having explored the nature of the social studies and understanding the context in which citizenship is most commonly conveyed to students, I examined the nature of citizenship and examined further the actual meaning of the concept of citizenship. In this pillar, citizenship is explored from both an historical and a contemporary perspective and examined for points of connection. Potential points of divergence are teased out within the citizenship discourse regarding its components, expectations, and its relationship to identity. I then dug deeper into the context discussed in the review’s first pillar and scratched out a depiction of what citizenship education looks like in schools and undertake the possible implications of such a depiction in relation to teaching and learning. These efforts were guided by the following questions: What is citizenship? Is citizenship a generative concept? If so, how generative is the concept of citizenship? At the conclusion of the review’s second pillar, I assess the picture painted so far. Doing so provides respite and space to informally process the terrain covered as it relates to the study’s research questions, which are further supported by the inclusion of the review’s third pillar.

Having said this and given this study’s attention to the citizenship discourse housed within TRSE, the third and final pillar examines the role and structure of the academic journal. Academic journals, such as TRSE, serve as a primary outlet and resource for scholars to communicate and/or disseminate their knowledge and research findings to practitioners and other members within the scientific community. Within this pillar the inner workings and structures embedded within the sphere of academic journals are critically examined including the role and perceived power of journal editors. Also examined is the way such factors as journal etiquette
and overall journal style have influenced or created a sub-structure within academic publishing that impacts scholarship produced. The final pillar represents specifically the geography needed in order to ascertain how these structures affect academic discourse, such as that housed within *TRSE*. With this in mind, within the final pillar I answer the question: How do the structures within academic publishing affect a field’s discourse? But first, the study’s first pillar, the nature of the social studies.

**The Nature of the Social Studies**

To understand the nature of the social studies, one must first understand the origins of the social studies, and with that, a discerning knowledge of the environmental factors that ultimately led to its emergence within American schools. Such an understanding evokes a contextualized appreciation of the social studies but also a sense of fluency requisite for effectively parsing the literature regarding foundational issues that often stem from the historiography of the field. A brief history of the social studies is provided.

**Societal and Economic Changes**

The origins of the social studies in American schools can be traced back to the latter half of the 19th century, a time characterized by significant societal and economic changes within the country – changes that included rapid expansion, industrialization, new modes of production and transportation, urbanization, and increased immigration (Saxe, 1991). In a comprehensive investigation of social studies curricular reform over a period of 100 years, Hertzberg (1981) pointed to three specific developments during this period of change that led to the rise of the social studies in American schools:

- increased high school populations,
- the emergence of the American university,
the rise of professional organizations that represented both (p. 4). Hertzberg’s (1981) three developments provide the context for this window into the origins of the social studies in schools.

**Increased High School Populations**

The growth of high school populations in America would set the stage for multiple examinations and reexaminations into curricula taught to students. Soon after the American Civil War, high schools across the country experienced dramatic growth and soon outnumbered both private school and academy populations, eventually earning the nickname, the “people’s college” (Hertzberg, 1981). Within these schools, what became the social studies curriculum was primarily history-centric in nature and included studies of “the myths and legends of ancient Greece and Rome, heroes of the American Revolution, the discovery of the New World, and other stories designed to inspire patriotism and moral certitude” (Saxe, 1991, p. 30). Teaching methods employed in history classrooms generally consisted of rote memorization and answering questions from texts that were a “hodgepodge” of historical facts (Evans, 2004; Whelan, 1997). According to Evans (2004) many influential historians of the day including Andrew White, Herbert Baxter Adams, and Charles Kendall Adams, questioned the pedagogical and intrinsic value of such study and began to advocate a more “professional” approach to the discipline of history in schools, one that was “directed by a scientifically coherent method of inquiry that provided a holistic view of the world” (p. 6). Such a “scientific” approach to teaching and learning was one that was readily embraced within America’s growing universities.

**Emergence of the American University**

Burgeoning high school populations of the 1880s coincided with the emergence of the American university, which was triggered in part by the Morrill Land-Grant Acts. These Acts
provided states with federal land endowments to be used toward the creation of public educational institutions that served to train and equip students for the changing needs and structure of American society. American universities embraced a “modern” and/or “scientific” philosophy toward teaching and learning, which included space for inquiry and use of the scientific method. Such pedagogy incorporated the use of primary sources and the testing of evidence to develop theory; an approach in stark contrast to American’s liberal arts oriented colleges, that for the time being, continued to embrace a study of the “classics” and acceptance of religious orthodoxy (Hertzberg, 1981). Many future voices in social studies debates and curriculum reform efforts were representative of scholars trained under such scientific/inquiry-oriented approaches to learning, including many “new historians” who sought out the past for relations to more contemporary concerns and conditions of society (Evans, 2004).

The late 19th century also witnessed an increased interest in societal reform in response to challenges, such as poverty and worker exploitation, that accompanied the many changes in America society. Reformers saw education as a vehicle to promote social progress and the welfare of citizens and, by the late 1880s, began to call for the use of the social sciences in American classrooms to address social issues and contemporary challenges. During this period the social sciences comprised the fields of anthropology, political science, social statistics, social psychology, and social geography (Saxe, 1991). Scholars within these fields, like the new historians, found a home in the American university - which in addition to promoting inquiry and the use of the scientific method, supported increased specialization within fields; fields that befitted and ultimately reflected American’s evolving social landscape.
Rise of Professional Organizations

Professional organizations would have a profound influence over the future social studies. The American Historical Association (AHA), which was founded in 1884, in particular held a leading voice in curriculum development, and would continue to do so through much of the 20th century. Other organizations such as the American Social Science Association (ASSA) founded in 1865, the American Economic Association (AEA) founded in 1885, and the Association of American Geographers (AAG) founded in 1904, supported representation and advocacy for the inclusion of their disciplines in schools.

The National Education Association (NEA), another newly formed professional organization founded in 1857, was faced with the challenge of aligning high school curricula with university and/or college admissions requirements. In order to address such a task, the NEA looked to organizations such as the AHA for guidance. By the time the NEA sought to align high school curricula with college admission requirements, it had become evident that a more scientific and modern study of traditional history and the emerging social sciences were increasing their presence in America’s growing public education system. What transpired over the next 30 years were three significant curricular efforts that would look closer at the intersection of these two movements within schools and ultimately propel the social studies to its current position within education as a core subject.

Three Curricular Efforts

From 1887 to 1916, three curricular efforts shaped the social studies in American education. The committees they represent: The History Ten, The Committee of Seven, and The 1916 Report of the Social Studies commonly recognize these efforts. Each effort presents a snapshot of America’s education system at that moment and footprints of a continuing influence of the social studies in schools beginning with The History Ten.
The History Ten

In 1887, the National Council of the National Education Association (NEA) convened to address the issue of uniformity between high school curricula and college/university entrance requirements and also explore the possibility of standardized curricula across disciplines within American public schools (Evans, 2004). The committee was composed of nine subcommittees, one of which was The Conference on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy, later nicknamed The History Ten in light of its ten members and their areas of expertise.

The History Ten, which first met in Madison, Wisconsin in December 1892, convened with the goal of suggesting a social science curricular pattern for America’s high schools. The committee consisted of four members representing America’s university system, three college members, and three high school principals. All of the then recognized social sciences were represented – history, political science, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology (Hertzberg, 1981). Ultimately the committee put forward an eight-year sequence for schools, beginning with the elementary grades, which included a two-year study of mythology and biography, followed by a combination of American history and government, and Greek and Roman history. In high school, students began with a study of French History, followed by English History, American History, and finally Civil Government (Evans, 2004; Hertzberg, 1981).

The committee – in regards to classroom methodologies employed - suggested a departure from rote memorization and heavy reliance on textbooks, instead opting for the incorporation of discussion and debate and the employment of primary historical sources. The new pedagogical suggestions of the Committee were meant to foster an understanding of cause and effect and the development of student judgment (Evans, 2004; Hertzberg, 1981; Whelan, 1997). History was to be seen as a “philosophical and scientific subject” that included the “study
of the mind, character, and motives, and requires skills of analysis comparable to those needed for a laboratory science” (Evans, 2004, p. 9). In sum, the History Ten endorsed a “modern-style” history curricula for schools that mirrored much of the discourse representative of the American university and subsequently put history forward as a “legitimate” discipline for American schools (Evans, 2004; Whelan, 1997).

The Committee of Seven

Despite the History Ten’s success in the promotion of a more rigorous study of history for schools, by the end of the 19th century the NEA sought out the AHA again for more definitive guidelines for schools and recommendations on the still unresolved issue of college/university entrance requirements. The Committee of Seven, comprised of seven historians all with backgrounds in the public school, ultimately put forward the “four block” system. The four block recommendation included in chronological order, the study of ancient history for grade 9, medieval and modern European history for grade 10, English history for grade 11, and a combination of American history and political government for grade 12 (Evans, 2004; Hertzberg, 1981).

The overall report of the Seven did not differ much from that of the Ten in terms of substance. However, the group did suggest, in regards to methods, an increased role of the classroom textbook. The textbook was to be conceived as a mechanism for continuity and coherence across studies and establishing historical significance for students – possibly a response for more definitive guidelines within the curriculum. In collaboration with the textbook, teachers were to awaken the curiosity of students through the use of storytelling and an emphasis on the dramatic elements of history (Evans, 2004). As a result of both the History Ten and the Committee of Seven, history became the “bulwark” of the social studies curriculum and
other social science disciplines would have to wait until later reform efforts, which would occur during the height of the Progressive Era, to increase their presence in the social studies curriculum.

**1916 Report of the Social Studies**

Previous efforts at reform, including both the History Ten and the Committee of Seven had failed to fully reconcile the issue of high school curricula alignment with college/university entrance requirements, and so the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE) gathered in the early 1900s in part to address this issue. Represented at the Social Studies Committee were staunch advocates for traditional history as the core of the social studies curriculum; social scientists and social reformers who advocated the incorporation of social science disciplines to address social and contemporary problems of the day; and divergent advocates for social efficiency - including social ameliorists such as the educational reformer John Dewey - and social control conservatives such as E.L. Thorndike and David Snedden (Fallace, 2008; Hertzberg, 1981). The Committee ultimately put forward two distinct cycles in its recommendations, both a “junior cycle” (grades 7-9) and “senior cycle” (grades 10-12). At the end of each cycle was a culminating civics course, which served as the capstone of course work (Whelan, 1997). The junior high recommendations included courses in geography, European history, American history, and Community Civics. For the senior high the committee suggested courses in European and American history, and a Problems of Democracy course, which included a focus on contemporary social, economic, and political issues (Evans, 2004). Framing the overall direction of the Committee and embedded within the recommendations were the language and voices representative of progressives such as James Harvey Robinson and John Dewey. The 1916 Committee suggested a topical approach, rather than chronological sequence,
to history that included more modern events (reflecting the new history philosophy of Robinson) and the individual pupil’s interest (reflecting Dewey). The committee’s recommendations mirrored both the secular humanists and social gospel sentiments of the Progressive Era, which agreeably envisioned education as a vehicle with the potential to lead America toward a better society. With this in mind, the recommendations were particularly significant in that they would dictate course organization for the next century and more importantly, put forward citizenship as the purpose of the social studies (Evans, 2004; Martorella, 2005; Nelson, 2001; Vinson & Ross, 2001). Defining the social studies however, would continue to be debated.

**Defining the Social Studies and its Purpose**

In the previous section, environmental factors that led to the rise of the social studies within American schools including burgeoning high school populations, the emergence of the American university, and a proliferation of professional organizations such as the American Historical Association and the National Education Association were discussed. With these, the three influential reform efforts and their committees helped cultivate a path for the social studies that would lead to its present position within American schools and cement citizenship and citizenship preparation as its principle mission.

However, the three curricular efforts described also demonstrated a systemic uncertainty as to an agreed upon and accepted definition amongst scholars and social studies educators; a situation that continues to the present day (Saxe, 1992, 2010; Stanley, 2010, 2013). A lack of consensus in this area, some have argued, has contributed to an uncertainty regarding the overarching purpose and mission of the social studies leading some to question the relevance and overall need for the social studies in schools (see Parker, 2010; Stanley, 2001). What follows is
a glimpse into environmental situations and perspectives that have shaped these debates and the trajectory of conversations within education.

**What is (are) the Social Studies?**

The social studies incorporate a range of disciplines from the social sciences – including anthropology, economics, geography, political science, psychology, and sociology; and the humanities - history, law, literature, philosophy, and religion. Additionally, the social studies include interdisciplinary studies such as the history and philosophy of science, literary criticism, multicultural education, and women’s studies – as well as the study of other fields such as communications and semiotics (NCSS, 2010; Stanley, 2001). With such a range of disciplines, inter-disciplines, and fields represented, it should be no surprise that penning a satisfactory definition has not been one without challenge and somewhat lacking in consensus (Stanley, 2013). Past attempts by scholars to define the social studies have mirrored the broadness of the curriculum itself, including such efforts as the study of “all human enterprise over time and space” (Nelson & Stanley, p. 226, 1994), the study of accepted modes of living (Rugg, 1923) - or as Edgar Wesley (1978) has suggested, the study of human relationships:

> Things are assigned to science, quantification is assigned to mathematics, communication is assigned to English, creativity is assigned to art, work is assigned to vocations, leisure is assigned to recreation, and relationships are assigned to the social studies. (p. iv)

According to many scholars, these and other attempts to define the social studies reflect a divergence of opinion regarding its educational and philosophic purpose (see Nelson, 2001; Ross, 1997; Stanley, 2001). With this in mind, attempts at definition are often politically oriented or motivated and according to Parker (2010), reflect “culture wars” of the day. This results in definitions that range from everything that is social knowledge is the social studies
(such as those above), to outright calls for the elimination of the curriculum altogether (see Nelson, p. 16, 2001). These disputes however, frequently originate from questions or opinions concerning the social studies as academic and traditional history or as social education - this dispute in particular dates back to the previously mentioned recommendations of the 1916 Report of the Social Studies and its subsequent reactions (see Fallace, 2008; Keller, 1991; Thornton & Barton, 2010; Whelan, 1997). As a corollary to these concerns, questions concerning the structure of the social studies have persisted, questions such as: Are the social studies a loose federation of social science disciplines? Or are they an amalgamation of the social sciences (see Hertzberg, 1981; Thornton 1994, 2001, 2008)? The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), a national representative body of social studies educators, researchers, and teacher educators puts forward a non-history centric interpretation, and defines the social studies as the “integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence” with the primary purpose of “helping young people make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world” (NCSS, p. 3, 2010). Noticeably absent from the NCSS definition for the social studies is mention of the discipline “history,” which would suggest that the organization has chosen its side regarding the history/social education debate. Within the NCSS definition, however, as in many definitions for the social studies, are linkages to beliefs concerning the nature and purpose of the social studies.

**Purpose and Tradition(s)**

Social studies is at the center of a good school curriculum because it is where students learn to see and interpret the world – its peoples, places, cultures, systems, and problems; its dreams and calamities – now and long ago. In social studies lessons and
units of study, students don’t simply experience the world, but are helped systematically to understand it, to care for it, to think deeply and critically about it, and to take their place on the public stage, standing on equal footing with others. This, at any rate, is the goal. (Parker, 2010, p. 3)

Parker (2010) illustrates a common theme regarding expressed purposes for the social studies: purposes that permeate and transcend academic content in the classroom and are projected toward much larger outcomes (see Thornton, 2008). These purposes often include such rationales as the promotion of good citizenship, or the development of critical thinking and civic discernment, or cultivating student collaborative and/or interpersonal skills. Citizenship promotion and preparation is however, valued by most social studies scholars as the core purpose of the curriculum (Banks, 1997; Barton & Levstik, 2009; Cherryholmes, 1980; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Evans, 2004; Houser, 2009). As such, NCSS asserts civic competence as the aim of the social studies: civic competence according to NCSS (2010), includes the “knowledge, intellectual processes, and democratic dispositions required of students to be active and engaged participants in public life” (p. 3). More recently NCSS has put forward The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards (2013) to enhance state standards for social studies education by providing guidance with regards to concepts, skills, and disciplinary tools needed to equip students for college, career, and civic life (p. 17). The C3 framework in substance corroborates the intended civic aim of the social studies as expressed in the NCSS afore mentioned position statement regarding civic competence, suggesting that students must be aware of their “changing cultural and physical environments; know the past; read; write; and think deeply; and act in ways that promote the common good” (NCSS, 2013, p. 5).
In order to attain such civic aims and the common good within their classrooms, teachers however, incorporate a variety of measures, or what Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978) refer to as “traditions.” In the seminal work, *The Nature of the Social Studies*, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978) isolate three different traditions employed by social studies teachers with the impetus of student civic competence and development:

- The social studies as citizenship transmission – “the deliberate inculcation of what is considered most desirable knowledge, values and skills assumed necessary for survival of the culture” p. 19.

- The social studies as social science – “acquainting students with the methods of research, the modes of inquiry, and the ways of looking at the world adopted by social scientists” p. 19.

- The social studies as reflective inquiry – inspired by Dewey, focuses on decision-making and reflection within a specific sociocultural context; often in relation to contemporary social problems (Barr, Barth, and Shermis, 1978; Vinson & Ross, 2001).

Nearly twenty years later Martorella (1996/2005) extended the work of Barr, Barth, and Shermis, adding two additional civic traditions frequented by instructors:

- Informed social criticism – provides students with opportunities to examine and critique past traditions and modes of problem solving (p. 20).

- Personal development – driven by student choice of content, promotes a positive self concept amongst students and personal efficiency (Vinson & Ross, 2001; Martorella, 2005).

These distinctions typically contrast conservative, transmission, and/or discipline-oriented models with more progressive, reflective, and multidisciplinary interpretations (see
Traditions employed by teachers however, reflect individual teacher notions of civic competence within the social studies and its significance within their practice (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 142). With this in mind, Cornbleth (1982) differentiates forms of citizenship education common to most classrooms into three categories: illusory, technical, and constructive. Illusory, according to Cornbleth (1982), incorporates a static form of citizenship, often limited to voting. Technical, on the other hand, yields easily identifiable citizenship competencies that can be easily measured by instructors, and constructive encourages students to pursue their own civic interest and engage in a broad range of activities toward this goal.

According to Thornton (1991), teachers serve as primary “gatekeepers” in terms of the day-to-day instructional choices and activities for students. It would appear the same can be said for fostering civic competencies amongst students. Individual teachers’ own beliefs concerning the purpose of the social studies, given the work of Barr et al. (1978), Martorella (1996/2005), and Cornbleth (1982), are made manifest in the type of instruction and civic focus children receive in their classrooms. Conceptualizing teachers as gatekeepers concerning student civic development suggest that understanding factors that inform teachers’ civic understandings is of primary concern in light of its relationship to student civic competencies – particularly when explicitly directed in coursework, e.g. civics (see Thornton, 2005, Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Considering this, the previously mentioned C3 Framework is intended to aid social studies educators in the area of student civic and literacy competencies through the use of inquiry and investigation across the disciplines of civics, geography, economics and history. According to NCSS (2013), now more than ever students need the “intellectual power to recognize societal problems; ask good questions and develop robust investigations into them; consider possible
solutions and consequences; separate evidence-based claims from parochial opinions; and communicate and act upon what they learn” (p. 6). Therefore, the C3 Framework is structured around an “inquiry-arc” which is embedded with the following four dimensions:

1. Developing questions and planning inquiries
2. Applying disciplinary concepts and tools
3. Evaluating sources and using evidence
4. Communicating conclusions and taking informed action (p. 17)

The last dimension has been stressed as particularly important and can be envisioned as a mechanism for cultivating civic action and readiness in students by applying their civic knowledge in novel and meaningful ways; something that sets the social studies apart in terms of its core mission (see Swan, 2013).

Dissemination to Students

Given the colorful and at times controversial conversations regarding the purpose and definition of the social studies, some would suggest that the general structure of the social studies has remained (in comparison) relatively stable since the 1916 Committee’s recommendations for a curriculum pattern (see Fallace, 2008; Ross, 1997). History, geography, political science, and economics, much as in previous decades, continue to carry a dominant presence within the social studies’ course load of students (Parker, 2010; Thornton, 2008). In the following section I examine more closely what the curriculum actually looks like today for students in today’s social studies classroom, including methodologies commonly employed by teachers.

Curriculum – What does it look like?

Despite such a range of disciplines, interdisciplines, and fields represented within the social studies, the curriculum itself continues to be dominated by history, geography, political
science (civics/government), and economics, or what Thornton (2008) refers to as the “mainstays.” This continued dominance is evidenced in the C3 (2013) Framework’s focus on civics, geography, economics and history. It is not clear why these four, and not others, dominate the curriculum; Stanley (2001) suggested the reasons may lie in lobbying efforts of the mainstays or the lack of lobbying concerning other social studies disciplines, or it may be as rudimentary as staffing issues, particularly in rural areas (p. 4). Whatever the cause Ross (1997) suggested the social studies curriculum pattern has remained “unchanged” since the early 20th century (p. 10):

• K – Self, school, community, home
• 1st grade Families
• 2nd grade Neighborhoods
• 3rd grade Communities
• 4th grade State history, geographic regions
• 5th grade United States history
• 6th grade World cultures, Western hemisphere
• 7th grade World geography or world history
• 8th grade United States history
• 9th grade Civics or world cultures
• 10th grade World history
• 11th grade United States history
• 12th grade American government

The pattern suggested by Ross (1997), however, cannot be characterized as “unchanged” and the state of Virginia provides a case in point. The Virginia Board of Education made the
decision to abandon the “Expanding Horizons” K-3 curriculum sequence (as represented in the Ross sequence) in 1995 and in doing so, adopted what some have labeled a “back to the basics” stance, organizing the elementary curriculum standards by discipline (history, civics, economics, and geography). This structure included topics for students such as the study of famous Americans (kindergarten), Ancient Egypt (second grade), and American exploration (third grade) (van Hover, Hicks, & Stoddard, 2010). Virginia’s sequence for History and Social Science departs from the Ross (1997) suggested sequence at the middle and secondary levels as well. For example, Virginia middle school students are taught US History to 1865 (typically at grade six) and the following year, receive history instruction covering 1865 to the present (typically at grade seven). Additionally, Virginia students commonly take civics as eighth graders and at the high school level, receive US History and US Government courses that include a Virginia focus at the eleventh and twelfth grade levels respectively (Virginia Department of Education, 2014).

Regardless of the curriculum sequence endorsed by schools, Ross (2000) in a separate work asserts the social studies curriculum is most commonly conveyed to students through the use of classroom texts, teacher-centered instruction, and the memorization of factual information or what Leming (1994) has labeled as TSSI, “traditional social studies instruction.” Levstik (2008) supports this assertion, pointing to 2001 National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) data that reports filling out worksheets, reading from a textbook, and memorizing information read as being the most frequented activities in social studies classrooms (p. 59). Stanley and Nelson (1994) further interrogated how content is conveyed to students and arrive at three curriculum orientations, which in turn directly influence how content is presented to students:
• Subject-centered social studies – purpose is derived from content commonly taught in higher education, e.g. the study of history. Higher education is perceived as the organizing “framework” for social studies, and subject knowledge is paramount regardless of interpretation (p. 268).

• Civic-centered social studies – individual attitudes and social behaviors are the focus – purpose is good character and civic competence – interpretations range from uncritical loyalty to social criticism (p. 268).

• Issues-centered social studies – personal and social problems along with controversial issues are the focus – interpretations range from helping students assimilate to society to active social criticism and activism (p. 268–9).

With these orientations in mind, Ross (1997) puts forward three teacher roles in relation to curriculum: teachers as curriculum conduits, active implementers, and curriculum developers. As curriculum conduits, teachers function as transmitters of curriculum with little to no voice in regards to the enacted curriculum. Active implementers, as the label suggest, posits teachers with an active voice in the enacted curriculum and some room for curriculum interpretation. Conceptualizing teachers as curriculum developers suggest then that teachers are (or should be) full and equal partners in the development of the enacted curriculum (p. 17).

Within recent years, scholars have made significant inroads in pushing teachers away from curriculum conduits and TSSI (see Barton & Levstik, 2010; Monte-Sano, 2012; VanSledright, 2002; Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2011). Such works typically incorporate inquiry as the primary mode of student learning and are often coupled with the use of historical sources and include alternative perspectives or what may be considered instructional choices more attuned to the recommendations outlined by both the History Ten and the 1916 Committee.
Commonly, these works are structured toward the goal of students answering historical questions and producing new interpretations. The C3 Framework (2013) endorses such an approach to teaching and learning – its inquiry arc begins with developing questions and planning inquiries. One of the biggest roadblocks, however, which has hindered many educators from pursuing these strategies and methods for approaching the social studies, has been increased efforts toward standardized and high-stakes testing. This environment represents the current context in which today’s social studies teachers engage with their students.

**The Move Toward Standardization**

The move toward a standardized curriculum – and by extension – a standardized form of assessment has greatly impacted education within the last 30 years. This impact has been felt in all aspects of education and as such, has not been limited to the social studies in scope. The following section takes a cursory look at the role of standards and standardized assessments on education writ large, but the impetus of this analysis will be on the role and influence of standards within the social studies.

**Standards and Standardized Assessment**

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw an increased feeling of malaise amongst citizens and their elected officials with regards to education and student achievement that ultimately matriculated into a push for national curriculum standards in the United States (Au, 2009; Ravitch, 1995). Many have suggested the now infamous report “A Nation at Risk” as the general point of origin in regards to the modern day movement for standardization in schools (Au, 2009; Crocco, 1998; Good, 2010; van Hover, Hicks & Stoddard, 2010). The report conducted by the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE) sought out to examine the quality of education in the United States and to further address concerns regarding
“the widespread public perception that something is seriously remiss in our educational system” (NCEE, 1983, p. 1). The report painted a bleak picture for American citizens regarding its educational system and underscored the desperation felt in the report’s title:

Our nation is at risk. Our once challenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovations is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroding by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur – others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments. (NCEE, 1983, p. 5)

The feeling of “falling behind” other nations – particularly in the context of Cold War geo-politics - inspired much of the push toward standardization, including the Committee’s report (Au, 2009, p. 44). Ravitch (1995) points to nine issues that helped launch the standards movement during the 1980s – four of which were underpinned with a general fear of America loosing its preeminence within the international community (p 3-5).

To combat such malaise and feelings of “falling behind” the George H.W. Bush administration launched America 2000 in 1989, a bi-partisan effort including the nation’s governors to set a series of national education goals for America’s students (Au, 2009; Ravitch, 1995). According to America 2000, every student in American schools would leave the fourth, eighth and twelfth grades having demonstrated competency in five school subjects (Ravitch, 1995), two of which were social studies disciplines (history and geography). By 1994, the Bill Clinton administration put forward Goals 2000, which drew heavily on the goals of America
2000, but unlike America 2000 it was enacted into law. Goals 2000 additionally incorporated civics and government, economics, along with geography and history as part of its list of challenging subjects for students to attain proficiency. Both administrations supported a move for national standards in American schools, the adoption of those standards however, both agreed, would be on a state-by-state voluntary basis (Ravitch, 1995).

During the same year (1994), NCSS released its own set of national standards (see Figure 2). Some have argued this was in response to a political movement to re-establish traditional history as the core of the social studies that was made evident in much of the language surrounding the goals put forward (see Symcox, 2002). This included isolating history, geography, civics, and economics apart from the social studies and not mentioning “social studies” in any of the documents’ language (Evans, 2004) – this was also true in later assessments of state standards (see Finn & Petrilli, 2000). Such exclusion may suggest an intentional move on the part of document authors to reposition history (or perhaps another discipline) atop the curricular focus and a more compartmentalized trajectory of course work. The NCSS standards as such, were thought to be a vehicle for making the social studies more relevant in the zeitgeist of standardization (Evans, 2010). The NCSS standards themselves consisted of ten themes to help students organize social studies knowledge; knowledge that was to run from pre-K to grade 12. The themes included:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>NCSS Theme</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>“Through the study of culture and cultural diversity, learners understand how human beings create, learn, share, and adapt to culture, and appreciate the role of culture in shaping their lives and society, as well the lives and societies of others” (p. 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time, Continuity, and Change</td>
<td>“Through the study of the past and its legacy, learners examine the institutions, values, and beliefs of people in the past, acquire skills in...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>People, Places, and Environment</td>
<td>“This theme helps learners to develop their spatial views and perspectives of the world, to understand where people, places, and resources are located and why they are there, and to explore the relationship between human beings and the environment” (p. 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Development and Identity</td>
<td>“Personal identity is shaped by family, peers, culture, and institutional influences. Through this theme, students examine the factors that influence an individual’s personal identity, development, and actions” (p. 4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals, Groups and Institutions</td>
<td>“Institutions such as families and civic, educational, governmental, and religious organizations, exert a major influence on people’s lives. This theme allows students to understand how institutions are formed, maintained, and changed, and to examine their influence” (p. 4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power, Authority, and Governance</td>
<td>“One essential component of education for citizenship is an understanding of the historical development and contemporary forms of power, authority, and governance. Through this theme, learners become familiar with the purposes and functions of government, the scope and limits of authority, and the differences between democratic and non-democratic political systems” (p. 4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production, Distribution, and Consumption</td>
<td>“This theme provides for the study of how people organize for the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, and prepares students for the study of domestic and global economic issues” (p. 4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science, Technology, and Society</td>
<td>“By exploring the relationships among science, technology, and society, students develop an understanding of past and present advances in science and technology and their impact” (p. 4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Connections</td>
<td>“The realities of global interdependence require an understanding of the increasingly important and diverse global connections”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
among world societies. This theme prepares students to study issues arising from globalization” (p. 4).

| Civic Ideals and Practices | “An understanding of civic ideals and practices is critical to full participation in society and is an essential component of education for citizenship. This theme enables students to learn about the rights and responsibilities of citizens of a democracy, and to appreciate the importance of active citizenship” (p. 4). |

*Figure 2. NCSS Themes along with their description (NCSS, 2010, p. 3-4).*

The standards put forward by NCSS have been criticized as being vague and overly generic (see Mathison, et al., 2001) but were ultimately adopted by the National Association for the Accreditation of Colleges of Teacher Education (NAACTE) and now serve as the basis for accrediting social studies programs within Schools of Education (Stanley, 2001).

In 2001, the George W. Bush administration put forward the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), which held schools accountable for the academic progress of each child enrolled. This legislation led to a proliferation in testing and other forms of assessment to track student progress across academic careers and with this, an assessment of schools’ annual progress (Adequate Yearly Progress or AYP) with regards to student test scores (Au, 2009). Language within NCLB gave particular emphasis on student and school performance in the areas of English language arts and mathematics – and as a result, caused many districts to restructure their course offerings and emphases, often at the expense of social studies coursework (see Duncan, 2011; Grant & Salinas, 2008; NCSS, 2007).

The presidency of Barack Obama has brought to witness the next chapter of attempts at federal standardization, including both Race to the Top and Common Core. Race to the Top specifically, seeks to reward teachers, schools, and states for classroom performance, which is
determined primarily through student performance on standardized assessment (Weiss, 2014). As such, Common Core represents the most comprehensive and successful effort to standardize curriculum across all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Common Core proponents have asserted that its common language and instruments would result in more efficient and accurate assessments of both student and teacher performance and would be both accessible and measurable across states and districts (Giouroukakis & Cohan, 2014). Others have questioned its increased emphasis on testing and its general positioning in regards to its connection to Race to the Top federal dollars and Committee member makeup, with members including consultants and employees of educational corporations and absent any in-service classroom teachers (Au, 2014; Ravitch, 2013). Common Core has been adopted by 43 of the 50 states; Alaska, Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma Texas, and Virginia have not agreed to completely adopt Common Core for its districts and students (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2014).

With regards to Common Core, the C3 Framework is structured to be supportive of and to build on the literacy foundations embedded within Common Core’s English Language Arts/Literacy strand (Lee & Swan, 2013). This supportive relationship however, is not without concern. According to Griffin (2013) some teachers have expressed fears that districts will interpret social studies’ supportive role, indicated within Common Core, as non-essential in nature and cut back even further on subjects other than English language arts and mathematics. Within the Common Core language, Griffin (2013) adds further, are examples including the need to “demonstrate the cogent reasoning and use of evidence that is essential to both private deliberation and responsible citizenship in a democratic republic” – which, in her view, represent fertile fields and opportunities for the social studies and its teachers (p. 220).
How Have Social Studies Teachers Responded to Increased Testing?

According to Mathison et al. (2001) the increased adoption of higher standards by states, has resulted in the adoption of such standards by virtually every state that has adopted high-stakes testing as a mechanism to determine if those standards have been met (p. 95). Grant (2010) however, asserts that of 23 states to implement a standards-based social studies test (as of 2004), only 10 could be labeled as high-stakes (p. 43). A high-stakes test, as both authors would suggest, are tests that have real consequences, e.g. grade retention, student graduation, or pay increases for teachers (Grant & Salinas, 2008). Regardless of the number of states to incorporate such testing into their systems of assessment, the shift toward standards in education has had a profound impact on the social studies and social studies teachers (Au, 2009; Segall, 2003).

Despite that fact that citizenship has been frequently referenced in arguments for increased standards, the underpinning rationale has often been linked to America’s future economy. For example, in America 2000, the third goal expressed in the document declared that every student in America would learn to use their mind and be prepared for citizenship, further learning, and “productive employment in our modern economy” (Ravitch, p. 2, 1995). More recently, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan (2011), in a letter to social studies teachers voiced his approval for social studies in our schools, stating that the social studies is a core subject and critical to “sustaining an informed democracy and a globally competitive workforce” (p. 124). Duncan’s words here suggest a rationale motivated in part by economics and national competitiveness or what Bourdieu (1986) would interpret as the “social rate of return” as “they can only consider the profitability of educational expenditure for society as a whole…that is measured by its effect on national productivity” (p. 244). Duncan’s comments do suggest notions of “return on investment” regarding education that could be attributed to the larger structures of accountability consistent with a cabinet office. However, such focus on America’s
economic future has resulted in a systematic focus on measurable outcomes, specifically in the areas of English language arts and mathematics, two readily and accessible sources for quick and measureable data. The social studies, with its focus on building skill sets and personal dispositions, often permeating academic content, have been marginalized or absent from much of the conversation (see Kahne & Middaugh, 2010).

The attention awarded English language arts and mathematics in the aftermath of NCLB has been felt most heavily within the social studies at the elementary grade levels (Brophy & Alleman, 2008; Crocco, 2013; Good et al., 2010). According to Levstik (2008), elementary students in the state of Indiana, for example, average less than 18 minutes a day on social studies and a mere 23% of elementary teachers in North Carolina taught social studies on a daily basis throughout the school year (p. 53). This focus has also been felt in the middle grades. Au (2009) reports that in one California middle school, some students are no longer taking social studies course work at all; instead taking up to three periods of math and reading a day (p. 47). With this in mind, middle school teachers are increasingly asked to teach multiple subjects and integrate their instruction, which has ultimately resulted in the diminishment of quality and time spent on social studies instruction (Levstik, 2008).

In states where teacher performance is tied to student standardized test scores, many teachers, particularly those new to the profession, have been forced to play it safe and stick with testing guidelines and textbook narratives (Levstik, 2008). In these circumstance, even more seasoned and experienced teachers have adopted what has been referred to as “wise practices” that ultimately dictate content taught, reduce student-centered instruction, and increase teacher-centered instruction that incorporates fast-paced lectures and rote memorization; or teaching to the test (Au, 2009). According to Thornton (1994) even administrators in some schools have
adopted a “don’t rock the boat” mentality and as result, encourage tried-and-true ways of teaching – or TSSI or “wise practice.”

Most scholars would agree that the current zeitgeist of standardized testing has affected the classroom practices of social studies teachers (Au, 2009; Grant & Salinas, 2008; Segall, 2003). Standardized assessments within the social studies most commonly incorporate multiple choice question forums and other low-order skills that encourage rote memorization of historical facts as a means of judging student proficiency (Au, 2009; DeWitt et al., 2013). Segall (2003) in a case study of secondary social studies assessments within the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP) found that the MAEP had a negative impact on the teaching of social studies by “reducing teaching to low levels of intellectual engagement and teachers to implementers of externally designed curricula and pre-packaged materials intended to help them teach the test’ (p. 321). Ironically, some of the teachers involved in the Segall (2003) study expressed perceptions of the MEAP as both oppressor (for obvious reasons) and validator, suggesting that the social studies--in this circumstance--being attached to a substantial summative assessment, e.g. MEAP, provided legitimation for the social studies in the context of high-stakes testing that does not uniformly include the social studies. Au (2009) has suggested similar sentiments expressed by social studies teachers.

Grant (2007), while recognizing that standardized testing has impacted social studies teachers practice, chooses to report that impact as being less dramatic and ambiguous. He articulates his position by differentiating the influence of state tests on teachers by isolating teacher practice into four categories and then assessing state testing on each element of practice – these areas of practice are: content decisions, assessment practices, instructional strategies, and classroom practices. While suggesting that content decisions are the most widely affected area
of practice, Grant has presented that evidence to suggest drastic effects in the other described domains of teacher practice are minimal and that good or “ambitious” teaching thrives even within the context of high-stakes testing (Grant, 2007, 2010). Au’s (2009) work has framed Grant’s assertion as problematic at best, beginning with his choice to isolate teaching into four neat dimensions. While Grant suggested that content decisions are the most affected by state testing, i.e. content is determined by what is tested, he also asserts that teachers commonly employ test questions (assessment practices) albeit in a variety of forms, that mirror the state exam, so in this scenario the two cannot be isolated, as Grant would prefer, because of the simultaneity of their relationship. Additionally, Grant offered that most teachers accepted the validity of multiple-choice questions (along with essay prompts) as a “reasonable way of judging what students know and understand” (p. 251). Grant does not take up issue with this scenario a problem Au (2009) helped to foreground. The acceptance of multiple-choice and other low-order skills as valid and acceptable evidence for student learning, according to Au, trivializes historical knowledge and further delegitimizes those not represented in the factual information that is registered within these forms of assessment. In doing so, the acceptance of these skills pushes multicultural subject matter out of the curriculum, deeming it unimportant (p. 53).

In this way, students’ lives are effectively locked out of the curriculum by high-stakes tests as schools press to structure learning to fit the curricular norms established by the tests. Thus, high stakes testing systems require diversity to be subtracted because of their emphasis on standardization. (Au, 2009, p. 53)

So it appears high-stakes, standardized testing for social studies teachers is a catch-22, or as the Segall (2003) study suggested, the test represents both the oppressor and the validator.

The testing climate triggered by NCLB legislation has brought to witness an increased attention
to English language arts and mathematics; two readily accessible sources of measurable data. In these cases, the social studies with its focus on skill building and citizenship preparation, in this context, has been forced (in many cases) to abandon such overarching rationales in order to stay relevant. In cases where the social studies are not “tested” we have seen in some cases complete abandonment of the social studies in favor of additional class time and resources exercised toward subjects that NCLB helped foreground. At this point in the review I will now bridge into the second conceptual pillar, and question both citizenship as a concept and citizenship education. Also, I explore the possible avenues for assessment that may help re-orient learning outcomes toward more meaningful destinations despite the current emphasis on testing.

The Nature of Citizenship

By looking at the nature of the social studies critically and unpacking layers of its identity I am positioned to further interrogate the overarching mission of the social studies, which as most social studies scholars would agree, is to prepare students for civic life in a democratic society. In order to interrogate this mission and the nature of citizenship, the following questions will orient this portion of the literature review: What is citizenship? Is citizenship a generative concept? If so, how generative is the concept of citizenship?

Citizenship – What is it?

Historically, the notion of citizenship is one that traces back to the ancient worlds of Greece and Rome and was tied directly to the rise of the city-state. Citizenship within these contexts represented a layered, hierarchical system of human association and membership, with the full privileges of membership bestowed upon individuals of wealth and influence. Within Imperial Rome specifically, passive citizenship, which entailed protection by Roman law, was granted to all citizens of Rome; active citizenship however, which included participation in
public life and affairs, was reserved for the plebeian classes (Kabeer, 2002). This framework of human association and membership modeled within the Athenian polis and Roman res publica was one eventually transmitted to Europe and the West, and would ultimately shape notions of Western identity (Pocock, 1995).

Within contemporary discourse T. H. Marshall’s Citizenship and Social Class (1950/1992) has been suggested as a good starting point or window into more recent thinking in regards to citizenship conceptualizations and Western identity (Jones & Gaventa, 2002). According to Marshall (1950/1992), citizenship is a “status bestowed on those who are full members of a community” (p. 18), which at first glance appears compatible with Roman and Greek notions of citizenship. Marshall, however, goes on to describe citizenship as consisting of three parts or elements, that in his purview developed within England sequentially over “formative periods.” The periods or elements described by Marshall included civil rights, which emerged during the 18th century; political rights emergent from the 19th century; and social rights from within the 20th century (p. 13) - the inclusion of social rights to citizenship understandings is considered Marshall's greatest contribution. The three elements of citizenship put forward by Marshall represent (in his view) the parameters of modern citizenship and can be understood as:

- Civil – pertains to individual rights, such as property ownership and freedom of speech.
- Political – right to exercise political power; for example, free participation in the election of officials.
- Social - includes access to rights ranging from economic welfare and security, to the right to live according to the standards of the prevailing society – most commonly associated with education and social services (p. 8).
Since *Citizenship and Social Class* was first published, scholars have illustrated flaws in Marshall’s citizenship perspectives, including criticism over its male-dominated interpretation of citizenship (Kabeer, 2002; Turner, 1993), and its underpinning Anglo-centric orientation (Kymlicka, 1995; Mann, 1987; Turner, 1990). Others find fault in Marshall’s “deficient” attention to class struggle and the social realities embedded within social citizenship, pointing to Marshall’s assertion that citizenship comprises a status consisting of equal rights and duties amongst citizens; equality of rights amongst citizens, has been argued, undermines disparities and economic inequalities existent within society (see Hindess, 1993; Turner 1993). Hindness (1993), to illustrate this further, points to an Anatole France observation regarding Parisian bridges – stating that both the rich and poor share equal access to them as well as equal rights to sleep under them (p. 25).

**Modern Notions of Citizenship**

Within the literature, what Marshall (1950/1992) describes as a “status” in his attempt to define citizenship, is consistently married with group or individual rights (Marshall refers to these as elements). These rights are conveyed as concomitant with membership to a larger entity most commonly the nation-state (see Lipset, 1963; Waters, 1989; Shapiro, 2000; Kabeer, 2002); however some have suggested a membership and/or citizenship beyond the nation-state: e.g. global citizenship (see Appiah, 2006; Noddings 2005; Gaudelli, 2002) cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1989; Rosaldo & Flores, 1997) flexible citizenship (Mitchell & Parker, 2008; Ong, 1999, 2005), differentiated citizenship (Young, 1989), digital citizenship (Ribble, 2011; Mossberger, Tolbert & McNeal, 2008), and multidimensional citizenship (Cogan, Grossman, and Liu, 2000) (see Figure 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship Conceptualization</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Citizenship Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Citizenship</td>
<td>Notion of citizenship identity that transcends geographic and political boundaries associated with statehood – embraces common humanity and considers forces that make the social and physical world interdependent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Citizenship</td>
<td>Recognizes the right to be different and the right to identify with one’s distinctive heritage - refutes the stigma that difference is a sign of inferiority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexible Citizenship</td>
<td>Recognizes that within a globalized context identities are dynamic and shift in response to conditions, e.g. market conditions, and as such allegiances/loyalties can be considered flexible in nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiated Citizenship</td>
<td>Extends additional rights to cultural minorities in order to maintain their distinctive cultural identity – positioned as a protection against assimilation – views universalism as tactic to secure hegemony for majority by eradicating cultural difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digital Citizenship</td>
<td>The ability to participate in society online – coupled with participation are expectations, competences and etiquette for digital citizenry with regards to responsible use of technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multidimensional Citizenship</td>
<td>Citizenship is conceptualized as a journey that focuses on individual civic development with regards to four dimensions personal civic beliefs (personal), capacities for public action (social), affiliations with localities and the larger world (spatial), and an awareness of the past, present, and future (temporal).</td>
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*Figure 3.* Forms of citizenship that extend beyond the nation state with their description.

Within these spheres, membership conferred by citizenship status provides individuals with a sense of identity, in addition to rights, obligations, values, and social bonds and assumes a common political knowledge for members (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Ichilov, 1998). When assessing modern citizenship theory and interpretation, Beiner (1995) suggests considerable attention to areas of membership and national identity, along with civic loyalties and
underpinning sentiments that connect individuals to a specific political community, and not with other communities (p. 19).

To understand this further it is important to recognize citizenship is a societal construct that functions within the political world of a democracy (at least by Western standards). To this end, Parker (1996a) puts forward the following democratic matrix, which serves as a necessary antecedent for conceptualizing citizenship and that helps shed light on the underpinning sentiments alluded to by Beiner (1995), sentiments possibly birthed in response to democratic epistemologies (see Figure 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of Democracy</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democracy</td>
<td>“Sets up forms of human coexistence that celebrates individual liberty, popular sovereignty, law, and equality before the law” (p. 189).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participatory Democracy</td>
<td>“…relies on key notions of participation, civic virtue, and the common good” (p. 190).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative Democracy</td>
<td>“…viewed as a creative, constructive process, democracy is not already accomplished…but a path that citizens in a pluralist society try to walk together” (p. 191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural Democracy</td>
<td>“…it concentrates on the juncture of democracy and diversity…asking ‘Who is and is not participating and on whose terms?’” (p. 192)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4. Parker’s (1996a) four forms of democracy with description.

Close examination of Parker’s (1996a) matrix, if compared to Marshall’s (1950/1992) three perspectives for example, reveals some common ground, including the apparent complimentary relationship of liberal democracy and civil citizenship and also participatory democracy with that of political citizenship. The starkest contrast however, is Parker’s (1996a) extension of multicultural democracy and social justice, which clearly stands apart from Marshall’s (1950/1992) three perspectives that have been criticized as Anglo-centric. Parker’s (1996a) inclusion of multicultural democracy represents a common theme in more recent
scholarship, which is indicative of the expansion of the understandings of citizenship that has occurred since Marshall’s (1950/1992) three perspectives (Kymlicka, 1995; Nussbaum, 2007). Political changes such as the proliferation of social rights movements, the rise of transnational alliances and an increasingly globalized economy have been linked to debates and concerns about the parameters of citizenship (Abbowitz & Harnish, 2006; Ross, 2002) – or what may be considered human progress.

Despite an apparent expansion in citizenship understandings, Beiner (1995) suggested that modern citizenship interpretations are locked between two mutually exclusive categories: liberal universalism and anti-liberal particularism. Liberal universalism, according to Beiner (1995), seeks to “exalt the inviolable moral worth of individuals” above any “collective or civic identity” (p. 12). Anti-liberal particularism by contrast, celebrates group identities that affirm and value “forms of group identity that distinguish sets of individuals from one another” (p. 12).

To sketch this out further, Beiner (1995) isolates citizenship into three theoretical perspectives:

- **Liberal** – emphasis is on the individual and individual’s capacity to transcend group identity--to define and redefine one’s purpose (p. 13).

- **Communitarian** – solidarity amongst those sharing a history, particularly ethnic or cultural groups – “the capacity of the group to confer identity upon those otherwise left atomized by the deracinating tendencies of a liberal society” (p. 13).

- **Republican** – intended to be neither individualist nor communitarian – emphasizes civic bonds amongst constituents.

Beiner (1995) suggested that the competing interpretations of universalism and particularism both subvert republican interpretations and the idea of civic community. This interpretation of citizenship on Beiner’s (1995) behalf through the lens of essential contested
concepts reveals his assertion of civic republicanism as the proper interpretation to be used in public discourse. Other authors suggest civic republicanism as an integrative framework that is complimentary toward notions of liberalism (associated with universalism) and community belonging (associated with communitarianism) (see Jones & Gaventa, 2002). Through an extensive review of citizenship literature, Jones and Gaventa (2002) (consistent with Beiner) situated citizenship into three traditions: liberalism, communitarianism, and civic republicanism. Jones and Gaventa (2002) however, do not describe traditions of citizenship thought as neatly isolated and competing camps similar to Beiner (1995), but rather as groups of ideas with common structuring and dimensions.

Similar to Jones and Gaventa (2002), and in stark contrast to Beiner (1995), Parker (1996b) encouraged a mutually non-exclusive notion of citizenship in what he referred to as “advanced” ideas on democracy aimed at a more pluralistic conceptualization of citizenship. To attain a more pluralistic conceptualization Parker’s (1996b) ideas are intentionally situated in a constant state of tension and reflexivity--between two opposite ends of the civic spectrum; one he refers to as modern (involved in a constant struggle to secure rights, liberalism, and to thwart any attempts of governmental abuse of power) and one he labels advanced (a pluralistic approach that advocates and values diversity in all affairs). Parker’s (1996b) first advanced idea for example, is a form of citizenship participation that is embedded with the tension of direct involvement in public life and that of spectatorship. Parker’s (1996b) reference to spectatorship refers to notions of citizenship that commonly promote an awareness of documents and the procedures of a republican form of government (e.g. liberalism). Spectatorship in this light is then held in tension with direct involvement in public affairs (e.g. participatory), involvement that reaches far beyond the parameters of electing officials. His second idea is held in tension
between the poles of democracy as an attainment needing only protection; and democracy as an unfulfilled journey or path taken by citizens together (see Dewey’s notion of creative democracy). Thirdly, Parker (1996b) posited a tension between pluralism (diversity, manyness) and assimilation (oneness, unity) that addresses whether “little publics” pose a threat to the “big public” (the fear expressed by Beiner (1995)). He navigates this further by exploring the phrase “E pluribus Unum” or out of the many, one. This phrase, he points out, has been used to suggest assimilating American citizens into a body of one, while collapsing individual difference. Using the same phrase, Parker (1996b) interpreted a political oneness (one body) alongside the cultural many (pluralism, diversity). Difference, at this point, no longer becomes a threat to community.

Parker’s (1996b) work here undermines Beiner’s (1995) assertion that modern notions of citizenship (outside of civic republicanism) are a threat to civic community. Beiner’s (1995) need for isolated and compartmentalized civic notions. I feel, and I think Parker (1996b) would agree, Beiner’s (1995) need for isolated and compartmentalized civic notions alienates key aspects of individual identity that are embedded in individual interpretations of citizenship. The tension-imbued ideas suggested by Parker (1996b) enable and encourage individual reflexivity or what Rawls (1999) would refer to as “reflective equilibrium,” or what Dewey has called “controlled inquiry” (see Hickman, 1990) and in theory, contribute to an incremental growth of the individual (see Hansen, 2011).

In many ways citizenship represents individual outlooks on life and as such, cannot be neatly categorized or isolated (as some would prefer) but is more aptly understood and conveyed as messy, or fuzzy around the edges (Ross, 2002), and complex much like life in a democratic society. Kalberg (1993) confirmed this belief by asserting that citizenship is comprised of components that “cannot be viewed as static or isolated” but rather collaboratively produce a
dynamic relationship or a correct balance that contributes to the viability of citizenship (p. 107-8). Ichilov (1998) described a necessary balance between rights and responsibilities that ultimately shapes individual and group identity. Parker (1996b) refers to a balance of diversity and unity; of oneness and manyness. Identity and balance, then, are two notions that have helped sculpt and inform how I define citizenship for the purposes of this review. Citizenship, in my view, is a form of membership bestowed upon individuals to a larger community or entity that in turn makes accessible defined rights and obligations to members that ultimately characterize and shape notions of self.

**Citizenship in Schools**

I will couple with my outlook on citizenship (crafted in response to this review) with the way in which I conceptualize citizenship education. This will serve as a point of orientation as I look at citizenship in schools. With this in mind, citizenship education may be understood as learning experiences designed to prepare students for contributions and/or roles in a democratic society as citizens (see Cherryholmes, 1980).

As I have demonstrated, citizenship is a contested concept and given this, it has led to multiple, differing interpretations and learning experiences for students in the schools (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Parker, 1996b). While many would agree on key elements or ingredients of citizenship such as a sense of identify, acceptance of societal values, rights and responsibilities; there is no precise agreement over the meanings of these elements (Scott & Lawson, 2002). Some have argued the lack of consensus regarding the meaning of these elements of citizenship within schools has opened doors for institutions (with their own agendas) to emplace curriculums that serve their own purposes (see Stanley, 2001). Many researchers have explored this issue in American schools, particularly in the aftermath of September 11th, which has resulted in a
resurgence of patriotism, nationalism, and American exceptionalism within school curricula (see Hahn, 2002; Hess, 2009; Hess & Stoddard, 2007; Thornton, 2004; Westheimer, 2004). This comes despite research indicating individual students’ emerging conceptions of citizenship, conceptions that oft extend beyond the parameters of nation-statehood and singular identities (Mitchell & Parker, 2008; Osler & Starkey, 2003).

Within American schools, the promotion of citizenship is championed and often articulated in governing documents and mission statements (Tyack, 1967; Westbrook, 1996). Despite collective and even systematic support, the bulk of the citizenship responsibility is parlayed to the social studies and its teachers (Saxe, 1997). Within the literature social studies curricula within American schools consistently promote individualism and often spectator forms of citizenship (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Banks, 1997; Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1978; Ross, 2000). In an extensive discourse analysis of American texts related to citizenship education from 1990 until 2003, researchers Abowitz and Harnish (2006) discovered civic texts to be dominated by civic republican and liberal notions of citizenship. These civic republican inspired materials, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), stressed the importance of “conserving and maintaining democratic ideals and traditions” through the “learning of facts and information about democracy’s history and institutions” (p. 659). Self-sacrifice, patriotism, loyalty, and respect were chief civic virtues amongst civic republican oriented texts and membership within the political community was characterized by an “exclusivity not seen in other citizenship discourses” (p. 657). Liberal notions within the texts examined were dominated by a discourse advocating individual liberty and autonomy, that additionally sought to facilitate an inclusive environment, championing deliberative values and skills such as discussion, disagreement, and consensus building (p. 663). Despite the dominance of civic republican and liberal notions of
citizenship within the examined texts, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) uncovered pockets of citizenship conceptualizations they deemed “critical.” These discourses challenged both civic republican and liberal notions of citizenship by “raising issues of membership, identity, and engagement in creative and productive ways.” Critical discourses within texts brought to light exclusions based on “gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic class” (p. 666). The critical discourses outlined by Abowitz and Harnish (2006) included:

- **Feminist discourse** – question and challenge gendered notions of citizenship and seek to propel the role of women and other marginalized populations into the public sphere of influence.

- **Cultural citizenship** – recognizes the negative impact assimilation can impart on ethnic minority groups and as such seeks to advance collectivism (amongst cultural groups) to safeguard and advance political rights for cultural minority groups.

- **Reconstructionist discourse** – seek to reconstruct social hierarchies and institutions by asserting a political voice for historically marginalized groups and advocating social justice.

- **Queer discourse** – champions diversity and radical difference and as such seeks to break-down what is considered a utopian concept of the public-sphere through non-traditional and creative channels including political performance and play.

- **Transnational discourse** – articulates a membership within local, national and international communities; recognition of globalization, interconnectedness, and a concern for human rights propel much of the discourse.

Critical discourses, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), are primarily featured in scholarly and theoretical writings rather than in applied texts (p. 666). Both civic republican and
liberal notions of citizenship are criticized for limiting the extent of their meanings to that of the nation-state. Cosmopolitanism, intersected with critical discourse, is suggested by the authors as a notion that will “enrich and enliven the work of and debates about, citizenship” (p. 681). If citizenship education continues to be dominated by liberal and civic republican notions, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) predict a future of apathetic and uninspired citizens, which are in their words, the by-products of a school-constructed citizenship (p. 681).

Researchers Westheimer and Kahne (2004) asked the question “What kind of citizen?” in their efforts to trace the definition of good citizenship and the form of citizenship embedded within democratic education programs in American schools. They have laid out three conceptions of the “good” citizen common to civic programs: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented. Personally responsible citizens are viewed as the law abiding and obedient citizens who embody good behavior and a general spirit of volunteerism within their communities. Participatory citizens are more active in their community efforts and attempt to solve problems by seeking positions of leadership. Participatory citizens’ actions are anchored in their knowledge of government agencies and how things work. Justice-oriented citizens, according to Westheimer and Kahne (2004), critically assess social and economic issues, specifically areas of injustice. In addition to seeking answers to solve problems, justice-oriented citizens also identify the root causes of those problems in order to change established systems that result in injustice (p. 240). Given this description, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) provide the following metaphor to cement their take: personally responsible citizens are envisioned as those who donate food to a local food drive, participatory citizens organize the food drive and justice-oriented citizens ask why people are hungry in the first place and what can they do to change it (p. 242).
Westheimer and Kahne (2004) were quick to dismiss personally responsible citizenship, viewing it as an insufficient response to the challenges of preparing students for democratic citizenry (p. 243). They focused their efforts instead on two civic programs in two separate schools: one a participatory centric program and one at a justice-oriented program. Using a mixed methods analysis of interviews, observations, and surveys, the researchers arrived at the conclusion that the programs studied accomplished what they set out to do, in that the justice-oriented program produced students whose own citizenship dispositions (after completing the program) aligned with the justice-oriented interpretation of citizenship when compared to the participatory interpretation; and vice-versa for students who completed the participatory program. Ultimately, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) suggest a citizenship education program that features elements of both participatory and justice-oriented, as opposed to exposing students to just one. The work of Westheimer and Kahne (2004) is predictable for readers, but at closer glance it does reaffirm concerns expressed by Abowitz and Harnish (2006) that student civic dispositions are greatly influenced by the form of citizenship they are exposed to in the classroom; which at this point continues to be dominated by non-critical forms of citizenship such as liberal, civic republican, and personally responsible.

If non-critical notions of citizenship via knowledge acquisition are in fact the pervasive form of citizenship and methodology presented to students in schools, what affect does this have on our students? More specifically, how is this form and method of citizenship education affecting minority students who may not be represented in the materials that fill our classrooms? According to Ladson-Billings (2005) today’s social studies curricula treat all students as if they are white, native-born, and middle-class (p. 75). Some would argue that such learning scenarios have leveraged a “hidden curriculum” in schools in which political apparatuses and procedure
represent the boundaries of legitimacy in civic knowledge and institution and as such, exist tacitly without question (Apple, 1971/1996; Au, 2009; Banks & Nguyen, 2008). Levinson (2012), more recently, explores this issue and in doing so, suggests a “civic empowerment gap” existent amongst urban, minority youth. She has asserted that this type of civic knowledge; consistent with the hidden curriculum as suggested by Apple (1971/1996) and others, commonly represents the pool from which standardized civic assessments judge student performance. Levinson (2012) pointed specifically to test scores from the 2010 National Assessment of Educational Performance (NAEP) Civics Assessment as evidence of this, along with the fact that African Americans, Hispanics, poor, and non-native born students scored significantly lower than White, Asian, middle-class, and native-born students (p. 32). Levinson (2012) suggested this pattern is salient by the fourth grade and can be predictably traced through adulthood, and is contributive to future civic involvement (or lack thereof). According to Levinson (2012), test scores represent a microcosm of failures on the part of our educational systems, according to Levinson (2012), to effectively reach urban youth, particularly minority and poor students.

The problems suggested here are not new to schools or citizenship for that matter; Banks & Nguyen (2008) asserted that citizenship education in Western societies is framed around an assimilationist concept of citizenship with the impetus of fostering a shared and dominant mainstream culture (p. 137). In the United States that mainstream culture is conceptualized as white, male, middle-class and able bodied. As such, being white, has been translated as being more American and law abiding within schools, while possessing a darker skin complexion has been perceived as being less patriotic, less American, and alternatively, more ethnocentric (Ladson-Billings, 2005). To combat such institutionalized, “ethnoracialized” notions of citizenship and corollaries stemming from a hidden civic curriculum mentioned previously,
Levinson (2012) suggested a “new civics” – or new form of civics education - to civically empower minority youth and those outside the margins of the dominant mainstream culture projected within schools.

Levinson’s (2012) recipe for “new civics” encourages civic perspective development in minority students, one that incorporates ethnoracial individual identity as a chief factor in civic development. Such civic development is not achieved in isolation, however, but rather in concert with the exploration of civic identities and obligation. Levinson (2012) leveraged DuBois’ (1903/1973) notion of “double-consciousness” to add credence to her thought processes here. As they develop civic identity and perspective students begin to question issues of power and learn a strategy Levinson (2012) refers to as “code switching” in which students express themselves in a manner consistent with the language, modalities, and cultural expression of majority groups. The goal is to impregnate conversations in which minority groups have historically been underrepresented. Additionally, Levinson’s (2012) new civics suggests incorporating counter narratives into instruction, where American history is perceived as an “ongoing struggle against inherent oppression and injustice, accompanied by an obligation to use one’s opportunities to continue the struggle through civic and political engagement” (p. 116). Students are encouraged to help move the journey and justice forward along a collective path. Embedded within Levinson’s (2012) suggested counter narratives are the individual narratives of ordinary people - as opposed to ordained saints and national heroes such as Washington, King, and Lincoln – people who share common characteristics/attributes with students such as race, ethnicity, national origin, etc. and are relatable to students. Levinson’s (2012) new civics ultimately asserted schools and classrooms as sites of civic community and institution. As such, these sites should be more democratic in nature and serve as a space for students to develop civic
dispositions, perspectives, and identities. Involving students in the decision making process, facilitating an open classroom climate where students can freely and comfortably express their opinions, and engaging students in experiential and authentic civic learning experiences (or doing civics) are all suggested at length as additional avenues for addressing the civic empowerment gap amongst minority youth.

Levinson’s (2012) suggestions are not unique or novel in that they can be traced in other works. Her argument for civic perspective by way of “double-consciousness” for example, closely resembles Parker’s (1996b) tension-imbued “new idea(s)” for democracy. Levinson’s (2012) use of counter narrative to teach history and citizenship as a journey mirrors Dewey’s notion of creative or associative democracy (Dewey, 1916/1980, p. 93) and can also be traced to the works of Parker (1996a & b) and Brown et al (2011) who suggested approaching American military history through the perspective and contributions of African American soldiers. Schools as sites of civic community to engage minority students can be found in the work of Ladson-Billings (2005), who used the example of Highlander Folk School with great effect; also Osler and Starkey (2005) who suggested envisioning students as “citizens now, not citizens in the waiting” (p. 43) as a mantra to cultivate school civic community; and Cogan, Grossman, and Liu suggested schools as centers for civic education or “living laboratories of democracy” (p. 53). Along the lines of citizens now and consistent with Levinson’s (2012) suggestion for open classroom climate, Hess (2009) advocated the merits of classroom discussion and deliberation when framed around controversial issues. These controversial issues as such, provide the terrain for students to engage with points of view that may not be inherently their own and in doing so, help them to develop alternative perspective, or what Hess refers to as political tolerance. Hess (2009) conceived such discussion within the classroom as a “proxy for democracy” (p.15) and
further suggested that without controversy there can be no democracy (p. 162). Hahn (2002) similarly suggested incorporating controversial issues that are current and more likely to resonate with students. In agreement with both Hess (2002, 2009) and Hahn (2002), other scholars have expressed the inherit value of student deliberation and discussion with regards to student civic development (see Hahn, 2010; Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta & Wilkenfeld, 2009).

What Levinson’s (2012) new civics does accomplish however, is a new take on assessment that may shed light on the hidden curriculum and on non-critical notions of citizenship, two forces that contribute to the civic empowerment gap. She has argued for “schools for democracy” as opposed to “schools within a democracy,” in other words, schools where our ultimate “assessment” is registered in the future civic involvement of students in their neighborhoods, communities, and larger political bodies. Her ideas here resonate with many of the recommendations put forward by the Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge (2013), which was formed and commissioned by The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). The nonpartisan Commission provided many recommendations for districts, educators, and communities through the use of student and teacher survey, stakeholder interviews, and analysis of voter turnout for ages 18-29 according to state. These recommendations included the use of assessments that incorporate higher order skills and authentic application of knowledge, career protection for teachers who incorporate controversial issues in their practice, increased professional development opportunities for teachers regarding civic instruction, and the inclusion of current events and topics into civic instruction coupled with classroom discussion and deliberation. Additionally, the Committee suggested policymakers at all levels consider experimenting with alternate forms of assessment that deviate from standardized assessments, such as student portfolios that provide a space for
students to demonstrate civic skills and include activities such as community research projects and service-learning (p. 8-9). Such assessment is corroborated in the suggestions of many scholars already cited with regards to moving away from high-stakes, standardized testing which typically incorporate rote memorization and can lead to a proliferation of the hidden curriculum and continued marginalization of minority students.

At This Point: What Do We See?

At this point in the review I will take a step back, and assess perspectives gained regarding questions that have framed the first two conceptual pillars of this review beginning with: “What is the nature of the social studies - how does that connect to citizenship?”

I have approached this question from a variety of angles including; historical, structural (including how the social studies is defined and what disciplines are embedded within it), pedagogical (how the curriculum is enacted by teachers), cognitive (what the social studies looks like for students), and systematic (the role and influence of standards and high-stakes testing on the social studies). Looking at the social studies from all of the described angles has enabled me to characterize its many dimensions; put collectively, the nature of the social studies.

By applying the study’s theoretical framework to the mentioned dimensions, specifically Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts, we do see evidence suggesting the social studies as an essentially contested concept. The contested nature of the social studies, as we have seen, is one that dates back to its inception and stems from internal perceptions concerning the philosophic purpose and function of the social studies and expressed efforts to maintain those perceptions. This may be further exacerbated given the unique interdisciplinary composition of the social studies as an academic subject and the cacophony of voices represented in conversations concerning curriculum. Such a range of vested voices speaks to what Gallie
(1956) suggest as the “internally complex character” (p. 172) of an essentially contested concept. This is most poignantly illustrated in debates concerning the social studies as traditional history versus the social studies as social education. Points of departure, though rooted in arguments dating back to the 1916 Committee, have been shown to also reflect the more recent influence of increased testing. Despite philosophic points of departure within the field, the destination is unanimously considered that of citizenship preparation.

Despite near universal acceptance of citizenship as the core mission of the social studies, the social studies as a K-12 school subject is one without consensus in terms of an agreed upon curricular definition. Through the literatures a range of interpretations have been conveyed ranging from those that would decry everything that is social knowledge is the social studies, to outright denunciations and calls for the elimination of the social studies altogether. Some have suggested a lack of a definitive vision in this area has given birth to questions surrounding the relevance of the social studies within today’s educational context. Differing translations regarding the social studies has been argued, are commonly politically motivated/oriented. This which suggests the social studies as an essentially contested concept. With this in mind, it is interesting to report that despite the potentially contested nature of the social studies with regards to an agreed upon governing definition, what we do consistently see through the various expressed translations are beliefs concerning the purpose of the social studies, which as I have already stated is overwhelmingly the promotion of citizenship or skills associated with what may be considered effective citizenship for students.

These skills however, are not easily measured, nor are they quickly accessible, which within today’s educational context may be labeled a liability. Having said this, today’s push for measurable outcomes has forced many social studies teachers to adopt “wise practices” that
essentially encompass “teaching to the test.” These tests continue to be dominated by multiple choice assessments and rely on rote memorization of factual information. Interestingly, this has fostered a relationship between social studies teachers and standardized assessment in which the test is perceived as both the oppressor and the validator. Looking at this relationship through the critical portion of this study’s theoretical lens, it suggests that the social studies field in many districts and states has adopted the logic (illusio) of standardized assessments, which as we have seen trivializes and/or reduces the social studies to historical information and which may have detrimental effects on minority students. Conversely, the adoption of such logic would suggest a step away from citizenship skills as the desired outcome to be registered. The evidence of such a logic is present in districts without standardized assessment for social studies and is evidenced by actions to reduce classroom time and resources dedicated to social studies and instead directing those resources to other subject areas, most notably English language arts and mathematics.

Recent initiatives in this area do however provide hope with regards to meaningful assessments that may more appropriately support citizenship goals. These alternate forms of assessment such as student portfolios provide space for students to demonstrate civic proficiencies in an authentic fashion. Having said this, the true nature and potential of the social studies lies in its capacity to inspire students to explore the larger world and human narratives across time and space; all the while developing skills and dispositions that are supportive of civic participation. The nature of the social studies in this sense is dynamic and cannot be divorced from citizenship, nor can it be assessed or reduced to multiple choice test items.

Now I turn toward the second conceptual pillar, that of citizenship and citizenship education, which is initially framed by the question: “What is citizenship?”
In attempting to answer this question at the conceptual level I was drawn to fields that extended beyond education, fields including political science and sociology. This discourse enabled me to isolate its basic components, which was helpful when attempting to define the concept. These components include elements such as sense of identity and membership, acceptance of societal values, rights, and responsibilities, and with this certain afforded privileges that accompany membership and/or citizenship. Understanding the basic components of citizenship, I was compelled to craft my own definition of citizenship that was intimately influenced by the review of the literatures. Citizenship in my view is a form of membership bestowed upon individuals to a larger community or entity that makes accessible defined rights and obligations to members that ultimately characterize and shape notions of self.

Using acquired understandings of citizenship as evidenced in the crafted definition for citizenship I will now address the second half of the question framing this conceptual pillar, which asks: “Is citizenship a generative concept? If so, how generative is the concept?”

In attempting to ascertain whether citizenship is a generative concept I began by employing Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts and its specific attention to an agreed upon “exemplar” derivation of a concept as an attribute or condition, constitutive of an essentially contested concept. In doing this, we arrive at T.H. Marshall’s (1950/1992) definition for citizenship – and his seminal three elements of citizenship (civil, political, and social). Marshall’s take on citizenship is readily cited within the literatures (see Hindness, 1993; Jones & Gaventa, 2002; Kabeer, 2002; Turner, 1993) and often used as a starting point for authors to sketch out their own take on citizenship. Using Marshall’s views on citizenship as the genesis of more recent conceptual interpretations we do see enhanced production of meanings attached to the concept. Since Marshall’s *Citizenship and Social Class (1950)* was first published, it has
drawn criticisms from scholars regarding its male-dominated and Anglo-centric nature and an apparent disregard to social class struggle. With these in mind, scholars have articulated more nuanced and inclusive interpretations within the citizenship discourse. These interpretations that often explore membership and identity beyond the borders of the nation-state, a place where Marshall’s work had previously been confined. More recent interpretations of citizenship have been applied to situations commonly stemming from the globalized nature of today’s society and include interpretations such as global citizenship, differentiated citizenship, and flexible citizenship.

Considering these factors and expanded interpretations, which have been attached to citizenship since Marshall’s (1950/1992) published work, I would argue that citizenship is in fact generative in nature. Additionally, I would suggest that citizenship as a concept is highly generative in light of how seamlessly it is commandeered to suit the purposes of its user in a variety of context. This is evidenced in situations that represent increasingly complex forms of identity within a globalized context as seen, for example, in the case of flexible and differentiated citizenship. This would suggest, in addition to being a generative concept, citizenship may also be considered contextually elastic and malleable, able to respond to the needs and assumptions of users, reinforcing citizenship as an essentially contested concept. At this point I will look at my final pillar and explore the sphere of academic publishing more closely and consider the space created when all three pillars are aligned.

The Role of the Scholarly, Academic Journal

As noted early in this study’s introduction, the disappointment I experienced as a result of the late-night conversation I had with my partner greatly affected the development of this study including the research questions that ultimately framed the study. The questions do represent my
“location” at this point of my career. Having recently entered the culture of the academia and the expectations afforded a research institution, much of which requires extensive reading of journal articles and other outlets for empirical work, I was inspired to explore the literatures to understand how the existent structures within the world of academic publishing affect a field’s discourse. With this in mind I now take a closer look at what the journal system looks like within academia. I and also begin to explore this system and the ways in which its structures may impact the citizenship discourse within social studies education.

The Rise of the Scholarly Journal

Scientific and scholarly journals were first introduced during the latter 18th century, and by the late 19th century, journals were a main source of communication amongst scholars and research communities. Prior to the academic journal, encyclopedic orientations, according to Vanderstraeten (2011), were the dominant modus operandi within fields of research. The eventual popularity of scientific journals coincided with the “morphogenesis” of scientific disciplines and sub disciplines during the period characterized and labeled as the Industrial Revolution (p. 110). This period of time, as we have already seen, included the development of the “modern” university in the United States (transplanted from Germany), along with America’s nascent public education system, and the scientific study of history and social problems. All of which provided the basic context for the the social studies in American schools. The rise of the academic journal has also been connected with what Thomas Kuhn (1962/2012) would refer to as “scientific communities,” or groups of individuals communally linked to a specific research phenomenon. These communities over time became increasingly nuanced and specialized, and with this, scholarly journals served as an outlet for members to communicate research findings
and ongoing questions. The scholarly journal as such, contributed to progressions and points of contestation within burgeoning scientific communities and the notion of specialized study.

To further convey the significance described, Vanderstraeten (2011) asserted the rise of scientific journals as of “central importance to the crystallization of intellectual specialization and scientific disciplines” (p. 109). Lowe (2012) – on a similar note, suggested that scientific journals offered legitimacy to specialized fields of study and afforded these researchers in these fields the opportunity to demonstrate academic respectability regarding their practice (p. 104). But with the expressed importance attributed to journals also came a position of power as journals “channeled” the communication within these communities and arguably “controlled” contributions and advances within fields (Vanderstraeten, 2011, p. 110). With this in mind, journals and their editorial boards essentially represented what Thornton (1991) would refer to as “gatekeepers” within fields by controlling what was published or communicated within research communities. As we will see much of the same discourse and sense of “control” associated with academic journals and representative editorial boards still resonates today within academia, some would suggest even more so.

**The Role of Journal Editors**

According to sociologist Andrew Abbott (2008), the process of publishing scholarly works has not changed significantly during the past century. The cast of characters, according to Abbott (2008), and process involved has remained relatively stable as well. Scholars still serve as authors, readers, and referees. Authors submit manuscripts for review to editors who in turn send them out to unpaid referees for advice. The final decision regarding manuscript publication is ultimately vested to the editor who considers, among other factors, quality and overall marketability.
Abbott’s (2008) cursory summation of the role of journal editors here and the publication process in general does not justly convey the inner workings and politics involved. Wellington and Nixon (2005), with greater effort, employed the work of Bourdieu, specifically Bourdieu’s notion of the “illusio” to shed light on how published work is shaped and constructed; a process resulting in the stability alluded to by Abbott (2008). The “illusio,” as we have already seen, is a belief in “the game, the interest of the game, and a shared view, that somehow keeps the game going.” Within this “game” Wellington and Nixon (2005) added (employing Bourdieu) that “no one can benefit from the game, not even those who dominate it, without being a part of the game and being taken in by the game” (p. 645). The application of Bourdieu’s “illusio,” when applied to scholarly publication, reveals a community of players who contribute to an ongoing trajectory or momentum; a momentum that is interlocked by a system of dispositions and cultural hierarchies. Wellington and Nixon (2005) later correlated these communal connections outside the metaphorical game to that of an ecological system of associations, which equally illustrates a common linkage system binding participants: “That system [of scholarly publication] is in many ways like every ecological system, each member plays a part in the chain or web that makes up the habitat in which we dwell” (p. 645).

Within this ecological system Wellington and Nixon (2005) specifically sought to examine a chief player in the publication game, journal editors, and in doing so, managed to foreground how many play the game. In their study Wellington and Nixon (2005) interviewed twelve anonymous education journal editors in the United Kingdom and in the process, discovered editor dispositions to be situated along three metaphorical poles and/or continua: filter/gatekeeper, mediator/guardian, and facilitator/defendant. Many of the editors interviewed saw themselves as the initial filter in the process in light of the fact that they make preliminary
judgments regarding papers submitted. As the first filter these editors described briefly scanning submitted work; looking for basic structure and compliance within the journal’s guidelines. Other editors saw themselves as gatekeepers and as such, took a more hands on approach to initial review looking for specifics such as an up-to-date literature review and overall relevance of the manuscript’s research question.

In the next stage editors interviewed described matching manuscripts with referee expertise for review. Wellington and Nixon (2005) discovered variability in the degrees to which editors rely on the feedback of their referees in terms of final manuscript selection to vary. At this point some editors perceived themselves simply as mediators between referees. One such editor, whom relied on the near exclusivity of his referees, referred to his perceived editorial power as “more symbolic than actual” (p. 648). Other editors however, perceived their power as more tangible and saw themselves as guardsmen of the journal’s integrity and, to a larger extent, the quality of scholarship within their field. As guardsmen or guardians, these editors envisioned themselves with the responsibility of defining and shaping the trajectory of the field.

Many editors in this study expressed enjoyment in their editorial work and frequently employed the comparison of facilitator or point of connection between new ideas and scholars to the larger academic community. Others (similar to guardians) saw themselves as defending an established order by defining boundaries and maintaining standards and policy. Establishing order was often made in reference to rejecting submissions. Wellington and Nixon (2005) adroitly suggested the possibility that rejections are not limited in scope to the work submitted but rather rejection extends to the author herself or himself and that betterment is required in order to gain acceptance, so the game continues. The work and author are, in this sense, one and the same, without dualism. Acceptance into these communities and the playing fields of
academic journals becomes all the more desired as the number of rejections increases in proportion to submissions. The community and fields of play thus become more coveted amongst players.

Continuing the quest into editorial worlds, Smith and Gough (1984) sought to explore those of both refereed and non-refereed journal editors and asked the question, “Are the methods of manuscript selection used by refereed journal editors vastly different from those used by non-refereed journal editors?” Through random sample survey of editors from both journal formats, the researchers discovered some surprising similarities. For example, many of the non-refereed journal editors who participated reported and submitted that manuscripts submitted were regularly read by two to three editorial members and often by outside readers as part of their quality-control protocols. However, the more compelling issues raised within Smith and Gough’s (1984) work here ventured outside their research question and illuminates the examination into the power and authority of editors of refereed journals.

As suggested within Wellington and Nixon (2005), editors in the Smith and Gough (1984) study also reported part of their editorial role as mediators between manuscript referees. However, the matter of interpreting referee opinion and the possible latitude of those opinions, according to Smith and Gough (1984), is one that resides solely in the hands of the editor. With regards to referees, Smith and Gough (1984) report that editors are overwhelmingly supportive of their referees. Nevertheless, this confidence may be couched in the fact that 101 of the 138 refereed journal editors interviewed reported that “they have a great deal of influence, if not total control over choosing the experts who serve as referees” (p. 638). The most compelling aspect to emerge from the Smith and Gough (1984) study, however, is that 35 of the 138 refereed journal editors interviewed expressed having a variable criteria regarding manuscript selection,
one that extended beyond the author guidelines made available to authors. These editors reported a variation in selection standards across a range of factors including: a preference to the work of members of the association that sponsors the journal, and a preference for a geographical mix of authors. Some reported an additional preference for the work of authors from third world countries, while others sought out more practitioner authors. These preferential practices, according to Smith and Gough (1984), revealed that, “all manuscripts are not created equal” (p. 638). Interestingly, Noble (1989) through an open-ended survey of 23 non-anonymous journal editors discovered that the most common factor leading editors to reject manuscripts are non-adherence to journal guidelines (p. 99). If these “guidelines” vary and are reflected in editor personal preferences (that are not fully disclosed) the situation appears more opaque for authors. The game however, continues.

**Journal Etiquette and its Implications**

Given the attention awarded to journals we have already seen, editors have created their own sense of etiquette regarding style and format. Journal etiquette has influenced (if not changed) how researchers write. It is not uncommon for example, for researchers to pre-determine the presentation style and narrative of their work based on the format and style of a target journal. Additionally, whom authors choose to cite is often influenced by who is being regularly cited within a target journal. According to Andrew Abbott (2008) this has contributed to a five-fold increase in the number of references within a given article from its rate nearly 50 years ago. Abbott (2008) pushed further and asserted that less than 10% of all references today mention any page number at all resulting in a reference list he suggested as less than substantive for readers. Abbott (2008) attempted to shed light on rationales for such author decision and also the implications of such work,
Some of the new citations are there to preempt a reviewer’s anger, some to signal membership in this or that crowd, some simply as decorative Christmas balls. All of this destroys the scholarly utility of other people’s reference lists, which lay precisely in their selectivity and substance. (p. 8-9)

Abbott (2008) later suggested these decisions represent a decline in attention given to reading other scholar’s work and as such, has given rise to a phenomenon he refers to as “generational paradigms.” These paradigms, which consummate about every 25 years according to Abbott (2008), occur within scientific communities and consist of members adopting particular views regarding the substantive, methodological, and philosophical debates within their fields, to the absolute exclusion of others (p. 9). The result, according to Abbott, is an absolute dismissal of generations of previous work without question:

They [generational paradigms] permit scholars to set aside the huge unknowable mass of prior work, freeing them for the tasks of reading what they want and of making what is – at best in their own eyes – serious progress. Generational paradigms thus allow scholars to make careers based on novelty in a system in which novelty has become difficult if not impossible for anyone to carefully search and receptively read the prior scholarly work. (p. 10)

Abbott’s (2008) “generational paradigms” here are a possible response to expansions in the sheer amount of scholarship being published today, along with an increased expectation of scholars to not only publish but review as well. These factors may suggest the likelihood of what Abbott (2008) later refers to as “star systems” within written scholarship or certain, agreed upon works that must be read within communities. Abbott commented that under his American
In some instances, these works (star systems) may be the by-product of a distinction Abbott (2009) makes in a separate work, between knowing and knowledge. In drawing this distinction, Abbott (2009) places less significance on knowledge, which he sees as the result of an activity--the activity, according to Abbott (2009) is knowing. If we align his thinking here with his previous argument regarding star systems and by extension generational paradigms, we do see some overlap. According to Abbott (2009), in today’s world knowledge is what is sought or searched for. In this way, it is consumatory. In this search for knowledge, the act of knowing, or attaining deep conceptual understanding, has been abandoned, which may have degenerative affects to the overall quality of scholarship. Abbott (2009) commented on how the act of reading is interpreted today on college campuses, but I would argue (and I think Abbott would agree) that the same observation applies to many scholars (see argument for reduced page references).

“[t]hey [college students] think it [reading] means parsing the sentences of a text and rendering them into internal representations. They don’t even imagine MY concept of reading, according to which reading means using a text as a stimulus for a complex reflection…” (p. 7). In this context knowing has been set aside for knowledge (in the form of citations) in order to gain access to certain crowds and possibly certain journals.

The Picture Painted

Abbott’s work (2008, 2009), along with others, speaks to concerns cultivated by way of Bourdieu’s (1996) illusio. According to Bourdieu (1996), the illusio manifests itself in the adoption of the logic of the viewpoints of the field. In doing so, the illusio determines what is important within the field. Once woven into the field (as Foucault would suggest) authors
collide in competition within the illusio. In theory, if they (agents) are to be accepted and remain competitive in the game, they must read the same works (star systems) and quote the same authors (decorative Christmas balls) that are deemed important within the community. From this perspective it is not difficult to make the correlation of insular conceptualizations of citizenship within a community; possibly TRSE?

In closing this aspect of the review of the literature I feel compelled to incorporate one final notion from Bourdieu (1986), that of capital; a structure that speaks to the environment of scholarly publication, one that may illuminate even more the concerns expressed by Abbott (2008, 2009) and individual desires to play the game.

According to Bourdieu (1986) capital is accumulated labor which “when appropriated by on an exclusive basis by agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (p. 241). Bourdieu (1986) situated capital into three fundamental guises:

- Economic capital – which is “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (p. 243).
- Cultural capital – convertible under certain conditions “into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications” (p. 243).
- Social capital – also convertible in certain conditions into economic capital, consists of social obligations or connections (p. 243).

To further demonstrate the nature of capital in the social world further, Bourdieu (1986) painted a picture of a world without want or need of capital, in the form of a roulette wheel. In this social illustration everyone is apportioned the same possibility of winning upon each turn of the wheel. In this illustration, the universe as such, exists in perfect competition and perfect equality of opportunity is afforded each participant. It is, according to Bourdieu (1986), “a world
without inertia” (p. 241). But this imaginary world impregnated with notions of egalitarianism, as we all know exists only in fantasy. In the real and actual, agents expend great resources and faculty to accumulate or store capital, which in turn, increases agent chances of winning on the roulette wheel.

Understanding capital and its forms underscores rationales for playing the game. For example, a player who wishes to gain acceptance into certain communities may volunteer to serve as a reviewer of conference proposals. Through dialogue with the head reviewer (an established player) the agent may make efforts to prove her or his effectiveness as a reviewer and scholar by diligently analyzing proposals and providing extensive feedback to authors. All of this labor may be transacted in the hopes of making social connections or storing social capital that may manifest in co-authorship opportunities or “inside” help getting published in journals with low acceptance rates. These are journals that ultimately serve to catch the eye of tenure committees and organizations and institutions that fund research (see Lowe, 2012). What may in fact be driving such pursuits and efforts to play the game of scholarly publication, may be as simple as economic capital, which according to Bourdieu lies at the heart or root of capital in all of its genres:

So it has to be posited that economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital, never entirely reducible to that definition, produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal (not the least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their roots. (p. 252)

If economic capital is a structure that compels scholars to play and contribute to the expansion of fields through publication - should we criticize others whose efforts may not be so
subtly disguised? Or are we just products of a system that runs on capitalist notions of productivity and pretention? I don’t know, but what we do see is an environment that makes decisions such as including decorative Christmas ball references and chasing generational paradigms as suggested by Abbott (2008) possible, if not reasonable.

**Looking Ahead**

Within Pillar 3 I have foregrounded existing structures within the sphere of academic journals, such as the role and perceived power of journal editors, and with this insight into the manuscript selection process and external factors that effect those decisions. Additionally, this analysis of academic publishing has revealed much of the dynamics involved from the perspective of writers. If we look at this through the study’s critical lens, this would include writers’ adopting the logic of the field, all with the hopes of gaining acceptance in the illusio and more coveted locations within the field. The same critical logic applies to editors who, like writers, through their efforts try to attain more capital and better field positions.

Considered together the three pillars of this review have harvested a unique space for launching this study. The installation of Pillar 3 (academic publishing) alongside Pillars 1 (social studies education) and 2 (citizenship and citizenship education) reveals a gap in the context which they (Pillars 1 and 2) represent. Singularly, Pillar 1 has reinforced the principle of civic development as the aim and/or mission of social studies education. Pillar 2 has demonstrated the generative nature of citizenship as a concept and how citizenship is represented within social studies disciplines including political science and sociology. What remains undetermined however, is the generative capacity of citizenship when Pillars 1 and 2 are merged; in other words, how is citizenship represented within the field of social studies education? By installing Pillar 3 and its foci on the inner workings and structures of academic publishing, I am positioned to engage with the field’s discourse in a critical manner as it relates to citizenship.
Having said this, few studies have looked at the citizenship discourse (as a discursive process) within social studies education to understand how the field has grappled with citizenship over extended periods. The most notable study to attempt such an endeavor is that representative of Kathleen Knight-Abowitz and Jason Harnish (2006), a study that examined the citizenship discourse within the fields of general education, social studies education, political theory, and philosophy over a 13-year period. Abowitz and Harnish (2006), in addition to including a variety of fields in their analysis also incorporated a range of genres including academic journals, state standards, scholarly books, and curriculum materials. The range of texts and text origins however, makes assessing cohesion within the discourses analyzed, a factor researchers have suggested as a desirable condition for doing text analyses (see White & Marsh, 2006), difficult to attain. The number of text analyzed in the Abowitz and Harnish (2006) study is not disclosed to readers nor is the distributional ratio of fields or genres included or time periods. These factors along with a less than transparent methodology section may cause the contribution of the Abowitz and Harnish (2006) work to lie in question.

As such, this dissertation study represents an attempt to address the shortcomings mentioned and in doing so, provide the field with a more robust glimpse into citizenship conceptualizations as represented within TRSE, a journal arguably considered the flagship journal of social studies education, over a 40-year period. Guiding this work are two research questions: How is citizenship represented in TRSE? And, how have these representations emerged? In the next chapter I unpack both the methodology and specific methods employed to address these questions.
Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter I explain both the methodology and specific methods employed for this dissertation study. The purpose of this study is to critically examine a top tier journal’s attention to citizenship and citizenship education over an extended period. With this, my work is guided by the following research questions: How is citizenship represented within Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)? And, How have these representations emerged? TRSE, a flagship journal within social studies education research, serves as the context of study for this dissertation. In order to explore this study’s research questions, I have employed a qualitative content analytic approach across the journal’s anthology for the purposes of generating descriptive categories of citizenship discourse emergent from published works within TRSE since the journal’s debut in 1973. After developing categories, I then applied a discourse analysis to TRSE’s citizenship discourse for the purposes of protracting further meaning and insight regarding how the discourse categories have been produced and/or how the discourse categories have emerged. My goal for this study is to evoke an understanding of the field’s discourse, through both content and discourse analysis, and in doing so, provide a robust glimpse into ideologies and assumptions that directly shape beliefs within the field. These ideologies and assumptions, considered in the context of citizenship, something which social studies educators agreeably pride as being the governing rationale for the field, bears significant implications for our work.

Toward a Governing Metaphor

In developing the research questions that would frame this study I was led to Stuart Hall’s (1997) Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, a work that has been instrumental toward the development of the theoretical framework guiding this study of
which I discuss later in this chapter. Having said this, Hall (1997) suggested representation as an “essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture” and involves “the use of language, of signs and images which stand for and represent things” (p. 15). Representation as such, can be conceived as the production of meaning through signs and language. Hall (1997) goes on to situate representation along two systems, the first he describes as one in which objects, people, and events are correlated with concepts (he refers to this as mental representations) within our minds. When referring to this system, Hall (1997) suggested that meaning “depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can stand for or represent the world, enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads” (p. 17). Representation is further solidified through our use of conceptual systems that enable individuals to organize, classify and cluster relations between concepts on a conceptual map we carry with us. Conceptual maps then, are not universal but rather unique to the individual. But in order to communicate representations and their attached meanings we need a common language or shared signs, which Hall (1997) refers to as the second system involved in cultural representation. According to Hall (1997) signs are organized into common languages, which then make possible the translation of concepts into words. Taken together Hall (1997) articulates the two described systems, which enable individuals and cultures to arrive at representation:

The first enables us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things – people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc. – and our system of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into various languages which stand for or represent those concepts. The relation between ‘things,’ and concepts and signs lies at the heart of
the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call ‘representation’. (Hall, 1997, p. 19)

Hall’s (1997) work here led me to look at studies that attempted to uncover how citizenship has been “represented” in social studies education over time. The most substantial study regarding this criterion is the work of Abowitz and Harnish (2006), who discovered seven discourses to emerge from citizenship texts that stretched across a range of disciplines including general education, social studies education, philosophy, and political theory over the period 1990 to 2003. Within the fields examined were a range of genres including curriculum materials from both private and public organizations, civic standards from the states of New Jersey, California, and Ohio, and also academic works including both journal articles and scholarly books. The work of Abowitz and Harnish (2006) is quite massive in scope, however, with such a range of disparate genres and text origins included it is difficult to suggest any continuity or cohesion in the discourses assessed, which cast some doubt on the overall relevance of the study’s findings. Equally concerning is their claim of utilizing discourse analysis (they describe as a Foucauldian discourse analysis) to the texts analyzed across their study. The methods employed in the Abowitz and Harnish (2006) study do not reflect my understanding of discourse analysis. I understand their methodology as a content analysis given that through their analysis, they develop seven emergent discourse categories and with these, descriptive attributes of those categories. Having said this, and looking at the Abowitz and Harnish (2006) study through a content analysis lens I envisioned its potential as a mentor text to address my first research question, How is citizenship represented within TRSE? The Abowitz and Harnish (2006) study continued to influence my thought processes when thinking about a methodology to address my second research question, How have these representations emerged? Digging deeper into
discourse analysis I arrived at the possibility of doing both a content and discourse analysis of TRSE’s attention to citizenship. To explain this further I borrow Hall’s (1997) metaphor of the traffic light and apply it to my own work (See Figure 1).

Hall (1997) used the traffic light metaphor to explain how language functions within a representational system; by articulating the cultural influence of the color scheme and organizational pattern of the traffic light and how it affects our actions, in this case driving behaviors. In thinking about the functionality of the traffic light, through the culturally inspired lens described by Hall (1997), I see it (the traffic light) applied to my own work. For me, the structure of the traffic light, both the color scheme, as well as the organizational composition, represents the affordances of content analysis within the context of this study to categorize citizenship discourses across the publication history of TRSE. For Hall (1997), the traffic light further reveals the function of language within a representational system in the manner in which red has evolved to represent stopping forward momentum and conversely green permission to proceed. Within this study, the discourse analysis functions as an enabling methodology that has allowed me to interrogate discourses that have emerged within TRSE—or put more metaphorically, how green has come to represent go and red to mean stop.
In addition to aiding in the development of a governing research metaphor, Hall’s (1997) work has proved beneficial in helping craft this study’s theoretical framework. To these ends, Hall’s (1997) cultural representation is integrated with Bourdieu (1996). By focusing in on TRSE’s attention to citizenship, the journal itself is conceptualized as a culture or community, in the tradition of Hall (1997), within the larger field. Within the community that is TRSE citizenship conceptualizations in the context of this study are materialized as cultural representations expressed within the community. In order to compete, members of the community must understand and obey the rules of the game but also demonstrate cultural fluency with regard to accepted conventions that are made manifest in representation. The interplay of language/representation and field and habitus produces a logic (illusio) that is represented and reproduced within the community, which for this study is conceptualized as TRSE.
Within the next section I move forward to article selection within the TRSE anthology and the processes of compiling the corpus of data for this study.

**Data Population (Corpus)**

When looking at “data” or text examined, White and Marsh (2006) ask the question, What texts are conducive for text analysis studies? While many scholars recognize text to include a range of mediums not limited to written communication (Krippendorf; 2013; Neundorf, 2002; Oleinik, 2010), White and Marsh (2006) used the term with exclusive reference to the written text and in doing so, suggested seven criteria for defining a text, or a text desirable for study: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality, which White and Marsh (2006) unpack further:

- **Cohesion** - suggests a linguistic arrangement (i.e. rules of grammar and dependencies) causing elements to “hang together” in order to create a message
- **Coherence** – derived meaning from message often relies on known relationships/frameworks (not linguistically evident) in order to establish recipient understanding
- **Intentionality** – meaning is also attributed through purpose and author attitude
- **Acceptability** – from recipient perspective, the text arrived at is expected as useful or relevant
- **Informativity** – the text allows for judgments with regards to its quality of informing
- **Situationality** – consideration of the environment surrounding is warranted along with an understanding that environment influences production
- **Intertextuality** – the text can be conceptualized as a piece within a larger conversation and as such what precedes and follows should be considered
The seven criteria mentioned when considered in the context of the Abowitz and Harnish (2006) study suggest a need for a more cohesive data set from which to conduct a study. The criterion mentioned by White and Marsh (2006) adds credence to the idea of focusing on TRSE’s attention to citizenship over the extended, 40-year period (1973-2013).

I utilized the EBSCO Host online database in order to gain access to texts examined within this study and the exchange of ideas mentioned within TRSE’s mission statement. The database provided complete access to TRSE’s anthology and a search tool that enabled me to ascertain relevant articles. I began by choosing to search inside the publication and in doing so, entered the keyword “citizenship” and applied it to all articles within the TRSE anthology. After doing this I received a total of 140 articles that matched this criterion. I then made the decision to broaden the reach of my search and applied the term “civics” recognizing that citizenship is commonly embedded within civic education and curricula and I wanted to limit the amount of articles that might otherwise have been overlooked. My search for civics resulted in 100 article matches. Next, in order to be as inclusive as possible, I performed a more sophisticated search for citizenship within TRSE by applying the term to article titles (resulting in 63 matches), article abstracts (resulting in 117 matches), and finally, author-supplied subject terms (resulting in 91 matches). With this total of five lists I then cross referenced each list and ultimately arrived at a total of 210 articles, which seemed a reasonable amount of texts to begin to scrutinize further. I then read each of these 210 articles (some more than once) paying specific attention to articles whose core foci, I believed, was citizenship and/or citizenship education. Conversely, I removed articles I felt had a minimal citizenship focus. This element of my protocol can be criticized as a limitation which I will speak to further in the limitations portion of this chapter. However, in discussing the study’s protocol for article selection with a colleague, they suggested “aren’t they
all about citizenship.” In this instance, they were referring to the totality of TRSE and making the larger point that the social studies is all about citizenship. It is within such a logic, a hidden assumption that speaks to systemic problems woven into the fabric of this study. To assume the social studies is citizenship or citizenship education, is a misappropriation of both concepts, which in my estimation invites reified conceptualizations that undermine the contributions of both. Having said this, within my protocol I also removed book reviews, errata, and research in progress listings. After thoroughly scrutinizing the volume of my search I arrived at a total of 111 articles for this study or 2,651 total article pages of text included. A list of articles is provided (see Appendix A), along with a comprehensive rationale for articles that were identified using the initial search protocol but upon closer inspection were removed (see Appendix B and C).

Subsequently I decided to identify each article with the year and editorship under which it was published. Editorships within TRSE most commonly run for three years, however, in more recent years have ran for as many as seven. Table 1 shows the number of journal articles from my search protocol that has been correlated with the year and editorship under which they were published.

Table 1

Numbers of TRSE articles with Citizenship Focus and Editorial Periods (1973-2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Editor and Period</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cherryholmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-1975</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ehman  
1976-1978  8

Popkewitz  
1979-1981  3

Nelson  
1982-1984  2

Larkins  
1985-1987  7

Clements  
1988-1990  6

Fraenkel  
1991-1995  14

Ross  
1996-2001  20

Yeager  
2002-2007  29

Avery  
2008-2013  21

Total  111

The lists of articles should not be interpreted or considered exhaustive but rather should be considered a sample of TRSE’s attention to citizenship over a 40-year period.

Before unpacking both content analysis and discourse analysis employed for this study, I will briefly provide a disclosure statement to further situate myself in the research. Both qualitative interpretations of content and discourse analysis acknowledge the active and interpretive role of the researcher with regards to research observations.
**Subjectivity Statement**

According to Peshkin (1988), one’s subjectivities represent “an amalgam of the persuasions that stem from the circumstances of one’s class, statuses, and values interacting with the particulars of one’s object investigation” (p. 17). Being conscious of one’s persuasions is not suggested by Peshkin (1988) as an isolated event but rather as a recursive acknowledgement of one’s relationship to the particular phenomenon across the research process. Doing so, researchers “learn about the particular subset of personal qualities that contact with their research phenomenon has released” that may “filter, skew, shape, block, and misconstrue what transpires from the outset of a research project to its culmination in a written statement” (p. 17).

Acknowledging one’s own relationship and subjectivities is viewed as good practice with regards to transparency and holds the potential to further enrich the research narrative. Having said this, my particular view on citizenship and the skills and knowledge associated with citizenship and civic life has without question influenced my observations and interpretations of text analyzed. In my own work and research agenda I have published and presented on the topic of global education, a concept that in itself comes equipped with its own set of preconceptions with regard to citizenship and citizenship education. It is my view, along with many others who share an interest in global education, that civic republican and liberal oriented interpretations of citizenship do not provide adequate context or latitude for today’s youth when exploring and developing civic dispositions. It is my opinion that cosmopolitanism and other transnational views on citizenship, coupled with porous notions of identity as expressed within feminist and queer traditions are more aptly suited for today’s social studies classrooms. This opinion was born in large part to my six years in education working with students from a spectrum of cultural backgrounds, but has become more firmly entrenched given my partner Candy (a Guatemalan immigrant) and I are raising our now three children in a multicultural/bilingual home.
environment. Both experiences have shaped my understandings of citizenship and have influenced how I interpreted the citizenship discourse within TRSE. With this disclosure in mind I will now move on to unpacking content analysis and sharing how I employed this methodology to address my first research question: How is citizenship represented in TRSE?

**Research Question 1: How is Citizenship Represented in TRSE?**

Content analysis is a research technique for analyzing written, verbal or visual messages (Elo & Kyngas, 2007; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Krippendorf, 2013). It is a research methodology with roots dating back to the 1950s and was originally conceived as a mechanism for quantifying mass communications with particular attention to recurrences within text content (White & Marsh, 2006). More recently content analysis as a research methodology has evolved from strictly text analyses and the quantification of semiotics to more qualitative schools of analysis including impressionistic, intuitive, and more interpretative notions of research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2007). Content analysis, then, is often situated or differentiated into two camps based on methods of classifying and interpreting information: (1) quantitative or (2) qualitative (Oleinik, 2010). Scholars who view content analysis through the quantitative lens commonly describe it as systematic and an objective tool, one used to make replicable inferences from texts (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorf, 2013; Neuendorf, 2002). With this in mind, Neuendorf (2002) suggested content analysis as a positivistic approach to text that adheres to standards outlined by the scientific method including the use of an a priori research design and the deductive testing of hypotheses (pg. 10-13). Having said this, quantitative content analyses commonly employ external reliability measures within their research protocols in order to ascertain replicability with regards to research findings and do so with the impetus of validating and generalizing results to larger populations (Neuendorf, 2002; White & Marsh, 2006).
Qualitative genres of content analysis, like quantitative interpretations, draw inferences from texts based on analytical constructs (i.e. rules of inference), which according to Krippendorf (2013) are derived from (1) previous practices; (2) expert knowledge and experience; (3) established theories; or (4) embodied practices (p. 172). Put more broadly, analytical constructs can be conceptualized as “if then” statements that guide researchers from the text examined toward a response to the research question; “analytical constructs function like testable mini-theories of a context, with the provision that they are computable [reconcilable] on the coded features of available texts” (Krippendorf, 2013, p. 40). However, inferences made within qualitative content analyses, unlike quantitative interpretations, do not connote a space for shared authority (replicability) with regards to validating research findings through external channels, but rather recognize the researcher as a subjective interpreter of both the analyzed text and text author and as such, do not invoke generalizations (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006). With this in mind Elo and Kyngas (2007) asserted that the overall aim of qualitative content analysis is to achieve a “condensed and broad description of the phenomenon” in the form of concepts or categories that are later used to develop conceptual methods, systems, maps, or categories (p. 108). Hsieh and Shannon (2005), drew the distinction from text quantification even further suggesting, “Qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings” (p. 1278). Krippendorf (2013) takes a more moderate stance in this conversation, suggesting that all reading of text is qualitative in nature (no distinction) however, adds that qualitative content analyses share core characteristics which include a close, concentrated reading of textual matter; involve the interpretation of text into narratives that are accepted within a research community.
(commonly those opposed to positivistic traditions); and (as already suggested) acknowledge researchers’ own positionalities and subjectivities as a factor that influences the interpretation of text data (p. 23).

Given the incorporation of external reliability measures and the deductive testing of hypotheses associated with quantitative approaches to text analysis, I made the decision to focus my attention exclusively toward qualitative content analyses, which given the scope and aim of this study, was the more appropriate research analytic tool. When considering qualitative content analyses Hsieh and Shannon (2005) suggested three approaches to contemplate: conventional content analysis; directed content analysis; and summative content analysis. Each of these was considered for this study. Conventional content analysis, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005) is used to describe a phenomenon and avoid using previous research to define categories or codes, instead allowing for categories and codes to emerge inductively from the text data. In using conventional content analyses, existent research is reserved for the discussion section of a study at which point findings may be considered contributive to knowledge of a specific domain of interest. A directed content analysis employs previous research to develop an initial coding scheme before analyzing text data (p. 1286). In other words, this from of content analysis has been described as a “deductive content analysis” (Elo & Kyngas, 2007) and includes retesting previous research findings in a new context (p. 111). According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005) as the analysis proceeds, “additional codes are developed and initial coding scheme is revised and refined.” Doing so, researchers can “efficiently extend or refine existing theory” (p. 1286). The summative content analysis approach incorporates an initial quantitative stance that accounts for occurrence of identified keywords. After quantifying word occurrence, researchers search for further meaning in how that word(s) is used within a specific context. For example,
the word “death” and its alterative uses could be of particular interest for end of life studies that employ a summative content analysis approach.

The decision regarding which mode or method of qualitative content analysis to employ is informed by the research question but also the theoretical approach taken by the researcher (Wodak, 2008). Considering the research question guiding the content analysis portion of my study “How is citizenship represented in TRSE?” and my decision to utilize the work of Abowitz and Harnish (2006) as a mentor text, I decided to use the directed content analysis for the content analysis portion of my study. With this I utilized the analytical questions employed by Abowitz and Harnish (2006) to ascertain categories of discourse emergent from TRSE’s attention to citizenship in its discourse. The Abowitz and Harnish (2006) questions included:

- What is the author advocating?
- What are the terms and/or expressions used to identify political membership, identity, values, participation and knowledge?
- What kinds of moral, civic, and/or educational values does the author defend?

In addition to incorporating the analytical questions from Abowitz and Harnish (2006) in order to ascertain categories of citizenship discourse from TRSE’s attention to citizenship, I chose to incorporate the seven discourses to emerge from their study as initial codes to guide my analysis. These discourse categories and their descriptors include:

- Civic Republican – promote civic identity through love and service of one’s community; patriotism, loyalty, and self-sacrifice are chief virtues.
- Liberal – individual rights and protections of freedom dominate discourse.
- Feminist - question and challenge gendered notions of citizenship and seek to propel the role of women and other marginalized populations into the public sphere of influence.
• Cultural - recognizes the negative impact assimilation can impart on ethnic minority groups and as such seeks to safeguard and advance political rights for cultural minority groups.

• Reconstructionist - seek to reconstruct social hierarchies and institutions by asserting a political voice for historically marginalized groups and advocating social justice.

• Queer - champions diversity and radical difference and as such seeks to break-down what is considered a utopian concept of the public-sphere through non-traditional and creative channels including political performance and play.

• Transnational - articulates a membership within local, national and international communities; recognition of globalization, interconnectedness, and a concern for human rights propel much of the discourse.

The research questions and codes borrowed from Abowitz and Harnish (2006) should not be considered firmly entrenched or cumulative but rather as flexible and allow for the examined text to influence (White & Marsh, 2006), as evidenced in my research findings. The content analysis portion of my study served to provide a conceptual map of the citizenship discourses occurring across the anthology of TRSE. Locating specific articles (author positions) within a discourse category, through the process of this study became a recursive process. As I became more familiar with core elements of author assumptions and the hinges on which I hung questions I asked of each article, some articles were re-located from their initial discourse category location to others. This choreography was not however, limited to singular articles but also included entire discourse categories. For example, in discussing my preliminary findings with Carol Hahn, someone who’s work and influence with citizenship in social studies education is quite vast and esteemed in substance; she suggested I reconsider my decision to isolate
communitarianism from civic republicanism. At the time of this discussion, my initial findings included 10 discourse categories as opposed to 9, one of which was communitarianism. After much thought about her suggestion and re-visiting the data I realized she was right in terms of the core attributes connecting both civic republicanism and communitarianism (see Figure 5). In this case communitarianism within the tradition of civic republicanism, represented an extension of the discourse that had annexed the third sphere of political community (civil society) into the parameters surrounding citizenship views.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communitarianism</th>
<th>Classic Civic Republican Thought</th>
<th>Anchoring Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• civil sphere of community</td>
<td>• political knowledge</td>
<td>• love and service to one's political community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• recognition of multicultural America</td>
<td>• common identity</td>
<td>• the common good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• role of conflict</td>
<td>• political socialization</td>
<td>• cohesiveness and unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• measurable outcomes</td>
<td>• rights and responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• civic literacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5. Civic Republican Discourse

I would discover that like the content analysis portion of this study, the discourse analysis proved to be a non-fixed enterprise as well. Having said this, after aligning each text with its respected discourse category enabled me to then begin the discourse analysis portion of my study, which I now turn my attention.
Research Question 2: How Have these Representations Emerged?

According to cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1997) representation connects meaning and language to culture (p. 15). Representation then, involves the use of language, signs, symbols, monuments, etc. toward the production and transaction of meaning within a culture and/or community (see Dewey, 1910; Hall, 1997). When contemplating language specifically as a tool for communicating meaning within a community, discourse analysis provides researchers with a methodology to assess how--or the way in which--meanings and realities are produced (Harley, 2001): “where other qualitative methodologies work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, discourse analysis tries to uncover the way in which reality is produced” (Hardy, Harley, & Phillips, 2004, p. 19). Discourse analysis accomplishes this by shifting conventional research orientations away from discourse as a route to events or entities, instead toward an emphasis on discourse as the event (focus). Language through the discourse analytic lens as such, is viewed as more than a mere descriptive grammatical expression or tool, through this lens, language emerges as a social process, practice, or a way of doing things (Gill, 2000; Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Discourse like representation is not limited to language, however, within discourse studies linguistic action represents the most commonly researched medium (Hodges, Kuper, Reeves, 2008; Johnstone, 2002; Wodak, 2008). According to Johnstone (2002) discourse should not be interpreted as a singular enterprise but rather reflects larger conversations occurring recursively across texts. Discourses are “created, supported, and contested through the production, dissemination, and consumption of texts; and the complex societal structures in which the discourse is embedded” (Hardy, 2001, p. 28). In this context, texts can be conceptualized as pieces of the larger puzzle that is discourse. Along these lines, Cheek (2004)
suggested that discourse analysis is concerned with the manner in which texts are “situated” both historically and socially and how these factors affect text construction (p. 1144). Wodak (2008) concerning text production adds further that discourse analysis foregrounds and takes into account intertextuality, recontextualization, and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality, according to Wodak (2008) refers to text linkage both past and present and is evidenced through recurrent references to a topic, actors or events, or by continuing one argument from one text to another. Recontextualization refers to reapplying an old argument to a new context and interdiscursivity refers to discourses that are linked in various ways, i.e. discourse on unemployment connects to other subtopics such as gender or racism (p. 3).

Language embedded within texts and discourses has been described as a social practice (Fairclough, 2001; Wood & Kroger, 2000). With this in mind, Hardy, Harley, and Phillips (2004) suggested discourse analysis as a methodology based on two primary assumptions:

1) A social constructivist epistemological view regarding reality.

2) Meanings arise out of interrelated bodies of texts called discourse.

Understanding discourse analysis through the social constructivist view, as suggested by Hardy, Hall, & Phillips (2004), means that objects, events, entities, etc. do not carry or posses meaning in the material sense, but rather are represented by shared cultural meanings that are attached through social interaction (Hall, 1997). This “social” interaction in discourse analysis is foregrounded by Fairclough (2001) in a process he describes as both productive and interpretive (see Figure 6) and one that illuminates a core aspect of discourse analysis – that of reflexivity:

The formal properties of a text can be regarded from the perspective of discourse analysis on the one hand as traces of the production process, and on the other hand as cues in the process of interpretation. It is an important property of productive and interpretive
processes that they involve an interplay between properties of texts and a considerable range of members’ resources, which people have in their heads and draw upon when they interpret a text – including their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions and so on. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 20)

The interplay described by Fairclough (2001), reflexivity, is also touched on by Gee and Green (1998) as part of the social process of language and of doing discourse analysis. Gee and Green (1998) suggested an acknowledgement and understanding of what they position as “the four dimensions of language”: situated meanings, cultural models, reflexivity, and an ethnographic perspective. Situated meanings for researchers can be conceptualized as a cognitive pattern or image we (participants in an interaction) arrive at in a given communicative setting, considering the context and our past experiences (p. 122) – Hall referred to this as our conceptual and cognitive maps; Bourdieu referred to this as our socialized selves or habitus. Next, cultural models according to Gee and Green (1998) are shared storylines, theories, or “mental movies” commonly embraced across social or cultural groups that serve as communicative reference points or triggers. Envisioning and identifying cultural models within a community’s dialogue, Gee and Green (1998) suggested an ethnographic perspective that foregrounds dialogue and in doing so, identifies what knowledge is valued within a given social group and what cultural knowledge is required in order to participate. Lastly, Gee and Green (1998) suggested the notion of reflexivity, as mentioned by Fairclough (2001), which they describe as the concomitant process of acknowledging and identifying the context-specific meaning that language can take on while also constructing what we believe the meaning of the
context to be; in other words, understanding the impact of context (on language) and the context itself.

![Diagram of discourse analysis]

**Figure 6.** Fairclough’s (2001) discourse as text, interaction and context (p. 21).

When thinking about ways to do discourse analysis, Wodak (2008) suggested discourse analysis as providing researchers with a general framework for conducting problem-oriented social science research (p. 4). Other discourse scholars have suggested such an assessment as insufficient, instead viewing discourse analysis as a methodology not reducible to a method, tool, or framework (Fairclough, 1992; Hardy, Harley, & Phillips, 2004). As a methodology most scholars shy away from providing a descriptive “recipe like” research protocol for doing discourse analysis. However, a closer look at specific discourse analysis studies does provides space for further understanding. For example, Winges-Yanez (2014) analyzed the sexual education curriculum for special education in both King County (Washington) and Multnomah County (Oregon) using discourse analysis and discovered the discourse examined to be
dominated by consistent forms of protectionism that limited the growth of those labeled as intellectual/developmental disability (I/DD) and was often at odds with the National Association of Social Workers’ (NASW) *Code of Ethics*, the researcher herself identified as a social worker. In arriving at her findings, Winges-Yanez (2014) employed the work of Foucault (1972) to foreground and interrogate taken for granted truths within the curriculum or what may be considered the manifest discourse or discursive formations. With this in mind, she uses four categories (inspired by Foucault) to identify the discursive formation within the curriculum, those being:

- **Object** – attention to how a phenomenon is described, named and classified as knowledge.
- **Enunciative Modality** – certain individuals are privileged to make certain statements, i.e. only a medical doctor’s opinion with regards to medicine can be taken seriously - a relationship of power is recognized (p. 488).
- **Concepts** – considered a framework to describe concepts interconnected within a discourse.
- **Strategy** – common theme arising out of a discourse (p. 489).

Using these categories, Winges-Yanez (2014) identified elements of different discourses to emerge. Interestingly, she states that her original interest when beginning the research was related to how sexuality was framed within the curriculum however, as she progressed through the discourses, recognized that the direction was centered more on I/DD more than sexuality or sexual health.

With this study in mind and considering works previously mentioned, particularly the work of Fairclough (1992) and Foucault (1972), the following questions were developed to guide
the discourse analysis portion of this study. Much like the categories and initial analytical questions for the content analysis of my study, these questions should not be considered static or firmly entrenched, they are rather, flexible and allow for the influence of the discourse as it was encountered naturalistically. The questions included:

- What is believed to be common knowledge within discourse categories?
- What evidence do we see of interdiscursivity and intertextuality (intertextual chains) within discourse categories?
- What fields shape these conversations?

In addressing the first question I borrowed from Foucault’s (1972) discursive formations and gave specific attention to object (how citizenship is described), constancy of concepts (those surrounding object), and strategies (collective common theme). This became the first step in the discourse analysis portion of this study and occurred at the completion of the content analysis portion. Foucault’s (1972) framework for discursive formations was applied to each specific article located within each discourse category and then reflexively considered as a piece within the larger discourse category. Considering each article as a contributive piece of the discourse category (e.g. civic republican, queer, feminist, etc.) brought into view the discursive formation that threads together or binds the discourse over time.

To provide further evidence regarding how the identified discourse categories within *TRSE* have emerged, attention was given to interdiscursive attempts and intertextuality for the second question within the discourse analysis portion of this study: What evidence do we see of interdiscursivity and intertextuality (intertextual chains) within the discourse categories? With specific regard to interdiscursivity, author attempts within specific discourse categories to connect with arguments core to other discourse categories were identified. For example,
attempts within the cultural discourse category to connect with arguments consistent with the transnational discourse were documented. With regard to intertextuality, this required attention to the reference section of each article, which ultimately inspired my decision to include a citation analysis as the final piece of the discourse analysis for this study. A citation analysis provided evidence of intertextuality within discourse categories, but also enabled me to address the question: What fields shape the discourse categories? I now turn my attention to further unpacking the nuances of this study’s citation analysis.

The decision to include a citation analysis required significant time and energy extolled toward line by line author reference sections across the 111 articles examined for this study (more than 500 pages of single-spaced citations, were alphabetized and located within editorial periods). Doing so provided additional insight in terms of identifying fields influential to discourse categories over periods. This practice included locating each source cited within a specific field which was accomplished through assessing identifying factors including type of journal, book reviews, article abstracts, and indexing profiles within databases. An article published in *Political Science Review*, for example, was in most instances, located within the political science field. This process of locating citations within fields was however, typically not as neat as the example provided. Some categories, such as political science had significant overlap with other identified fields including civic education and social studies education. If, for example, an article focused on political efficacy of high school students, it was in most cases located within the political science field given the political nature/interest of the work.

After completing the citation analysis, I realized that I needed to consolidate some of the representative fields in light of the sheer number of fields accumulated. For example, the field of Marxist studies was folded into philosophy, social theory was annexed into sociology, and fields
such as political theory became political science. Initially I planned to locate the citation analysis findings within respective editorial periods of which each article was published. However, after realizing some editorial periods had as few as one article representative of a discourse category, I made the decision to merge some editorial periods together to gain a richer context of comparison to view change over time and also provide a more representative sample of the actual data. Such decisions made across this study speak to limitations which I will now address in the closing of this chapter.

**Limitations of Study**

There are limitations for this study including those noted regarding my positionalities in relation to the texts analyzed and from independent decisions made across this work including those to include and/or exclude certain articles for this study. When making judgments of this manner, I attempted to make an objective decision based on whether citizenship was the thrust of an article’s contents. In this process certainly I may have excluded articles that another researcher would have chosen to include. Also, in choosing to use the EBSCO Host’s search engine, I relied on the individuals who index articles within databases and attach articles with certain identifiable key terms such as citizenship. If I had alternatively, chosen to read all articles across the *TRSE* anthology this could have been avoided, but to remain efficient and economical I chose to use the search options afforded by EBSCO Host. Another limitation stems from *TRSE*’s association as a research journal. Certainly the point can be made that *TRSE* as a research journal is simply not accessible to classroom teachers. Such a declaration underscores a larger point that I will visit in this study’s final chapter, that being classroom teachers access to research journals. With this in mind, another limitation can be inferred in my word choice or decision to identify *TRSE* as a representative sample of the social studies field. It is my belief
that those affiliated with the community of TRSE: its readers, editors, reviewers, contributors all constitute memberships within the social studies field. To separate or isolate them from the field is, in my estimate, to further isolate the academe from the practitioner another point I visit in the study’s final chapter. I now turn my attention to research findings which include nine citizenship discourse categories and the discursive formations that ultimately bind them.
Chapter Four: Research Findings

In this chapter I present research findings. The findings are framed by my two research questions: How is citizenship represented within Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)? and, How have these representations emerged? Research findings are presented within four perspectives which house a total of nine discourse categories. The four perspectives include: Practical, Critical, Connected, and Technical. Each perspective labels references overarching themes that locate each discourse within a larger contextual frame.

**Practical.** Practical includes the civic republican and liberal discourse categories. These discourses are identified as Practical given their classroom foci of developing student skills, political knowledge, and civic dispositions.

**Critical.** This category includes: reconstructionist, queer, feminist, peacebuilding, and cultural citizenship discourses. These discourse categories are linked in the belief that citizenship and citizenship education within schools promotes an untroubled or fixed epistemological assumption of Western society that is framed by the civic and political experiences of White, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class, males.

**Connected.** This category includes the transnational citizenship discourse. The focus within this discourse category is the promotion of a connected approach to citizenship that includes both local and global communities of influence, but also connections that extend across human/non-human relationships, later deemed environmental stewardship.

**Technical.** This category includes the penumbra. The penumbra is unique in that it’s purpose is not promoting a type or interpretation of citizenship, but rather, on securing common understandings concerning citizenship as to make communication with regards to student learning and/or research findings a more fluent and accessible process.
My research findings are further informed by the research sub-questions, which for the content analysis portion of this study include: What is the author advocating? What terms are used to identify political membership, identity, values, participation, knowledge? And, What kinds of moral, civic, and educational values does the author defend? The content analysis within each discourse category are offered first. My findings in this section are initially framed by the mentor text employed which provides an overall sense of organization and direction but also flexible in nature to insert this study’s findings and how they compared as well as how they differed.

Next, I provide the discourse analysis section of this study, which includes the addition of an extensive citation analysis of all works cited across this study. It is within the discourse analysis portion of this study that I provide evidence of how these discourses have emerged within the TRSE anthology. The discourse analysis portion of this study was guided by the following sub-questions: What is believed to be common knowledge within discourse categories? What evidence do we see of interdiscursivity and intertextuality (intertextual chains) within discourse categories? What fields shape these conversations? I begin this chapter by first reporting the Practical category which includes both the civic republican and liberal discourse categories.

**Civic Republican (Practical): Making the Case for a Shared/Communal Identity**

According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), civic republican discourse is characterized by a love and service to one’s political community (p. 657). Political community through much of the mentioned discourse, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), is contextualized in relation to the nation-state or government. The political community as such, is conceived by members through an understanding “gained through the process of education and active engagement in the
democratic process” (pg. 658). Given the role of education to the political community, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) later suggested that the civic republican discourse stresses a need for civic literacy (later termed civic knowledge) that is couched in a centralized body of knowledge for good citizenship (p. 657). Such political or civic knowledge is highly valued within TRSE’s civic republican discourse. However, the means toward attaining such ends do differ amongst contributors: some asserted active participation, such as involvement in the local community (Levy, 2011; Remy, 1978; Wade & Saxe, 1996); while others advocated political knowledge transmission by way of controlled learning environments (Jones, 1975; Leming, 1986; Mac Isaac, 1986).

With regards to the latter assertion Jones (1975) suggested that participatory models of citizenship education should not be considered a “failsafe” mode for educating all students (p. 77). Through the course of her survey of students ranging in maturation from grade eight through grade twelve, found that active and participatory models of citizenship education proved counterproductive for many students and ultimately advocated the use of participatory models only for advanced students (see pg. 76). Similarly, Leming (1986) suggested more realistic citizenship education goals that center around student understandings and knowledge of United States history and government (p. 149). Leming (1986) added that participatory models of citizenship are simply not achievable within the confines of social studies classrooms, “I have reluctantly come to the view that excellence may not be an achievable goal in social studies education if we continue to hold a rational-activist/New England town meeting model of what it means to be a good citizen” (p. 147). Mac Isaac (1986) similar to Leming (1986) argued for attainable goals promoted within the disciplines and achievable given the function of the disciplines themselves. The consensus here is for removing socialization from citizenship goals
and instead focusing on measurable outcomes that can be controlled by teachers, i.e. move away from active citizenship; move toward content knowledge and cognitive development.

_TRSE_ contributors who advocate citizenship knowledge acquisition through the disciplines more commonly evidence what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) asserted as an “exclusivity not seen in other citizenship discourses” (p. 657). Leming (1986) for example, referring to the United States political system, suggested: “Our political system has resulted in a highly stable and effective form of government; one that has insured greater voice for the people, opportunity for self-improvement, and respect for human rights than any government previously known in human history” (p. 149). In opposition to participatory forms of citizenship education, Leming (1986) later added, “utopian views pose greater risks than opportunities for our freedom and way of life” (p. 150). Kaltsounis (1994), in an effort to establish democracy as the foundation for the social studies (thereby replacing citizenship), articulated a series of course topics and descriptions aimed at accomplishing such ends, including “Our Political System” and “Our Economic System” (see pgs. 188-189). Considering both politics and economics Gutierrez (2003) suggested a re-invigorated understanding of America’s federalist roots in order to maintain our cultural political heritage (see p. 240). Also, the work of Callahan et al. (2008) made the correlation of social studies courses taken during high school as a predictor of voter registration and voting amongst students from immigrant families. In doing so Callahan et al. (2008) suggested assimilation as virtue and social studies coursework as contributive force in the “Americanization” (p. 7) of students from immigrant families.

The civic republican discourse within _TRSE_, as previously noted, is not however in consensus regarding civic knowledge acquisition as the primary route toward political community (see Dinkelman 2001; Gonzales et al. 2001, 2004; Wade & Saxe, 1996). Wade
(1993) commented on the need for critical skills consistent with the demands of citizenship; skills she asserted cannot be attained singularly through knowledge alone: “Effective citizens also need [in addition to civic knowledge] skills in critical thinking, creative problem solving, communication, collaboration, and social participation. They require opportunities to practice civic action in real life settings, both within and outside schools” (p. 159). In order to attain such skills TRSE contributors have suggested more active forms of civic engagement, most commonly service learning, which has been defined as “a pedagogical method in which service projects form the basis of learning opportunities” (Wade & Yarborough, 2007, p. 369). In suggesting service learning TRSE contributors have arrived at mixed results concerning overall learning outcomes. Bennett (2009) and Dinkelman (2001), for example, in studies concerning service learning in urban settings, discovered the need for systemic support from the community itself when doing service learning: Bennett (2009) most poignantly alluded to the need for neighborhood vitality and adult mentors (pg. 392), while Dinkelman (2001) added the need for more university support in the form of supervision and guidance when having student teachers incorporate service learning into their placements (pg. 636). Interestingly, Levy (2011) discovered that service learning positively affects students’ sense of political efficacy--or the belief that one’s actions can influence the political process (p. 258)--but in doing so exposes students to the challenges of political life thus resulting in lower levels of self-efficacy. Wade and Yarborough (2007) however, found that linking historical inquiry with service learning increased students self-reported civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, and future civic intentions. The findings mentioned here suggest a need for thoughtful consideration of factors that shape the service-learning experience, including attention to desired learner outcomes and community support.
Involvement in the political community (not limited to the nation-state, government, or politics), as seen in contributor studies in civic engagement including service learning, brings to bear an element of the civic republican discourse that Abowitz and Harnish (2006) associated with more contemporary scholars, that of citizenship within civil society: “In the civic republican view, civil society is the now-neglected third sphere of democratic life – the theoretical and discursive space outside of markets and government – and is the primary sphere for citizenship” (pg. 658). It is within this third sphere (civil society) that contributors have anchored identity in relation to the community (see Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Oliner, 1983; Remy, 1978; Wade & Saxe, 1996). Individualism in these cases is set aside for what is considered the common good, or the political well being of the collective: “The common good should weigh more when faced with the dilemma of choosing between needs of the individual and those of the community” (Kaltsounis, 1994, p. 180). When considering the common good many within TRSE’s civic republican discourse advocated the cultivation of prosocial behavior including charity, self-sacrifice, and altruism within citizenship education (Oliner, 1983; Remy, 1978) in order to sustain communal life and shared values (see Sunal et al., 1987). Others have advocated a balance between individualism and collectivism, pointing to a reciprocal relationship between rights and responsibilities within civil society (Gonzales et al., 2001, 2004; Williamson et al., 2003).

The work of Gonzales et al. (2001, 2004) highlighted the individualistic inclination of both state civic standards and civic textbooks. Gonzales et al. (2001, 2004) reported that such an understanding of citizenship – particularly for students whose native culture values a more collectivist approach to citizenship – may thwart future civic ambitions for these students. According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006) civic republican discourse communicates an
awareness of multicultural America but maintains an exclusivity with regards to political membership (pg. 657). Despite reporting these apparent disparities, Gonzales et al. (2001) maintained a neutral position with regards to interrogating the more substantial roots to these problems including issues of power:

Thus multiculturalism in civic education requires not only attention to the achievements of minorities or attention to ways in which students from different racial or ethnic groups conceive of themselves in relation to others: as autonomous individuals in pursuit of rights, or as interconnected members of groups or collectives, with obligations and duties to one another and to the whole. (p. 113)

The focus here is not on systemic change but rather adjusting these students into existent contexts. Similarly, Bennett (2009), in referring to the needs of minority students and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, in relation to civic development and the effectiveness of compulsory service learning, supplies only suggestion for further support including partnerships and adult mentors:

Students who come from lower SES families in this study are at a definite disadvantage. More equitable access to socially supportive adults and mentors will also enhance the likelihood of mediating the negative effects that may exist in urban economically disadvantaged contexts. (p. 397).

Again here the focus is on the condition without any concentrated energy toward addressing underlying or structural inequalities that may impact these students. In these instances, teachers and readers are left to decide for themselves actions to be taken when considering issues of diversity and/or power and how they manifest in classroom environments. Teachers, according to Wade and Saxe (1996), “need to reflect on the complexities of social action and decide if she
or he wants to encourage students to question the status quo, meet a community need, and/or study the contextual factors underlying social issues” (p. 351). As such, TRSE contributors to the civic republican discourse demonstrate a noncommittal stance regarding the environmental factors that ultimately perpetuate socio-political inequalities, something that stands in stark contrast to more critical citizenship discourses.

**How has the Civic Republican Discourse Emerged?**

The civic republican discourse through the lens of discourse analysis, can be described as a shifting conversation, one that has, over time, adopted a mildly critical stance in relation to what may be considered the status quo of American political and civic life. This is evidenced in the gradual integration of conflict into teaching and learning and also into studies related to Race, Class, and Ethnicity (see Appendix D: Tables D5 and D7). Early on however, the field of Political Science was influential in shaping the civic republican discourse, particularly during the first two TRSE editorial regimes – with more than half (55%) of all cited works within this period located within the field of Political Science (see Appendix D: Table D1). Reliance on Political Science, across this period, is evidenced in the political nature of expressed views specifically in relation to the political socialization of students, or acclimating students for future roles in America’s political system (see Jones, 1975, p. 73). While Jones (1975) and Remy (1978) argue for political knowledge acquisition (albeit through differing delivery mechanisms), Stentz and Lambert (1977) advocated a more precise research instrument for ascertaining student levels of political efficacy, the feeling that one’s contributions in the area of political participation are worthwhile (p. 61). Venturing into waters of community involvement, a notion that surfaces later in this discourse, is even described as potentially harmful to many students and thus limiting notions of political efficacy. Citizenship within these contexts, particularly in the
works of Jones (1975) and Stentz and Lambert (1977), is framed for readers as “adult citizenship,” a theme that extends across much of the civic republican discourse within *TRSE* (see Callahan et al., 2008; Martin & Chiodo, 2007).

By the late 1970s and teetering into the 1980s, the civic republican discourse slowly began to embrace what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) have referred to as the third sphere of political community--civil society (see Remy, 1978; Oliner, 1983; Sunal et al., 1987). Evidence of this transition can be observed in the reduced reliance by contributors on Political Science (down from 55% to 22%) as a field of reference (see Appendix D: Table D3) during this period, and also in the more balanced inclusion of both Civic Education (13%) and Social Studies (14%) to frame arguments. Citizenship education through much of this period is conceived in relation to the community; Remy (1978) for example, labeled members of the non-school community (governmental institutions, business and labor, the mass media, voluntary organizations, religious organizations, and primary groups including family and peer groups) as stake-holders, each with an investment in the citizenship education of all members of society (p. 43). Incorporating what Remy (1978) referred to as “non-school agents” into the citizenship education of school students exposes them to “the actual tasks of citizenship people must cope with in every day life” (p. 44). Everyday life in this instance depicts a broader conception of citizenship, one not extensively visited in the civic republican discourse till this point. Sunal et al. (1987) connected with this notion in their analysis of citizenship education within Nigerian primary schools, ultimately adding, in reference to the everyday experience of Nigerian school children:

Their contribution [Nigerian school children] to the family has greater practical value than does than that of their Western counterparts who may do a few chores but whose
work is not essential to the family’s livelihood. This contribution by the Nigerian child to the family is highly valued. All this practical involvement in the working of the family and the local society provides the experiences from which Nigerian children develop many concepts basic to social studies education (p. 131).

The work of Sunal et al. (1987) here represents a distinct guidepost that is helpful in further navigating the civic republican discourse within TRSE. In describing communal life commonplace to Nigeria and Nigerian schools, they suggest a reciprocal exchange between school children and the family, and by extension, the local community. The children’s familial contributions benefit and help sustain the community but also provide them with requisite experiences valued within local citizenry. Such an active and balanced exchange represents a peek into more recent trajectories of the civic republican discourse within TRSE, but before arriving there, the period of the mid-1980s

By the mid-1980s the civic republican discourse within TRSE shifts from a heavy reliance on Political Science to one that relies just as heavily on the Social Studies (41% of all citations located within the social studies) (see Appendix D: Table D4). Within this period, the focus on the social studies appears to facilitate the intentional effort of legitimizing the field within the historical context of the push toward standardization and the aftermath of seminal works in education including “A Nation at Risk.” This period within the civic republican discourse is locked in efforts at debunking empirical evidence that suggested citizenship socialization as a fruitful priority for the field and conversely suggested a focus on student knowledge and cognitive development (i.e. measureable outcomes). Mac Isaac (1986) for example, suggested a citizenship education that is embedded within the measurable aims of the social science disciplines; in doing otherwise, she argued, the social studies field promises more
than it can deliver (p. 309). Leming (1986) took issue with empirical work on the influence of
the social studies, specifically methods common to the social studies including cooperative
learning, community service, controversial issues in the classroom, and moral dilemmas, on
student social orientations including attitudes, behaviors, and dispositions concerning political
life (p. 139). These studies, according to Leming (1986), showed minimal correlative evidence
with regards to their impact and yet have been readily embraced within the social studies
community. Leming (1986) later compared this to a recent study within medical research that
reported a new drug as effective in reducing heart attack rates without fully disclosing the
reduction rate was 1.7% (see p. 144). Leming’s (1986) point here is the need for systematic
examination of studies within the social studies that make correlative inferences with regards to
political socialization and that of the social studies curriculum. Such a stance, according to both
Leming (1986) and Mac Isaac (1986) stands at odds with accepted arguments within social
studies education. With this as a consideration, Mac Isaac (1986) argued that doing so requires a
“degree of objectivity and detachment that is at variance with attempts to socialize the child to
the beliefs and values of a democratic citizen” (p. 318).

The next decade of civic republican discourse brought with it significant changes, the
focus of which began to move away from an insular focus on political knowledge and cognitive
development (more consistent with the previous decade) and more toward the inclusion of civil
society into conceptualizations of citizenship and with that, active citizenship. To mark the shift,
Wade (1993) addressed notions stemming from Leming’s quest for political knowledge (alone)
head on:

Knowledge alone has little effect on the goal of creating active citizens. I fail to see how
an exclusive focus on knowledge would revitalize the profession rather, it would seem to
issue the social studies, with its professed goal of active citizenship, a confirmed death warrant. (p. 158)

The rub in this conversation stems from Wade’s (1993) use of “active” citizenship. Arguably, Leming (1986) would contend that “active” citizenship is beyond the purview of social educators and should rest with external forces (e.g. home environment, media and cultural influences) that extend beyond the classroom setting (see pg. 143). Having said this, active citizenship that is couched in civil engagement (or engagement with the local community)--emergent from this period--has become a normalized association within TRSE’s civic republican discourse.

Further evidence of the shift toward active citizenship, as suggested by Wade (1993), is evidenced in fields cited within the discourse over the period of 1991–2001, most notably Service Learning (16%), which was the second most frequented field cited (behind the Social Studies at 31%) (see Appendix D: Table D5). Active citizenship during this period is nested in the community and community involvement (see Dinkelman, 2001; Gonzales, 2001; Wade & Saxe, 1996; Williamson et al., 2003). According to Wade and Saxe (1996) students should be encouraged to find themselves in the larger interest of the community (p. 349) and that for social studies teachers, community involvement is not an option but rather a mission:

Community participation in a democratic society should not simply be an option it is both a right and a responsibility. It is the schools’ obligation and social studies mission to develop students who have the skills, knowledge, and attitudes to participate as informed, active, and ethical members of their communities. (p. 351)

Students begin to conceptualize their rights and responsibilities through active involvement in the local community, something, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), that represents a hallmark of civic republican discourse (see pg. 661), and their role in promoting the common
good: citizenship in essence is packaged as a duty incumbent upon each generation of American citizens.

The most common works incorporated to the civic republican discourse mirror efforts to expand citizenship to include community and civil society, but also active citizenship including the promotion of skills including decision making. These works include Engle and Ochoa’s (1988) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Decision Making for the Social Studies*, which was cited 5 times (3 times during the period 1991-2001, and 2 times from 2002-2013) (see Appendix D: Tables D6 and D8), Putnam’s (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, cited 4 times (see Appendix D: Table D8), and the work of Torney-Purta et al. (2001), “Citizenship and Education in 28 Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at age Fourteen,” also cited 4 times (see Appendix D: Table D8).

It is during the period of increased attention to civil society (also labeled communitarianism: see Gonzales et al., 2001, pg. 114) within citizenship conceptualizations, particularly during more recent editorial regimes (2002-2013), we see an increased effort to incorporate conflict or critical perspective within *TRSE*’s civic republican discourse (see Dinkelman, 2001; Gonzales et al., 2004; Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Wade & Saxe, 1996). Concomitant with the inclusion of critical perspective, are increased attempts to connect with other discourse categories. Interestingly, up to this point the civic republican discourse can be described as insular in nature given the infrequent attempts to connect with other discourse categories. The most common discourse taken up by civic republicans is that of cultural citizenship. Incorporating elements of cultural discourse is made manifest in the inclusion of Race/Cultural/Ethnic studies across more recent periods (see Appendix D: Tables D5 and D7) within the *TRSE* anthology. Gonzales et al. (2004) for example, in an analysis of three “widely
adopted” high school civics textbooks, discovered citizens’ rights and freedoms (focus on the individual) far outnumbered attention to concepts such as civic virtue and the public good (common to more collectivist or communitarian approaches to citizenship). In arriving at this conclusion, the researchers also noted the dearth of coverage (within examined texts) to minority groups:

The texts conveyed a celebration of the United States as a nation of immigrants. However, individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds were unlikely to be seen as significant historical or political figures. Although there appeared to be a consensus around European-American men who have made significant contributions to U.S. history and politics, not one ethnic minority was mentioned across the three civic texts. (p. 302)

Issues of race and cultural difference taken up within TRSE’s civic republican discourse are not scrutinized beyond making mention. Issues that perpetuate socio-civic marginalization including those that stem from conversations concerning power are not interrogated. Similarly, conflict, despite surfacing within more recent editorial periods within TRSE, is commonly resolved within author narratives through mechanisms core to the civic republican ethos (including consensus building) and is done so through efforts to attain cohesiveness or unity within the classroom and society writ large. With this in mind, the discursive formation binding the discourse within TRES includes: citizenship is a form of membership and political responsibility that must be maintained in order to secure our common good.

**Liberal (Practical): Citizenship is Learned through Practice**

According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006) the liberal citizenship discourse foregrounds the political and civic experience of the individual and does so with the intent of safeguarding and securing individual liberty through the promotion of individual rights (p. 661). Individual
rights in this sense are not held captive in theory to self-serving ambitions or notions of self-preservation but rather extend to all groups within a pluralistic framework. With liberalism’s attention to rights, schools are envisioned as sites of democracy where theory is experienced through participatory mechanisms (p. 664). The inclusion of participatory modes of civic learning, at first glance, stands at odds with many voices within TRSE’s civic republican discourse, which has focused on political knowledge and cognitive developed through controlled classroom learning environments (see Jones, 1975; Leming, 1986; Mac Isaac, 1986). Unlike civic republican contributors to TRSE’s citizenship discourse, authors advocating a liberal notion of citizenship unanimously advocate a more participatory and self-reflective notion of citizenship. Such active notions are suggested as necessary in order to counter more limited interpretations that focus on attainment of factual information, that many argue, serves to produce passive spectators (see Jennings & Ehman, 1976; Metzger & Barr, 1978; Niemi & Niemi, 2007; Shermis & Barth, 1982). According to Shermis and Barth (1982), this form of citizenship education suggests that by “passively storing up information about historical events, decisions, governmental structures and unrelated details of geography, students are held to be disciplining themselves and thereby acquiring the knowledge and attitudes essential for citizenship at a later time” (p. 27). Within such a context, Shermis and Barth (1982) suggested that everything--reality, knowledge, facts, values--have been reduced to givens and that such a system ultimately serves to make students “cogs in an industrialized machine” (p. 33):

When others define the problem for you, provide all of the data for you and then dictate the proper conclusions, you have become a tool that which is acted upon. The entire process – from conception to true/false evaluation – makes the curriculum creator active, the teacher a neutral conduit of unexamined cultural flotsam and jetsam, and students
passive recipients. (p. 32)

At the center of this dilemma, according to many liberal scholars within TRSE, lies the notion of authority sharing, or rather the refusal of teachers, administrators, and policy-makers to relinquish or share authority with regards to curriculum and instruction, and more broadly, school culture with students (see Angell, 1991, 1998; Chin & Barber, 2010; Foshay & Burton, 1976; Levinson & Brantmeier, 2006; Parker et al., 1989). With this in mind, liberal scholars often suggest more democratic schools and classrooms that consistently involve students in the decision-making process and other governing processes.

To this end, in a comparative study of students from five high schools in Massachusetts, Siegel (1977) discovered that students at a local alternative high school where the culture promoted more symmetrical relationships between teachers, administrators, and students; students described greater individual notions of political efficacy, or a feeling that one can make a difference in government. Students at this school were routinely incorporated in the decision-making process and in doing so gained an appreciation for how their school operated and more importantly, about democratic citizenship (see p. 51-52). In a similar study, Metzger and Barr (1978) found similar results, indicating that involving students in the governing procedures of schools was correlated with positive student political attitudes, which ultimately influenced student attitudes regarding trust, integration, political interest, and political confidence (see p. 74). When considering traditional models of schooling that do not include democratic procedures with regards to student involvement in both school and classroom decisions, Metzger and Barr (1978) added,

It seems possible that schools may be working at cross-purposes with both themselves and society in the attempt to develop effective citizens. Perhaps the adage, ‘participation
without power is ritual’ is being expressed in its fullest and most pejorative sense by students throughout high school in this nation. To meet the instruction goals relating to citizenship education, it appears educators must consider the re-organization of school environments in order to encourage increased student participation in decision-making.

(p. 74)

The skills most commonly articulated within TRSE’s liberal discourse are; decision-making, critical thinking, and perspective development (Eyler, 1980; Guyton, 1988; Kohlmeir & Saye, 2012; Parker et al., 1989). Democratic schools and classrooms, as such, are positioned as laboratories or spaces where students begin to cultivate these skills (see Angell 1991, 1998; Metzger & Barr, 1978). Within the classroom specifically, an open or democratic environment encourages students to challenge and discuss issues either directly related to or stemming from course subject matter (Beck, 2003; Eyler, 1980; Foshay & Burton, 1976; Shermis & Barth, 1982). In doing this, the classroom becomes an “organ” of the democratic system (Angell, 1991, p. 258). This type of an environment stands in stark contrast to transmission and fixed knowledge attainment models which Jennings and Ehman (1976) described as perpetuating a passive citizenry from generation to generation, “If citizenship outcomes are substantially different (than conservative handed down from previous generations) it is not likely that differences in teacher beliefs and attitudes are the causes” (p. 273; see also Niemi & Niemi, 2007, p. 54).

The limits on student involvement in activities and processes including decision-making are not however, fully articulated within the liberal discourse. Some authors suggest beginning such involvement in early elementary (Angell, 1991, 1998; Beck, 2003) through peer interaction in cooperative activities and exposure to alternate and diverse viewpoints. Others however,
suggest such involvement for students who are considered intellectually and emotionally mature (Gutmann, 1994). With this in mind, Siegel (1977) suggested more attention to the issues students want to have a say in and the extent to which they will be involved. The general consensus conveyed is that the culture of the classroom and school should mirror democratic life and teachers should consider this when creating/facilitating civic learning experiences for students.

Envisioning the classroom as a microcosm of democratic life and as a training ground for future citizens, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) suggested the liberal discourse’s desire for developing rational thinkers, whose attitudes and behaviors promote civility across the pluralistic landscape (p. 663). As part of democratic schools and classrooms, liberal citizenship scholars within TRSE consistently suggest the promotion of rationalism or critically weighing viewpoints; ultimately erring toward those which emerge most reasonable given equal consideration to alternate views (Eyler, 1980; Guyton, 1988; Kunzman, 2006; Parker et al., 1989). Rationalism is portrayed as evidence of cognitive development. Eyler (1980) described those who demonstrate rationalism in the context of decision-making as “principled thinkers,” and through the lens of politics, suggested these thinkers more readily apply democratic procedural norms or the principles of majority rule and minority rights, more consistently without regards to personal opinion on a particular issue (see p. 23). In rationally considering viewpoints and applying democratic procedural norms, Gutmann (1994) suggested space for reasoned arguments. Reasoned arguments according to Gutmann (1994) consist of “putting politically relevant knowledge to critical use, thinking beyond what exists to what could and should exist, arguing respectfully with people who reasonably disagree about what should exist and finding fair ways of resolving disagreements” (p. 115). Kunzman (2006), similarly noted “recognizing the
reasonableness of unfamiliar perspectives requires the ability to imagine beyond ourselves” (p. 165). Rationalism becomes all the more necessary in these contexts because civic issues according to Parker et al. (1989) are by their very nature controversial and fuzzy (p. 9).

In developing rational thinkers and promoting civility amongst competing truth claims, Abowitz and Harnish’s (2006) own interpretation of liberal discourse, particularly the separation of public selves or views from those more representative of private lives becomes murky in translation. Referring to the influence of family and home culture, these forces are considered “one source of truth in a diverse society” (p. 663). Later they continue, “In political liberal discourses, citizenship requires an identity that is neither autonomous nor necessarily separate from one’s familial or religious beliefs, but that develops on the basis of values and skills necessary to critically consider those and other beliefs” (p. 663), thus further necessitating the need for reason and for critical examination of views. However, later Abowitz and Harnish (2006), when referring to truth claims that may be influenced by personal forces added: “Deliberative democrats seek forums where all citizens can deliberate public problems by providing reasons that are compelling to others – not simply asserting their own truth claims, which may or may not be shared by others.” (p. 663). Essentially, the message is that individuals need separate or public selves that limit the influence of more private forces when engaging in public issues or public discourse. Home values are important but not to be considered within the public square, something that has resonated with contributors to the liberal discourse within TRSE.

To further cement the notion of rationalism, some liberal citizenship contributors suggest, consistent with Abowitz and Harnish (2006), a firm distinction between private and public spheres of identity (Eyler, 1980; Kunzman, 2006; Parker et al., 1989). Kunzman (2006)
suggested that, given the pluralistic nature of modern society, such intentional demarcation of selves is necessary to securing the common good:

Recognizing reasonable disagreement – particularly as it involves religious convictions – relies heavily on crucial distinctions between the realm of the private commitments and our lives together in the civic realm. The norms of our political community rest on a willingness to make civic virtue a penultimate commitment of sorts. While people live the bulk of their lives in the non-political realms guided by their private versions of the good live, civic virtue requires a different sort of commitment when we decide how we live together. (p. 176)

Kunzman’s (2006) work and the work of Eyler (1980) in particular, suggest a “removed” and “neutral” political identity that consistently applies democratic procedural norms to all groups at all times without regard to individual circumstance. Eyler (1980) asserts that the ability to do so is more common among political elites and the well educated (p. 12). However, some liberal contributors suggested that within rationalistic thought, space for consideration extends beyond democratic procedural norms and includes notions of care and empathy when making judgments (see Beck, 2003; Kohlmeir & Saye, 2012).

Toward the development of rationalistic thought, liberal scholars universally encourage the incorporation of conflict as part of citizenship education. Conflict among TRSE scholars is pedagogically articulated in activities and frameworks from moral dilemmas (Foshay & Burton, 1976), the inclusion of controversial issues (Eyler, 1980; Parker et al., 1989), democratic deliberation (Angell, 1991; Gutmann, 1994; Johnson, 2006; Kohlmeir & Saye, 2012; Kunzman, 2006; Shermis & Barth, 1982), and dialectical reasoning (Parker et al., 1989). Supporting the general consensus regarding such approaches is the development of student opinion and
dispositions regarding civic issues in the face of competing logics. These strategies however, extend beyond understanding, and commonly require students to articulate formed opinions and their antecedent rationales. Parker et al. (1989) with regards to dialectical reasoning, for example, suggested a hierarchical system of model-building embedded within dialectical reasoning serving to support student assertions that include: vulgar thinkers, sophisticated thinkers and critical thinkers.

Vulgar thinkers artlessly and without reflection assert and defend their opinions on issues, and do so from within the confines of their present frame of reference. Slogans and prejudice prevail. Sophisticated thinkers do roughly the same, only artfully. Though their assertions and refutations may be without logical fallacy, egocentricity governs their thinking, and their intent is still to win. Critical thinkers are different. Their thinking has been freed, relatively speaking, from the need to be right; consequently, they can explore rather than only defend. (p. 10)

Parker goes on to add that social studies curriculum and instruction does not commonly encourage students to grapple with conflict. Students, however, in Parker’s view, can become critical thinkers if they are challenged to interrogate civic issues (see p. 22).

The work of Parker et al. (1989) reinforces the liberal notion that rationalism and its associated skills such as critical thinking can be developed by exposing students to alternate points of view and encouraged to think deeply about the logic that substantiates those views. Avery et al. (1992) discovered applying democratic norms to unpopular groups (e.g. Nazi party members, Ku Klux Klan demonstrators) can result in political tolerance, or the willingness to respect the civil liberties of those whose opinions and beliefs one does not agree with or condone (see p. 433). The work of Avery et al. (1992) is consistent with findings of other contributors to
TRSE’s liberal discourse regarding political tolerance and the importance of respecting individual dissent (see Beck, 2003; Eyler, 1980; Levinson & Brantmeier, 2006). Additionally, liberal scholars encourage notions of diversity to be included in such points of view, but much like the civic republican discourse, fail to interrogate issues hovering marginalized populations and the structural inequalities that maintain social divisions.

How has the Liberal Discourse Emerged?

Early on the liberal discourse housed within TRSE was disproportionately influenced by the field of Political Science as evidenced in the journal’s majority reliance on this field in terms of references cited: citations located in Political Science included 46% of all citations from 1976 to 1978, while the second most cited field, Civic Education, made up 17% of citations (see Appendix E: Table E1). This is made evident in the way in which citizenship is portrayed, anchored in a highly political context. Much like early civic republican discourse within TRSE, the liberal conversation maintains an interest in the notion of political efficacy, or the emotional feeling that one’s individual contributions hold the capacity to affect/influence government (Metzger & Barr, 1978; Siegel, 1977). In this conversation, schools are envisioned as locations of political socialization. The liberal discourse consistently advocates participatory experiences within citizenship education, unlike early civic republican discourse which relied on transmission of knowledge, as the means toward politically socializing students and cultivating innate senses of political efficacy. This is done with the intent of influencing future political behavior including voting (see Foshay & Burton, 1976; Siegel, 1977). The school, as mentioned, is conceived as the learning context and environment where students develop notions of political efficacy. Siegel (1977) and Metzger and Barr (1978) for example, discovered involving students in the politics of school including the decision making process, resulted in higher reported
feelings of political efficacy. Unlike Metzger and Barr (1978), however, Siegel (1977) pushed
the involvement issue further, stating that by simply involving students in the process will not
turn them into activists. Rather, this expresses a need to include issues in which students are
interested and also the extent of their involvement (p. 51). Siegel’s (1977) use of the term
activist is interesting here when considered against the work of Foshay and Burton (1976) who
argued for a more justice-oriented (fairness) approach to citizenship education, to provide the
social studies curriculum with what they describe as programmatic meaning and coherency (p.
3). Later Foshay and Burton (1976) provided a peek into their suggestion for a justice-oriented
citizenship education curriculum:

They [students] would attempt to influence the actions of their local political bodies; they
would learn through first-hand experiences how citizens may appeal to the political
system for redress or grievances. In short, they would learn directly all the alternatives to
rioting and street demonstrations. (p. 19)

Consistent with the liberal tradition, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), Foshay and
Burton (1976) here are promoting what may be interpreted as political civility (see Abowitz &
Harnish, 2006, p. 663) but also a privileged form of political participation, something Siegel
(1977) attacked later by addressing the punitive asymmetrical relations in schools (see p. 51).

Similar to the previous editorial regime, the period of 1979-1984 is also led by Political
Science albeit to a lesser degree: the field of Political Science occupies 25% of citations from
this period, followed by the Social Studies at 19% (see Appendix E: Table E3). During this
period authors continued to take up arguments made previously and did so by consistently
promoting participatory civic learning experiences with the overarching rationale of developing
active citizenship dispositions (Shermis & Barth, 1982; Singleton, 1980). Singleton (1980) for
example, picked up where Foshay and Burton (1976) left off concerning the argument that the social studies as a curriculum lacks coherency and purpose, or in Singleton’s (1980) words, was floundering (p. 95). Foshay and Burton (1976) argued for citizenship as the anchoring principle through which all social studies curriculum is developed coupled with a renewed commitment to Rawlsian notions of justice (see pg. 4). Singleton argued along similar lines for participation and meaningful learning experiences by reincorporating the Problems of Democracy (POD) course. “The POD course could provide the central framework for a citizenship oriented social studies curriculum” (Singleton, 1980, p. 101). Embedded within the POD course are social issues and current events that students grapple with. This process of grappling helps to develop citizenship skills including decision-making, analysis, and reflective thinking (see also Shermis & Barth, 1982, p. 25). The POD course mentioned by Singleton (1980) is significant in that it represents the first major attempt within the liberal citizenship discourse to incorporate conflict into the social studies curriculum as a platform or mechanism intended to foster student civic development. Eyler (1980), similarly suggest incorporating conflict and/or controversies into curriculum with the goal of producing “principled thinkers” (p. 12), or students more likely to apply concrete principles of democracy including freedom of speech, across populations and differences (termed civic tolerance) and more accepting of conflict as an essential element of the democratic process (p. 13). Interestingly, Eyler (1980), similar to Foshay and Burton (1976) offered the need for principled thinkers from a paternalistic vantage point, one that more critical scholars would argue as privileged (see Houser, 1999). Speaking to the lack of party affiliation consistent with the political climate at the time the study was conducted, Eyler (1980) suggested, “There is thus a large volatile pool of citizens who are hostile towards government institutions and unaffiliated with organized political groups; this is a group available for mobilization. The
ability of this group to tolerate political conflict is potentially very important” (p. 14). The thesis of Eyler’s (1980) work is that the educated and political elites more commonly evidence features associated with principled thinkers (e.g. applying democratic norms across disparate groups) and as such, they are the models we should emulate (p. 17).

The liberal discourse through the period 1988-1995 cements an overarching theme within the discourse: a focus on individual students’ abilities to develop rational thinking skills (including critical thinking in light of competing logics) through active participation in political learning contexts. Guyton (1988) for example, discovered undergraduate students’ capacities to think critically were positively correlated with political participation (see p. 38-40). Interestingly, Guyton (1988) defined critical thinking (within a political context) as the ability to solve problems, make decisions, and accept conflict (p. 30). Accepting conflict in this instance resonates with the notion of principled thinkers consistent with Eyler’s (1980) work. Of which, one of the defining characteristics was the acceptance of political conflict as normative (also termed conflict tolerance, see p. 13). The key to the ability to apply democratic norms, including the protection of individual liberties and the right to dissent across populations, is understanding political conflict in these instances, and through much of the liberal discourse. As such, researchers have discovered, civic tolerance (Eyler, 1980) or political tolerance (Avery et al., 1992) can be taught. The work of Avery et al. (1992) in particular, discovered that political tolerance can be taught across demographic difference including gender, race, and class (see p. 410-411) by incorporating challenging and creative curriculum (see also Parker et al., 1989). Avery’s (1992) work, addresses difference in developing rational thinking skills, which till this point had been framed using political elites (Eyler, 1980), the educated (Guyton, 1988), and the
academically gifted (Parker et al., 1989). Across these groups citizenship is a political enterprise that requires individual rationalism that is developed through practice.

The Political Science influence, maintained throughout much of the liberal citizenship discourse within TRSE, consistently appears amongst fields frequented between 1996-2007 (see Appendix E: Table E7 and Table E9). Citizenship education during this period continued the work of Avery et al. (1992) and Parker et al. (1989) asserting that political tolerance and rationalism can be taught. In achieving these aims, the discourse visited the notion of classroom deliberation readily (see Angell, 1998; Beck, 2003, 2005; Levinson & Brantmeier, 2006). Deliberation in these contexts is conceived as a communal response toward a communal problem. The discourse departs in theory from traditional liberalism foci on individual and individual development (particularly in relation to individual rights) and teeters into areas more commonly associated with civic republicanism (or communitarianism) and the common good. The underlying message however, is consistent with liberalism’s inclusion of the democratic classroom and authority sharing. Teachers in these contexts, according to Beck (2005), are encouraged to foster dissent (within deliberative settings) while also encouraging agreement upon a common solution (p. 105). In essence, democracy and self-rule is played out in “publics” (see Beck, 2003, p. 328; Kunzman, 2006, p. 180) and students are encouraged to engage in “reasonable disagreement” (Kunzman, 2006, p. 166) or critical dissent (Levinson & Brantmeier, 2006, p. 333). “If we believe that public schools play a vital role in fostering thoughtful citizenship, it also seems vital that they help students learn how to talk about these profound differences” (Kunzman, 2006, p. 175). The qualifier “thoughtful” in this sense maintains the liberal discourse attention to civility in public discourse, or what Kunzman (2006) also referred to as “reasonableness” (p. 170).
More recently the liberal discourse within TRSE has shown some signs--albeit small ones--that may represent an expansion of sorts concerning political civility consistent with the work of Kunzman (2006) and others (Eyler, 1980; Guyton, 1988; Parker et al., 1989). When questioning acts of civic participation for students, Niemi and Niemi (2007) suggest actions potentially considered mob-like by previous notions within TRSE’s liberal citizenship discourse: “Participation extends to activities such as boycotting products and businesses, picketing, filing legal challenges, and civil disobedience” (p. 36). Such actions are advocated as potentially reasonable given a present context; in this sense rationalism (and civility) have been expanded.

We see rationalism extended even further in the work of Kohlmeier and Saye (2012) who advocated adding ethical reasoning and empathy to the matrix of decision-making. Toward these ends, Kohlmeier and Saye (2012) suggested thinking outside one’s self and outside fixed assumptions regarding justice. Citizens should (in their view), “consider the relationships between themselves and others. If you have to imagine yourself in any status position in society before determining the fair law, you must consider how the various groups will interact with one another as a result of the law” (p. 430). Their suggestion represented an about-face of sorts from Rawls’s notions of justice, which promotes a “veil of ignorance” or removal of empathy and/or affiliation in the application of justice, which was consistent with earlier suggestion for concrete application of democratic norms without regard for the particular (rationalism).

With regard to intertextuality within the liberal discourse, the most cited works include Dewey’s (1916) *Democracy and Education* cited 4 times (2 times during the period 1996-2001 and 2 times from 2002-2007) (see Appendix E: Tables E8 and E10), Parker’s (2003) *Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life*, also cited 4 times (see Appendix E: Table E10), and the Langston and Jennings (1968) study, “Political Socialization and the High School Civics
Curriculum” cited 4 times (two times during the period 1976-1978 and two times from 1988-1995) (see Appendix E: Tables E2 and E6). The inclusion of Parker’s (2003) work, if based on his inclination for segregating “publics” from private spheres of influence (per his location in the cultural discourse), would suggest or reinforce the liberal discourse’s stance on separation of identities, a stance that is consistent across this category. However, this remains an inference based on how scholars reference this specific work within their own scholarship. Parker’s (2003) work in this context is mostly used to demonstrate or point to a specific need for classroom dialogue across difference. Additionally, the inclusion of Dewey’s (1916) work is used by authors to suggest the need for democratic classrooms, pointing to Dewey’s laboratories of learning and view of democracy as a conjoint communicated experience. This reference is consistent with the liberal discourse’s commitment to classrooms as mirrors of democratic life.

Similar to civic republican discourse, attempts by the liberal citizenship discourse to interdiscursively connect with other discourse categories are minimal within TRSE. Also similar to civic republican discourse, these attempts surface more frequently in more recent periods within the TRSE anthology and loosely attempt to connect with more critical discourse categories. Levinson and Brantmeier (2006), for example, connected with critical notions by asserting the need for learning experiences that more appropriately align with the lived realities of all students (see p. 335). Additionally, the researchers voiced a need to collapse power differentials that frame student/teacher interactions toward a co-ownership relationship (see p. 335). In incorporating positions common to other critical discourses, the liberal discourse does not interrogate inequalities that set apart critical discourses. Bishop and Hamot (2001) for example, when referring to inequalities existent in both the United States and Czechoslovakia in terms of citizenship curriculum development and the inclusion of multicultural themes added:
“Although the issues embedded in religious, ethnic, and racial differences exist in both countries, the US and Czech teachers conceptualized the key elements of democracy without much concern over the realities of multicultural difference. Nonetheless, the recognition of this need by the Czech curriculum writers did imply the promise of multicultural understanding as a topic in the new curriculum” (p. 484). What that multicultural understanding is or may be is not disclosed for readers and simple recognition of multiculturalism appears enough to appease the author. Such recognition without an understanding of existent structural inequalities sidesteps issues and as such, perpetuates inequalities. Recognition, critical scholars would argue, is insufficient (see also Beck, 2005, p. 105). Considering these and looking across the liberal citizenship discourse within TRSE, the discursive formation that binds this conversation includes: citizenship is a form of political membership that individuals must develop through authentic and active learning experiences.

**Cultural (Critical): Unity in Diversity? Or, Unity or Diversity?**

According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), citizenship within the cultural citizenship discourse is consistently posed as a problem predicated on what they refer to as an assimilationist model of citizenship, one that arbitrates membership and social entrée using the White, Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual, landed male as the exemplar of judgment (p. 669). Such a model, in the view of Abowitz and Harnish (2006), serves to erase cultural identities of minorities in order to secure unity or consensus in the foundation of a common identity, which in the United States can be considered an American identity.

The assimilationist model is consistently recognized by TRSE contributors across the cultural citizenship discourse. Such a model reflects and suggests a dominant Western world view that serves to secure the interest of the dominant class, or what Baber (1995) refers to as the
macroculture, through capitulation, and in doing so, perpetuates the status quo (Pang, Gay, & Stanley, 1995; Ritter & Lee, 2009; Urrieta, 2004). Baber (1995) suggests such a world view as a “deficiency philosophy” one that maintains people of color as intellectually and culturally deficient and “the worst manifestations of American culture” (p. 343; see also Brown et al., 2011, p. 287). Baber’s thoughts here resonate with Gordon (1985) who asserted that the dominant culture (white, Anglo-Saxon) in the United States imposes on cultural minorities “the stereotypical or oppressive self-images that hinder their own progress and development” (p. 5).

To illustrate the notions expressed by Baber (1995) and Gordon (1985) further, Urrieta (2004) provided the following characterization representative of Mexicans and Mexican Americans within the U.S. macroculture,

> Prior to the military invasion and continuous occupation of Mexico’s northern territories after 1848, the U.S. had already created the “Mexican” as an inferior “other”. Manifest Destiny, justified by racial theories of Anglo-Saxon superiority, perpetuated a racist view of Mexicans as lazy, amoral, and genetically inferior, a half-breed “Indian/savage” people not worthy of occupying vast amounts of land. (p. 436)

In Urrieta’s (2004) view, people of Mexican descent have been, and continue to be, viewed as subaltern citizens (see pg. 434) within the United States, causing a devalued sense of identity, feelings of inferiority and even self-hate. These conditions and feelings of inferiority in minority populations are further exacerbated in schools, which within the TRSE cultural discourse are viewed as sites of social reproduction (Gordon, 1985; Patterson-Dilworth, 2004; Tyson, 2002). Scholars within TRSE’s cultural citizenship discourse consistently point to misrepresentations of minority cultural groups within the enacted curriculum (Brown et al., 2011; Pak, 2000; Ritter & Lee, 2009). Considering schools as cultural institutions actively involved in the production of
citizenship perceptions and beliefs bears to witness the inherent magnitude of this interpersonal transaction. According to Alter (1995), “students often believe that the curriculum represents authoritative knowledge and truth; however, texts typically replicate the social norms and beliefs that govern society and depict them in a way that is incomplete and misleading” (p. 357).

With such a depiction sketched out, TRSE scholars consistently include conflict as part of teaching and learning. According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), the cultural citizenship discourse includes collective forms of agency, that are developed through conflict integration: “In opposition to some of the consensus-based, unification values articulated in civic republicanism, cultural citizenship discourses emphasize the role of conflict that produces new cultural and political forms” (p. 670). TRSE scholars have suggested it is through conflict and challenge that individuals grow (Gordon, 1985; Parker, 1997). With this in mind, many in TRSE’s cultural citizenship discourse suggested problematizing the view that democracy (at least within the United States) is a completed journey (Miller-Lane et al., 2007; Pak, 2000; Pang et al., 1995, Parker, 1997; Ritter & Lee, 2009; Tyson, 2002). Authors reported the contradictions between what we espouse (e.g. founding documents) and what we are (Gordon, 1985; Pang et al, 1995; Saada, 2013). Foregrounding and interrogating these contradictions, according to Gordon (1985) brings about a heightened social consciousness and results in a creatively restructured student/teacher relationship, “as students and teachers explore the contradictions and the struggle that occur within their daily lives” (p. 5). Other authors used specific examples of populations that have intentionally engaged with contradictions and in doing so, sought to make a difference (see Pak, 2000; Saada, 2013; Urrieta, 2004). Preston-Grimes (2007) for example, pointed to the work of civics teachers in Georgia prior to the Brown decision who worked within a system that denied African Americans their constitutional rights and yet were charged with teaching students
about citizenship beliefs and practices. Despite the inconsistencies or inherent contradictions, many of these teachers according to Preston-Grimes (2007) “encouraged their students to put theory into practice through organized civic participation” (p. 22) and social change. These groups and individuals essentially served as change-agents that were intended to inspire both students and teachers as they engaged with social inequalities in American society.

To further combat such malaise and misrepresentation of cultural minorities within schools, contributors to the cultural citizenship discourse within TRSE advocated an understanding of the history of racism and its connection to citizenship conceptualizations within the United States (Brown et al., 2011; Obenchain, 2010; Pak, 2000; Urrieta, 2004). According to TRSE scholars, the meanings of and parameters ascribed to race have shifted in response to the present needs of the macroculture (Miller-Lane et al., 2007; Preston-Grimes, 2007):

Historically, whiteness was associated with being eligible for US citizenship. During the height of immigration from Europe, the meaning of whiteness was debated because capitalists valued immigrants as cheap labor, but this conflicted with republican and nativists ideas about who should be a citizen. (Urrieta, 2004, p. 434)

With regards to opportunism and minority exploitation, Brown et al. (2011) pointed to the military experiences of African American soldiers across American history, who, viewed as “biologically inferior” during peacetime (thus incapable of serving), during times of war were extended certain citizenship opportunities including military service. The work of Brown et al. (2011) highlights the compelling intersection of race and American citizenship and how these individuals were conceived as “expendable bodies” and as such, called to serve during times of war, representing what Brown et al. (2011) referred to as “interest convergence:** that is African Americans were called to serve their country despite their inferior racial status because their
service benefitted White interests” (p. 287). Brown et al. (2011) and Urrieta’s (2004) work here illuminated distinctions between how race is viewed in relation to United States citizenship, and more specifically exposed the underlying structural inequalities that served to further frame the citizenship discourse, something liberal and civic republican discourses within TRSE did not pursue. With this in mind, Brown et al. (2011) later adds, when referring to stories of heroism concerning Black soldiers (something non-critical notions would afford, e.g. tokenism, essentialism), further interrogation is warranted:

Stories of individual heroism may glorify the Black soldier, but they do not attend to the institutional forces and social realities faced by African-Americans. Such stories thus obscure the problematic intersection of race and citizenship that the Black soldier represents. The black soldier identifies the racialized nature of U.S. citizenship, both historically and contemporarily. (p. 280)

Focusing on the intersection of race and citizenship is suggested as directing classrooms toward an emancipatory pedagogy (see Gordon, 1985). Such a pedagogy, by making tangible the connections of race and racism to citizenship, is intended to thwart the ethnocentrism and racism that perpetuates the status quo. Towards attaining such an emancipatory stance TRSE scholars advocated incorporating anti-narratives (see Pak, 2000) or counter-narratives (see Brown et al., 2011) that challenge how citizenship and notions of race are socially constructed. Doing so, “disrupts the official transcripts, the accepted conventions of the ways histories are recorded” (Pak, 2000, p. 355). This process was suggested as a way to give agency to minority groups whose lived experiences have hitherto been marginalized or segregated to the peripheries of accepted grand-narrative conceptualizations of the past. By focusing on counter-narratives,
both theory and practice “reclaim the voice of colonized peoples by decentering the locus of power and speaking from the margins” (Urrieta, 2004, p. 435).

Agency embedded within the theories of Urrieta (2004) here have resonated with other contributors to TRSE’s cultural citizenship discourse, as they have argued for curriculum and learning experiences that more accurately align with the multicultural nature of public life in pluralistic society (Miller-Lane et al., 2007; Saada, 2013; Tyson, 2002). All students, according to Pang et al. (1995), are “entitled to an education that prepares them for the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Because they belong to an ethnically and culturally pluralistic society, they have a right to an education that reflects this reality” (p. 306). Despite the changing demographics in the Western world and classrooms in particular, colleges and schools of education, according to many within TRSE, are dominated by European-American students whose lived experiences do not reflect the diversity of the classroom students they teach (Patterson-Dilworth, 2004; Tyson, 2002). The contradictions embedded here bring to surface positionalities or issues of privilege (i.e. white privilege) to which TRSE scholars dedicate much energy in foregrounding. The quintessential teacher is often depicted as white, female, and middle-class, who lives outside the community of which she works (Pang et al., 1995; Tyson, 2002). These factors, according to Tyson (2002), leave them naïve to subtle forms of oppression that affect students: “This may render some of them unable to analyze critically the multiple forms of cross-cultural oppression that many of their students face in terms of racism, sexism, and class exploitation” (p. 62). General agreement in this context is recognition of one’s own station of privilege and the potential reach that station may have on others (Castro, 2013; Parker, 1997; Ritter & Lee, 2009).
Studies within teacher education have shown that pre-service teachers own stations of privilege often thwart this recognition and as such, they operate from a color-blind perspective (Castro, 2013; Patterson-Dilworth, 2004; Mathews & Patterson-Dilworth, 2008). Teachers within these studies acknowledge socio-political inequalities inherent in society, yet fail to apply them to their own dispositions and practice, thus perpetuating those same inequalities. In response, TRSE contributors have conceptualized the teacher education classroom as a transformative space where teachers can challenge their own stations of privilege and the underlying assumptions that frame those stations:

Social studies teacher educators must provide safe spaces for all students to critically examine their own power and privilege and the implications this has for teaching future citizens of a pluralistic society. We must also make our own process of critical consciousness-raising through our scholarship and teaching practices. (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008, p. 384)

The corollary envisioned for nurturing such an environment suggested the space itself would not operate in isolation but rather, would conceptually transfer to classroom teachers’ own spaces (classrooms) and inspire open and deliberative settings where classroom students are encouraged to grapple with the intersections of race and citizenship in American society across time and place.

How has the Cultural Discourse Emerged?

By juxtaposing the cultural citizenship discourse within TRSE with the research findings of Abowitz and Harnish (2006) and doing so through the lens of discourse analysis, readers are provided with a more layered interpretation of the generally agreed upon and shifting terrain on which researchers locate their scholarship. Abowitz and Harnish (2006) did not attempt to tease
out or separate the notions of cultural citizenship with what may be labeled multicultural citizenship (see Patterson-Dilworth, 2004), something that becomes more tangible upon closer inspection of the cultural discourse within TRSE. According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006) cultural citizenship (quoting Rosaldo & Flores, 1997, p. 57) refers to “the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one’s right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state’s democratic processes” (p. 669). In this sense difference is centered from what might be considered the peripheries of an historically assimilationist model of citizenship and is thus viewed as an asset or contribution, no longer an impediment. Later Abowitz and Harnish (2006), when referring to notions of multiculturalism (without using the term multicultural citizenship or multicultural citizenship education) suggested it only in terms of its relationship to cultural citizenship discourse: “Cultural discourse weaves its way into educational texts through variations on ‘multicultural’ writings and research” (p. 670). No real distinction was made here and multiculturalism was viewed as the vehicle through which cultural citizenship is delivered within the field of education and educational research.

This uncertainty of sorts creates an interesting support on which to rest the cultural citizenship discourse within TRSE. Ultimately the discourse (across TRSE’s cultural landscape) appeared to oscillate back and forth between what may be termed multicultural citizenship (see Patterson-Dilworth, 2004) and what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) described as cultural citizenship. The distinction appeared to center on the overarching rationale or mission that authors seek to accomplish. Both authors sought within their rationales to empower student-citizens by engaging with difference, but the cultural citizenship discourse did so by focusing on the singular struggle of a marginalized racial and/or cultural group. The struggle was the focal
point and with this, the environmental injustices endured are used to problematize notions of citizenship. The lived experiences of African Americans (Gordon, 1985; Preston-Grimes, 2007) including African American men who volunteered their services to the United States military during times of war (Brown et al., 2011) were foregrounded. The history of atrocities committed against Chicana/o populations dating back to Manifest Destiny and the Mexican-American War was offered alongside the continual impact of neo-colonial educational practices within schools that inhibit or threaten Latina/o youth in the present day are articulated (Urrieta, 2004). Similarly, the experiences of Nisei school children during the xenophobic installation of interment camps were reported (Pak, 2000), along with stories of Muslim youth who grappled with their own civic identities and with ultimately, a love-hate relationship with the United States in the context of post-9/11 and the ensuing zeitgeist of Islamophobia (Saada, 2013). The cultural knowledge and experiences of the identified individuals and populations was viewed as necessary terrain for students to navigate the contradictions of democratic life with the lived realities of marginalized groups (Gordon, 1985; Pak, 2000; Urrieta, 2004).

African-American cultural knowledge itself is uniquely emancipatory because it is born out of the African American community’s historic common struggle and resistance against the various oppressive effects of capitalism and racism which have kept them in subordinate positions in American society. (Gordon, 1985, p. 7)

Race and culture in TRSE’s cultural discourse is the larger context where concepts including citizenship can be problematized and dismantled in what some have suggested as an emancipatory pedagogy (Gordon, 1985). Brown et al. (2011) noted “social studies scholars should not treat the category of ‘race’ as an additive dimension of citizenship. Instead race
should be seen as inextricably embedded within the historical and contemporary meanings of United States citizenship” (p. 295).

What may be termed multicultural citizenship within TRSE also seeks to empower students and citizens by engaging with difference but through a consistent advocacy that fosters civic unity while also celebrating the inherent diversity of life in a pluralistic society (Alter, 1995; Baber, 1995; Castro, 2013; Pang et al., 1995; Patterson-Dilworth, 2004). Within multicultural notions of citizenship, TRSE authors continually pointed to the increasingly diverse nature of classrooms today as represented by the numerous cultural and ethnic identities of students (Pang et al., 1995; Parker, 1997; Patterson-Dilworth, 2004; Castro, 2013). With the diverse nature of classrooms, scholars within TRSE have sought more inclusive spaces for students including expanded notions of community (Alter, 1995; Baber, 1995; Pang et al., 1995) and a more just and equitable society (Castro, 2013; Miller-Lane et al., 2007; Patterson-Dilworth, 2004). The goal of multicultural citizenship is understood as achieving unity in diversity (Alter, 1995, p. 347), or the acquisition of communal identity where each individual has emancipatory representation (Baber, 1995, p. 34). To conceptualize visions of unity and diversity further, TRSE scholars commonly sought to actualize e pluribus unum, at least on their own terms (Alter, 1995; Baber, 1995; Pang et al., 1995; Parker, 1997). “It supports the national ideal of e pluribus unum, but demands that the standard of unum be changed from one of Eurocentric dominance to a composite, confluence, or synergy of ethnic and cultural pluralism” (Pang et al., 1995, p. 307), or pluralism without hierarchy. The focus here was not only political unity (communal unity) or oneness but also equal representation and/or appreciation for manyness or plurality. In discerning these two elements of community and/or identity, segments
of what may be called the multicultural discourse approached a separation not seen in the cultural discourse.

Looking at the cultural discourse within TRSE across time, the discourse itself does not surface until the mid-1980s with Gordon’s (1985) work, which in focused on the cultural experiences and knowledge of African Americans (in response to struggles endured within an American citizenship context), sought to emancipate the mind and spirit and promote civic courage (see p. 5). Doing so locates Gordon’s (1985) work within the cultural tradition endorsed by Abowitz and Harnish (2006). The cultural citizenship discourse is not picked up again within TRSE until the mid-1990s, which featured the works of Baber (1995), Alter (1995), and Pang et al. (1995). In bringing citizenship back to the forefront, the mentioned works did so through the lens of multiculturalism. The focus on multicultural education is evidenced in the most frequented fields represented within the period 1985-1995, which included Multicultural Education at 28% and Race/Class/Ethnic studies at 26% (see Appendix F: Table F1). The central argument linking these works is the notion of an expanded community anchored in core values common to diverse groups including freedom, justice, equality, and human dignity (see Pang et al., 1995, p. 307).

During the period 1996-2001, the cultural citizenship discourse within TRSE gave equal attention to both multicultural citizenship (Parker, 1997) and cultural citizenship (Pak, 2000). Pak (2000) expresses innocence lost, referring to Nisei youth within Seattle Public Schools in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor: “Nisei were thrust into a situation where their racial identity became a factor for exclusion” (p. 351). They were, according to Pak (2000), forced to “deal with issues generally confronted by adults – that is experiencing, first hand the tensions in democracy, citizenship, and freedom” (p. 351). The focus here is the struggle. The multicultural citizenship
discourse, as noted previously, seeks to achieve unity (political oneness) within diversity (plurality). Towards these ends, Parker (1997) suggests three realms of identity: the political community (citizenship), the tribe (ethnicity, religion), and the hearth (family, clan) (see p. 225). According to Parker (1997) when occupying the citizen identity, we are “without cultural-historical identifications; we are individuals who are equal” (p. 225)—oneness. When residing in cultural identities, Parker (1997) explained “we are defined by our cultural memberships: we may be black, Catholic, third generation Japanese-American,” (p. 225) etc. Parker (1997) concluded that “being an American means having multiple identities” and that “democracy requires us to reside from time to time in the citizen identity” (p. 225). The point made is that the separation of identities serves to solidify unity within our pluralistic democracy (see also Johnson, 2006; Miller et al., 2007): “Community must take precedence over individualism [diversity] in order to become a unified whole” (Pang, Gay, & Stanley, 1995, p. 323).

Parker’s (1997) work here points to a nuanced distinction between multicultural citizenship and cultural citizenship germane to further navigating the discourse. In seeking unity in diversity, though not competing forces (see Baber, 1995), these forces do emerge as distinct though without competition; cultural identity is separated from communal identity. According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), this is not the case within cultural citizenship discourse: “culture cannot be realistically or productively segregated from citizenship as a practice or a status” (p. 670); in other words, they cannot be divorced. This point is further emphasized in Brown et al. (2013), who described race and culture as “inextricably embedded” (p. 295) within citizenship. Urrieta (2004) discovered the dangers of segregating cultural identities from public or political identities of Latina/o youth. These acts that ultimately led to feelings of self-hate and cultural censorship/denial. Urrieta (2004) described the feelings and emotions expressed by one young
Latino: “This self-hate not only projected a dislike for his physical attributes, but also for the cultural attributes of his family and community, thus illustrating the disconnection between national citizenship and cultural citizenship” (p. 449). Saada (2013) investigated the tensions that teachers in Islamic schools faced when considering moral and religious education required to teach students with that of political education for citizenship in the United States. Saada (2013) added, “The study encourages us to question the appropriateness of making the divide between the moral and the political in teaching for citizenship and in the academic literature” (p. 269). She later adds that moral reasoning, informed by one’s culture, should be added to citizenship skills because it encourages students to “examine how their ethical principles work and perhaps compete with other models of morality” (p. 269). The distinctions made here should not be interpreted as a neat separation, nor should they be contemplated as mechanisms for compartmentalizing worldviews. The distinction does however, suggest within the cultural discourse further philosophical consideration for the role of particularism within group identity as it relates to citizenship in pluralistic society.

Moving forward, in the period 2002-2007 the fields of Race, Cultural, and Ethnic studies (16%) and Multicultural Education (14%) received equal attention concerning fields cited within the period (see Appendix F: Table F5). Balance is further suggested within the period in the equal distribution of both multicultural perspective (Johnson, 2006; Miller-Lane et al., 2007; Patterson-Dilworth, 2004) and cultural perspective (Preston-Grimes, 2007; Urrieta, 2004). Patterson-Dilworth (2004), articulating her vision for multicultural citizenship education, suggested multicultural citizenship is rooted in democracy and is concerned with “community building, focusing on dialogue, compromise and adjustment to controversial situations arrived at through discourse and deliberation” (p. 157). The focus here is on unification across difference.
Interestingly, during more recent times (2008-2013), the cultural discourse within TRSE has shifted in some respects with foci on difference (which remains), but with further attention to creating change from within, with a focus on teacher development and addressing positionalities. Scholars during this period consistently argued for teacher interrogation of world views in relation to race (Brown et al., 2011; Obenchain, 2010; Saada, 2013) and specifically, issues of privilege, i.e. white privilege (Castro, 2013; Mathews & Dilworth, 2008) or folk theories (Ritter & Lee, 2009). Scholars argued in particular for broadened world views concerning citizenship within pre-service teacher education and the cultivation of safe spaces where students could explore the nature of their present understandings and tease out points of privilege that ultimately inhibit more dynamic citizenship interpretations (Castro, 2013; Mathews & Dilworth, 2008; Ritter & Lee, 2009). In this way, teachers become change agents within not only their immediate classroom contexts but also the larger school cultures in which they work.

With regard to intertextual efforts, the most commonly cited works include Parker’s (2003) Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life, which is cited 8 times (3 times during the period 2002-2007 and 5 times from 2008-2013) (see Appendix F: Tables F6 and F8). Also frequently cited works include Dewey’s (1916) Democracy and Education, which is cited 6 times within the cultural discourse (three times during the period 2002-2007 and three times from 2008-2013) (see Appendix F: Tables F6 and F8), and the Westheimer and Kahne (2004) study “What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy” also cited 6 times (see Appendix F: Table F8).

Singling our Parker’s (2003) work again is compelling given how it appears to be used within the discourse and across both views concerning particularism: cultural and multicultural. At first glance Parker’s (2003) work is used to suggest a need for deliberation across difference
and also the inherent tensions of teaching for unity in diverse societies, which could be simply gleaned from the book’s title. Some scholars do borrow Parker’s (2003) accessible plotting chart (see Castro, 2013; Miller-Lane et al., 2007) to further enhance their work, but interestingly Saada (2013) uses Parker’s work to point to problems of moral absolutes when working in pluralistic societies. Quoting Parker (2003) she adds: “the more naturalized the group [and Islamic] identity, the more likely are its members . . . to mistake their particularity for a universal norm, and the less apt they may be to negotiate or modify some of their customs for the sake of the larger public” (p. 268). Here it appears that Parker’s (2003) work is incredibly durable given Saada (2013), whom through much of her work positions herself with cultural scholar’s avocation for particularism across affairs. Despite her association with the cultural dialogue, she deposits Parker’s (2003) stance on unity over particularism in order to make her point with regards to the dangers of moral absolutes. Saada’s (2013) use of Parker’s (2003) work here, in addition to suggesting the durable nature of Parker’s (2003) work, also speaks to the messiness of philosophies concerning identity and the challenges of sorting scholarly debate. Next, Dewey’s (1916) work is mentioned exclusively within the cultural landscape with regard to the classroom’s relationship to democracy (see Castro, 2013; Preston-Grimes, 2007; Ritter & Lee, 2009; Tyson, 2002) – such a cursory inclusion of Dewey’s (1916) work in this context, without any articulated understanding offered, or page reference may suggest author use of this seminal work as equivalent to what Abbott (2008) has described as a decorative Christmas ball reference. With regard to the frequently cited Westheimer and Kahne (2004) study, 5 out of the 6 articles which reference this work refer to one or more of the study’s three conceptions of citizenship within their scholarship. The study is often included in article literature reviews and may be included in light of its accessibility.
Considering these and looking across the cultural discourse, the discursive formation binding this discourse within TRSE includes: American citizenship operates from an assimilationist framework that seeks to collapse both primordial and cultural difference.

**Reconstructionist (Critical): Exposing Citizenship’s “Unacknowledged Economy”**

According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006) the reconstructionist discourse aims to foreground the failures of capitalism and individualism concerning political, economic, and social institutions within the United States (p. 670). Drawing from the work of educational theorist including George Counts (1932) and Marxist scholars, the reconstructionist discourse advocates a civic identity of “bold radicalism” combined with a “critical intelligence” aimed at expanding rights and powers to groups who have been “left out or poorly treated in former or present social institutions” (p. 671). Like cultural citizenship conversations within TRSE, the reconstructionist discourse within TRSE consistently sought inclusion, equality, and the open embrace of difference. These discourse categories were critical of the status quo which has been claimed as perpetuating inequalities that serve the interest of the elite. While marginalized groups were the focus population that the reconstructionist sought to foreground, ultimately the poor and working class were the primary interest of this conversation within TRSE.

The launching pad for spotlighting the plight of marginalized populations within TRSE, particularly the poor, was the affirmation of epistemological assumptions (also called universal assumptions) concerning citizenship and citizenship education within schools as unproblematic (see Cary, 2001; Li-Ching, 2010; Marciano, 2001; Prior, 1999; Sears, 1994). These assumptions, commonly asserted as a reflection of classroom texts and school curricula, teacher biography, and state guidelines, offer students a “bland consensus-oriented view of political, economic, and historical processes” (Bickmore, 1993, p. 348). The described assumptions, according to TRSE’s
reconstructionist discourse, assume a fixed, non-controversial reality concerning citizenship—one that is void of conflict and controversy and ultimately transmitted to students (Akenson & Neufeldt, 1986; Houser, 2009; Rubin, 2007; Wraga, 1993). Kickbusch (1987) suggested that the realities transmitted to students are understood as “regimes of truth” (p. 177) that intentionally operate to mask and maintain existent power relations and social norms. According to his analysis of teacher pedagogy with both in-service and pre-service teachers in civics classrooms, the discovered civics content is “simply presented at face value without questioning of ideology, interest, interpretation, or revision. The central commitment was to existing institutions, a safe unconflicted historical record, and to a perpetuation of existing power relations” (p. 184). Power relations, given Kickbusch’s (1987) inclusion of both pre-service and in-service teachers, ultimately extends in reach to the academic halls of university settings. Kickbusch (1987) proclaimed that the university should not be conceived as a liberal force in teacher education, but rather as a conservative one that may be more concerned with maintaining institutional agreements with the community than transforming society (see p. 185).

The theme of perpetuating existing power relations through subtle and possibly covert channels is consistent across most of TRSE’s reconstructionist discourse (Gibson, 1999; Khane, et al., 2000; Prior, 1999). The subtly of these channels is expressed in the work of den Heyer (2003) who referred to it as a system or “unacknowledged economy” (p. 431) that operates in schools. Tupper et al. (2010), explored the implications of civics curricula in Canadian schools that project universalist notions of citizenship, similar to an unacknowledged economy and fixed epistemological assumptions (or notions that fail to account for existent socio-economic inequalities) and in doing so, resulted in what has been referred to as a “fiction of sameness” (p. 339) concerning citizenship in schools. Universalist notions, Tupper et al. (2010) suggested are
framed within the political and social experiences of white, middle-class, non-disabled, males (p. 338), which ultimately serves to legitimate some students as “good” citizens while segregating others. The work of Tupper et al. (2010) captured the site of impact present when universalist curricula (concerning citizenship) collide with the social locations (i.e. social capital) of students. Their study focused on neighborhood high schools, with significantly different SES profiles, within the same district. Such a focus enabled the researchers to illuminate how such curricula is internalized by students and more broadly how it mediates student civic aspirations. This is a core area of interest for scholars within the reconstructionist discourse.

Where as the intentions of formal curricula around citizenship are to create citizens who are responsible to the state and inherently governable, this same curriculum works to legitimate some students as good citizens and not others. For several of the students in our study, the discourse of legitimate citizenship manifest in and through curriculum does not ‘fit’ with other discourses that shape their understandings of who they are and can be as citizens. (p. 348)

The very process of validating some (those whose lived experiences fit within school sponsored curricula) while repudiating others carries significant implications for the socio-civic well-being of students. While most of the work of Tupper et al. (2010) was focused on those marginalized in the described transaction, they suggested that it is equally important to the experience of those validated if those experiences prosper without interrogation:

We are concerned that students like those at Jackson [lower SES] may never think of or see themselves as legitimate citizens especially if curriculum documents continue to present citizenship as a fixed definition to be memorized in unproblematic and uncritical ways. And we are equally concerned that students likewise at McKenzie [higher SES]
may never fully understand the ways citizenship operates as both a cultural and symbolic mark of social division producing them as privileged while obscuring that very production. (p. 358)

Through student survey Tupper et al. (2010) discovered little variation in terms of civic and political knowledge of students, suggesting that students, regardless of social location, had internalized the sponsored curriculum (see also Li-Ching, 2011). But they reported the nature of student civic aspirations and agency significantly different, through focus group interviews. The intersection of social location and universalist curricula becomes a site of ambivalence for these students, according to Tupper et al. (2010).

They [students with non-privileged social locations] can identify markers of good citizenship, but are reluctant and/or unable to live these out themselves. We believe this reluctance is not because they lack competence or are enacting some form of overt resistance; rather, the reluctance stems from subject positions in tension with the claims of universal citizenship. (p. 357)

Universal citizenship in this sense mirrors what previous scholars have referred to as “regimes of truth” or an “unacknowledged economy” within schools but may bear larger implications given its direct tie to how citizenship is internalized, and by extension, normalized in schools (see Cary, 2001; Schmidt, 2013).

In considering how citizenship is internalized and subsequently normalized within schools, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) asserted the composition of reconstructionist discourse as composed of two overlapping threads, which they referred to as populist and Marxist (see p. 671). Populist threads of reconstructionist discourse, in the view of Abowitz and Harnish (2006), seek a more inclusive democracy through problem solving and communal work.
Marxist, they asserted, employ revolutionary language critical of government and corporate power. The mission of both is to transform U.S. democracy and in doing so, promote broader political participation and inclusion. Certainly, attention to further discernment of the two threads may be warranted. It is clear however, that scholars within TRSE’s reconstructionist discourse do seek transformation with a more critical guise toward forces that ultimately perpetuate the status quo. More specifically, some scholars asserted the intentionality of efforts within society (schools) to segregate civic development of students and by corollary, further social inequalities. Within this context Bickmore (1993), suggested social inequalities as perpetuated by,

Encouraging some students to practice confronting meaningful problems, while at the same time discouraging others from handling critical or conflictual material; for example, ‘smart’, cooperative, or self-confident students who are given challenging material and whose voices are heard in many classrooms are disproportionately male, and/or white, and/or affluent (Bickmore, 1993, p. 344)

or by students whose lived experiences fit with the way citizenship is projected within schools. Sears (1994) argued that “violence” in this context has been done to many students “especially those from working-class, single parent, and minority backgrounds by limiting rather than equalizing their opportunities” (p. 27). With further regard to “violence,” Li-Ching et al. (2010, 2011) shed light on Singapore’s merit-based educational system (deemed meritocracy) that is based on highly politicized placement test scores that ultimately lock students into one of three career tracks that determine their future civic and economic roles in society. In this system, students from minority and low SES backgrounds make up the majority of students on the vocational track. Li-Ching et al. (2011) suggested that the citizenship education consistent with
the vocational (or lower) track, as one that promotes patriotism and obedience at the expense of critical thinking and social criticism. This failure to provide students with critical thinking and other tools that many consider crucial to citizenship education is then restricted for those who need it most (see Kahne et al., 2000; Prior, 1999; Rubin, 2007). Li-Ching et al. (2011) discovered that students from the vocational tracks were far less critical compared to their counterparts and adopted positions that closely paralleled the Singapore government’s position with regards to the restriction on free speech. Two students for example, concurred with the Singapore government’s perspective that “too much democracy or free speech could destabilize society” (p. 219).

The work of Li-Ching et al. (2011) resonates along what may be considered a Marxist thread of TRSE’s reconstructionist discourse. Attention to patriotism and obedience within the citizenship gaze suggest what Houser (2009) simply referred to as an objective reality or an acceptance of “the way things are:” (p. 203) “As long as no serious threat is posed which challenges the perception that existing beliefs are objectively real, it is possible to act confidently and unreflectively on the basis of these assumptions” (p. 203). Here, Houser (2009) is suggesting an intentional campaign to produce unreflective citizens (see also Gibson, 1999; Marciano, 2001). Prior (1999) discovered this to be the case when examining student, parent, and teacher perceptions of citizenship education within Australian schools. Prior (1999) suggested that government sponsored citizenship education programs are underpinned with an alarming assumption concerning the public’s perception of citizenship:

The current government thinking about citizenship education programs is politically self-serving and that governments believe that (quoting Osborne, 1991) most people seem to put it (citizenship) in the same category as clean underwear: a useful and even desirable
thing to have but dull and respectable and not worth talking about. (p. 218)

Self-serving, in this sense, corroborates what is believed as intentional efforts to thwart civic development. Many authors within TRSE’s reconstructionist discourse foreground this belief by attacking the culture of teaching and learning within the context of standards and increased focus on high-stakes summative assessments (see Gibson, 1999; Kahne, et al., 2000; Ross, 2000; Rubin, 2007), which have been positioned as mechanisms that ultimately “colonize the imaginary” of students (Chappell, 2010, p. 248).

Given the reconstructionist discourse focus on marginalized populations for whom schooling may be operating to inhibit civic development, scholars within TRSE foreground the need to challenge all students with authentic learning experiences that promote citizenship and citizenship skills (Bickmore, 1993; Marciano, 2001). Rubin (2007), for example, argued that “de-tracked” classrooms (or classrooms not segregated based on cognitive/social aptitudes or socio-economic locations) represent true “laboratories of democracy.” In these settings students and teachers, according to Rubin (2007) should be encouraged to thoughtfully engage with issues inherent to life in democratic society, including those issues that stem from race, class, and culture (p. 89). Laboratories of democracy and authentic learning experiences as such, are then held to be in opposition to what may be considered business as usual for poor urban schools, including rote memorization and limited views of learner capacities, and contribute to what Rubin (2007) refers to as (quoting Haberman, 1991) a “pedagogy of poverty” (p. 89). A “pedagogy of poverty” aligns with the findings of Kahne et al. (2000) who discovered, in light of a Chicago city’s district commitment to state-required Constitution test and bolstering achievement test scores, few opportunities for students to engage with higher order thinking skills. When not preparing for the test, students demonstrated a capacity to engage with issues of
diversity and multiple perspectives. In light of the district’s focus on test scores, however, learning was mostly confined to low level work (see p. 323). When challenged, TRSE contributors readily reported the capacities and abilities of all students to flourish within the citizenship context (Mitchell & Elwood, 2012; Prior, 1999; Rubin, 2007). In cases where school culture did not embrace theories endorsed within the reconstructionist discourse, some argued for change within (see Cary, 2001; Gibson, 1999; Schmidt, 2013), failure to do so, Gibson (1999) argued is a failure to us all: “For any educator to play along is to ignore the revolutionary adage that an injury to one precedes an injury to us all” (p. 156).

**How has the Reconstructionist Discourse Emerged?**

Through the lens of discourse analysis, the reconstructionist discourse within TRSE emerged as one that may be best described as active and consistently critical. The critical nature of this discourse was evidenced by its reliance (across editorial regimes) on critical fields including Critical Pedagogy, Curriculum Studies, and Educational Reform to craft citizenship positions and perspective. The active nature of this conversation was evidenced not only by its frequency (most numerous) when compared to other discourse categories from this study, but also its inclination to engage interdiscursively with other fields of discourse. Despite what could be described as an active conversation within TRSE, the reconstructionist discourse did not surface within the TRSE anthology until the latter part of the 1980s. It is during this period that the discourse began what became a seminal or focal point of origins in terms of framing arguments. This argument foregrounded the perceived transactional relationship between students and the social studies curriculum, which results in the socialization of students manifested by “appropriate citizenship behavior” (Kickbusch, 1987, p. 174).
The discourse foregrounds the transactional encounter by drawing from many fields including Curriculum Studies during the period 1985-1990 (see Appendix G: Table G1). Drawing from historical case studies in particular involving the social studies curriculum, the discourse attempted to shed light on both potential and shortcomings. Akenson and Neubeldt (1986), for example, examined citizenship education (by way of the social studies) during the Southern Literacy Campaign (SLC) 1915-1930, and in doing so, spotlighted rationales for the campaign, that in addition to adult literacy (which was associated with both good citizenship and crime prevention), promoted cleanliness, good manners, knowledge of government, and industry to compete in the 20th century economy. Regarding what may be considered a neo-liberalist critique that citizenship should be associated with economic readiness (see Brandhorst, 1990; Ross, 2000) it is suggested that not much has changed since the SLC. Conversely, Brenneman-Oldendorf (1989) employed the work of Myles Horton and the Highlander Folk School in order to shed light on the inherent potential of the social studies curriculum in relationship to citizenship education. Highlander’s inclination to question the difference between the ideas of democratic life with the realities of most peoples’ lived experiences, and to further challenge what may be perceived as acts of injustice and inequality in society (p. 108) are viewed as exemplars from which to imitate. Education, according to Brenneman-Oldendorf (1989) (quoting Harold Rugg), is not a neutral act (p. 115). This is suggested specifically in relationship to the social studies curriculum, which is portrayed as promoting national loyalty, good behavior, and obeying the rules; and thus perpetuates dominant ideologies and the status quo (Brenneman-Oldendorf, 1989; Kickbusch, 1987). The notion of perpetuating dominant ideology and the status quo was made clear early on. However, within the TRSE discourse, the specific population affected (outside of students in general) was not made entirely clear. These
populations were made more explicit in the next decade of the reconstructionist discourse within *TRSE*.

Curriculum Studies dominated the fields of influence during the early 1990s as the most frequented field of reference during the period 1991-1995 and represented 25% of total references (see Appendix G: Table G3). This was evidenced particularly in the works of Brandhorst (1990) and Wraga (1993) who examined the notion of citizenship as an interdisciplinary enterprise intended to better prepare students (particularly with regard to decision-making) for the challenges of complex social problems within the 21st century. Curriculum Studies proved fruitful in the work of Alan Sears (1994), who, through an extensive analysis of citizenship education studies in Canada, arrived at the conclusion that despite a move toward multicultural recognition in Canadian society, teachers continue to teach traditional, non-participatory models that promote static content, resulting in cultural uniformity and conformity. “These studies indicate that the way that education is practiced in Canada continues to divide students by gender, race, and class and provide them with unequal opportunities to become participating citizens” (p. 34). Sears’ (1994) work within the reconstructionist discourse represented one of the earliest attempts to operationalize marginalized groups within the discourse, which up till this point had remained very generalized and undefined in nature (e.g. perpetuating status quo for elites). Bickmore (1993) further unpacked marginalized groups to include poor, female, non-white, and recently immigrated (p. 340) in her advocacy for inclusionary democratic classrooms, students “whose right to share in government is not fully honored or realized” (p. 340).

The theme of operationalizing marginalized groups continued during the period 1996-2001. This theme is evidenced in the reliance on critical fields that commonly advocated their
causes, including both Critical Pedagogy and Educational Reform (see Appendix G: Table G5). During this period the conversation also relied on the field of Philosophy (7% of citations) that is evidenced in the shift toward post-modernism that became influential in shaping arguments over this period. According to Houser (1999) post-modernism (within citizenship contexts) rejects grand narratives (also termed universal assumptions) and its “affinities for context-specific experience” and also rejects “totalizing discourses while opening new spaces for the consideration of new voices in citizenship education” (p. 54). Rational thought or the rational thinker as such, is viewed as a mechanism of privilege that values prevailing assumptions of one group over another (see Cary, 2001; Houser, 2005; Mitchell & Elwood, 2012). This is often held in contrast to liberal thought, particularly in relation to notions of individual rationalism (see Houser, 2005; Houser & Kuzmic, 2001).

Citizenship transmission remains a dominant mode of social studies instruction, critical inquiry exacts a heavy price on willing participants and the symmetrical social conditions required for the development of communicative competence remain (ironically) out of reach as a result of privileging rational discourse (relative to the intuition of caring, for example) and the presumption that universal understanding is a viable possibility in a post-modern world. (Houser & Kuzmic, 2001, p. 437)

This becomes tangible for readers in Houser’s (1999) critique of Parker and Zumeta’s notion of public policy deliberation (PPD), a decision making model for high school students. According to Houser (1999) the model was designed to teach rational deliberation amongst high school students with the intent of preparing them for greater civic participation in public affairs (p. 93). In doing so, students, according to Houser (1999), would limit their human passions from public affairs (that could result in mob-like behaviors): “The way to tame the mob is to educate them –
to provide each citizen with a rational ‘filter’ through which his or her passions can be reasonably channeled toward productive ends” (p. 93). Houser (1999) took issue with the association of resistance to that of mob-behavior, pointing to situations when resistance is perfectly reasonable given the present condition (e.g. Bacon’s Rebellion, The Tulsa Race Riots, and the Watts Riots of 1965) (p. 96). “By perpetuating the idea that resistance to unacceptable circumstances constitutes mob behavior to be regulated through the installation of a rational filter, the proposal contributes to the privileging of one aspect of thinking and being at the expense of another” (Houser, 1999, p. 97).

Post-modernism during this period became a home of sorts for multiple scholars to situate their work and to anchor citizenship theorizing. As seen in Houser’s (1999) work, the critique of rationalism (at the expense of alternative logics) continued in the work of Cary (2001) who argued that failure to problematize discursive practices that inform citizenship understandings (including mainstream generally accepted assumptions) renders reductionist, gendered, and prescriptive notions of citizen in schools. Her inclusion of gendered citizenship conceptualizations speaks to concerns voiced within feminist traditions and evidences the inclusive environment facilitated by way of post-modern thought. It was during this period that authors increasingly situated their work within a post-modern epistemology that we see increased attempts to couple with other critical discourses. Issues of privilege, a topic key to cultural notions of citizenship, were readily taken up. Cary (2001) for example, stressed the need for interrogation of privilege as it relates to both theory and practice: “there remains a place within this field to interrupt positions of privilege and provide spaces from which to work against normalizing institutional and pedagogical practices that reinforce the epistemological position of whiteness without question” (p. 421). Drawing from a post-modern perspective other scholars
rendezvous with dispositions aimed at troubling the public/private dualism of identity. This is a core issue for queer and feminist conceptualizations (see den Heyer, 2003; Houser, 1999; Houser & Kuzmic, 2001; Mitchell & Elwood, 2012). With this in mind, Houser (2005) pointed to the problem of modernity: “Such a worldview conceptually isolates mind and body, self and society, public and private, organism and environment, and human and non-human life, while dichotomizing theory and practice, student and teacher, art and craft, and researcher and researched” (p. 55). Houser (2005) attempted to connect modernism with what may be considered the casualties of individualism and also promoted a connected approach to citizenship advocated by earlier scholars (see Brandhorst, 1990; Wraga, 1993) within the discourse. Within a connected worldview or framework, Houser (2005) promoted the inclusion of the arts in citizenship education. When considered within the timeline of TRSE’s reconstructionist discourse, this speaks further to post-modernism’s capacity to incorporate what may have been considered disparate fields (voices).

The inclusivity of the reconstructionist discourse is evidenced by the fields most frequently represented from 2008-2013 including Geography at the top of the list comprising 12% of all citations from the period (see Appendix G: Table G9). A post-modern influence and further evidence of an inclusive conversation is evidenced in the discourse over this period which included an emphasis on the interrogation of public space (Schmidt, 2013), human geography (Mitchell & Elwood), arts and aesthetics (Houser, 2005), ecological consciousness (Houser, 2009), and performance and theatrical arts (Chappell, 2010). The incorporation of citizenship through the lenses of the mentioned fields contributed to a dynamic and robust understanding of citizenship within these contexts.
The most commonly cited works across the reconstructionist landscape include Dewey’s (1916) *Democracy and Education*, which is cited a total of 6 times (three times during the period 1996-2001 and two times from 2002-2007) (see Appendix G: Tables G6 and G8), and Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) study “What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy” which is cited a total of 4 times (see Appendix G: Table G10). The use of Dewey’s (1916) work in this context suggest an understanding not offered within the cultural discourse. Scholars offered expanded interpretations of *Democracy and Education* that included attention to the valuing of difference (Boyle-Baise, 2003), an associationist view of democracy (Rubin, 2007), and reflective inquiry (Vinson, 1998). Additionally, three of the six articles which cited *Democracy and Education* offered specific page references. With regard to the use of the Westheimer and Kahne (2004) study, three of the four references to this specific work are made to the study’s accessible three conceptions of citizen: personally responsible, justice-oriented, and participatory (Boyle-Baise, 2003; Li-Ching et al., 2011; Tupper et al., 2010).

Across this landscape, citizenship is conceptualized as prescriptively serving to perpetuate the status quo. Exposure to the covertness of this message creates awareness and invites transformation (Cary, 2001; Schmidt, 2013). With this in mind, the discursive formation that ultimately bound the reconstructionist discourse together within *TRSE* can be understood as: citizenship ascribes a false universalism that perpetuates socio-political inequalities across marginalized groups.

**Feminist (Critical): Blurring the Public/Private Identity Chasm**

The feminist citizenship discourse within *TRSE* is one that consistently suggests citizenship as gendered in nature, asserting that citizenship is a status invented by men for men. With this in mind, Hahn (1978) early on, explored the implications of such a gendered
conceptualization: “If half of our students do not fully exercise their abilities to acquire knowledge to choose from all possible careers, and act as participating citizens then our purpose will not be met” (p. 92). Stone (1996) looked at this issue more broadly through an historical lens and pointed to how women have been discriminated against in the public sphere and democratic life; suggesting that women, within liberal contexts, are conceptualized and defined in terms of man: “In such a comparison woman is always marked as inferior in ways that change conceptually across time. For these ancients place is determined by a familial role – woman as reproductive unit but inferior to men in this capacity” (p. 40).

Stone’s (1996) work here is consistent with Abowitz and Harnish (2006) who, in quoting Smith (1999) added, “Beginning with Aristotle, influential political theorists argued that women’s reproductive function destined them for the private (domestic) sphere” (p. 667). The public sphere, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) later added, is idealized as a “universal space for all where the mind rules with rationality and logical thought; the private is a sphere of body, emotion, and the particularity of relationships” (p. 667). Given the historical seclusion of women from the public sphere, the feminist discourse advocates blurring the lines between public and private identities and as such embracing fluid identities (p. 667). Blurring lines that potentially demarcate boundaries around public and private identities as separate (something seen in liberal notions of citizenship) is a cause readily taken up within TRSE’s feminist discourse (see Hahn, 1996; Shinew, 2001; Stone, 1996). Hahn (1996) points to this very fact:

Liberalism does not address the interdependent human relationships that are important aspect of decision making in families, communities, and wider polities. By distinguishing between a public and private realm, and embracing rights and justice without attention to responsibility to relationships, the so-called voice of females and
some males has not been heard. (p. 29)

Hahn’s (1996) work here coincided with a strand of feminist discourse Abowitz and Harnish (2006) labeled as “difference feminists” who seek to promote difference associated with gender and gender roles as a source of strength (p. 668). In this case, attributes more commonly associated with woman or women and domestic/familial affairs are equally valued when situated against talk of rights and justice. No longer separate they are then conceived as interdependent. Difference or woman-centered feminists, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), “have argued that women’s differences from men – chiefly the capacities for “relationality” and care – should not be compromised but should be used in their roles as citizens” (p. 668). General consensus within TRSE’s feminist discourse suggested rationality associated with public spheres of identity has privileged maleness and historically masculine notions of citizenship that continues to influence citizenship discourse.

More recently, feminists’ scholars within TRSE have pushed notions of rationalism and public/private debates by situating their thoughts in a post-modern context (Shinew, 2001; Stone, 1996). Modernism, in this sense, was associated with defined rules and logic that stem from locating specific citizenship roles along socially accepted norms (theories). Post-modern theorizing as such was posited as a creative space where difference and even irrationalism are welcomed. Post-modernism, according to Stone (1996) calls into question:

Aspects of modernist epistemology, including the concept of a universal, essentialist rationality. It further contains a critique of basic western assumptions about dualism of subjectivism and objectivism. Traditionally, the structure of this dualism maintains subject as well distinct from object, and person as separate from reality – from objects as well as other persons. Within this organization, the subject seeks to know the object and
this knowledge corresponds to a representation of knowing that which is known. To abandon modernist epistemology means that the question of what is real no longer applies, since language and meaning have taken its place. Further, the essential person or self is relinquished. (p. 48)

Questioning what is real, Stone (1996) ultimately went on to question the utility of citizenship within a post-modern, associated-living context:

Given the fluid, multiple identities of postmodernism and their resultant momentary associations, perhaps ‘citizen’ is an outdated notion – perhaps the idea of the primary identity of person and nation state is passe. In this macro-age of multinational and pannational economic communities and the micro-age of inter- and intraethnic tribalism the nation state is a modernist construction that appears out of place. (p. 50)

Similarly, Shinew (2001) called for a fluid conception of citizenship that conceptualized citizens (individuals) as those who “dwell in the chasms which exist between the ideals of democracy and the realities of their lives” (p. 510) – those who revel in the “productive ambiguity” of fluid identities and emergent affiliations (p. 513).

**How has the Feminist Discourse Emerged?**

Not surprisingly, the feminist discourse, through the lens of discourse analysis, is one that has become increasingly critical. This critical stance, more recently, also included critique of traditional notions of feminism, or what may be called liberal feminism and/or difference feminism (see Abowitz and Harnish, 2006, p. 667-668), concomitant with an embrace of post-modern theorizing. In illuminating the evolution of the feminist discourse, it is necessary to locate exactly the point of origin. The first article from this study to be located in the feminist discourse was Hahn’s work published in 1978. Hahn (1978), early on, examined the role of the
social studies on student sex role socialization, or the process by which students associate gender with particular roles in society. In doing so, Hahn (1978) examined the larger implications of sex role socialization on student civic development, particularly in female civic development. During this period of TRSE’s attention to feminist citizenship discourse, the discourse was heavily influenced by Gender Studies (see Appendix H: Table H1) which should not be surprising, given that Hahn’s work here essentially served as a literature review of studies concerning sex role socialization amongst adolescents. Thus, Hahn (1978) demonstrated one of the hallmarks of feminist discourse, the validation of familial contributions within the sphere of public life: “The women’s movement of the past 10 years was a catalyst that stimulated us to reflect upon our self images, upon our interpersonal relationships and upon our roles as parents and citizens in a nation committed to equality and justice for all” (p. 73). In this instance, familial life was held to be on equal footing with public life (or citizenship writ large). Later, however, within the feminist discourse scholars have relied more heavily on critical fields (Feminist Theory in particular) and as such, the distinction became less tangible. Within the historical context of the late 1970s (evidenced within this study) Hahn’s (1978) positions on citizenship were consistent with a firm association of politics and government as she stressed the need for political equality in the social studies: “If students learn that it is equally appropriate for females as males to be involved in politics, then females may be equally motivated to achieve in social studies classes and to aspire to careers in business, politics, and law, and we may then find a more equal representation of males and females in government positions” (p. 92). Hahn’s (1978) work here situates her in what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) referred to as equality or liberal feminism (see p. 667). This in some ways represents a coalescence of sorts between political liberal thought and that of liberal feminist (i.e. liberal feminism) thought. Abowitz and
Harnish (2006), in quoting Jones (1998), suggested that liberal feminism has generally argued for “women’s full inclusion in the political sphere objecting to women’s relative lack of access to conventional arenas of political decision making, as well as to women’s unequal representation in leadership positions for political change” (p. 667). The chief aim of liberal feminists, consistent with Hahn’s (1978) work, is advocating increased presence of women and girls in positions (particularly in political positions) of leadership and influence.

It is not until 20 years after Hahn’s 1978 publication that the feminist citizenship discourse (within the context of this study) was revisited within TRSE. Interestingly, it is Hahn’s (1996) work where this period begins. Hahn (1996) in a study that examined the role of gender on political attitudes of secondary students including interest, efficacy, confidence, and trust arrived at the conclusion that gender was not an apparent factor in shaping political views based on questionnaire responses (see p. 20). Interestingly, Hahn (1996) did discover that female students in her study showed more interest in issues related to social criteria including welfare, abortion, and rape (see p. 27) and ultimately suggested the need for studies that explore what she describes as “care orientations” at play in civic decision making (see p. 29). Her call for increased attention to attributes commonly affiliated or attributed to the female gender suggests a subtle move from liberal feminist approach to one of difference feminism where difference (from male norms including care and relationality) are viewed as strengths within citizenship contexts.

Following Hahn’s (1996) second work in this study, the feminist discourse within TRSE became increasingly influenced by postmodern thought and Critical Feminist Theory (see Appendix H: Table H2). Postmodernism in these contexts was meant to disrupt not only universalist and essentialist views of women but also citizenship and essentially served to distinguish postmodern feminists from liberal and/or equality feminists (see Abowitz & Harnish,
2006, p. 668). Stone (1996) added: “Liberal feminists reconstitute both man and woman as reasoning and emotional persons and posit a universal world equally populated by women and men. Radical feminists, by contrast, challenge the egalitarian picture. They argue that equality is denied by the historical circumstance of patriarchy. They assert that women need not live according to male norms, but instead can constitute their own separate forms of rationality and emotionality” (p. 44). Within a radical or postmodern stance concerning citizenship, citizenship is purported as an outdated conceptualization more affixed with the age of modernity; a period that highly segregated public life from private life and with this, the role of women in public affairs. “The traditional definition of citizenship and of women within it, either as inferior, segregated, or invisible is based upon a conception of rationality that is assumed universal” (Stone, 1996, p. 44). Here feminist scholars align themselves with the reconstructionist critique of liberalism and the rational thinker. Postmodernism in this sense rejects assumptions associated with rationalism and instead invites more nuanced and less privileged perspectives and in doing so, a fluid form of citizenship is endorsed. “Challenges to definitions of citizenship which are limited to membership in the nation-state or rights to voting and public office call for a fluid conception of citizen as one who dwells between the ideals of democracy and the realities of their lives” (Shinew, 2001, p. 510). A call for a more reality-driven interpretation of citizenship is consistent with cultural citizenship calls for citizenship that aligns with the life experiences (see Gordon, 1985; Tyson, 2002) of cultural minorities.

Alignment with lived realities bears witness to occasional interdiscursive glimpses within the TRSE’s feminist discourse. Stone (1996) for example, alluded to the common conceptualization, when considering gender, of all women as white women.
Women have been rendered invisible made all ‘white’ – and their differences from each other and from men have not been recognized. This erasing of women’s differences does not take into account relations of race and gender. Further, it denies the ‘otherness’ of white, middle class women who are seen as neither privileged nor different, and finally, it ignores the dangers of inclusion. This last point is especially significant if difference retains its usage a connotation of different from something else. The point, clearly, is that the word from already implies a privileged, normal position, one that remains discriminatory. (p. 46)

Stone (1996) later pushed the notion of privilege further, and did so within the context of feminism. In doing so, she expanded the space for diversity within a context that can be otherwise conceptualized as monolithic or based on the assumption expressed that all women are the same or share the same experience. Stone (1996) accomplished this by taking on the complexity of difference and otherness, specifically in relation to third world women: “Third world women are always reminded of their difference and are always asked, they believe, to join the praxis on white terms” (p. 47). White women according to Stone (1996) have performed in these contexts as “white opportunists,” who (in quoting Trinh Minh-ha (1989)), mask themselves as feminists but serve as the master (p. 47). The resultant scenario manifests in replacement forms of privilege including tokenism and protectionism (p. 47). Privileged notions of feminism or privileged feminist approaches to citizenship is also mentioned in Shinew’s (2001) work (p. 498). Shinew (2001) suggested going beyond an additive approach to women in the social studies, similar to the cultural discourse’s additive approach, in order to integrate women’s thinking, lived experiences, and contributions (p. 508). To further support such a stance the works most cited within feminist discourse include Collins’ (1991) _Black Feminist Thought,_
Trinh’s (1989) *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Post-Coloniality and Feminism* both cited two times (see Appendix H: Table H3). Considering these, the discursive formation binding the feminist discourse within *TRSE* includes: citizenship is a gendered concept that continues to project masculine interpretations that ultimately discriminate the contributions of women.

**Queer (Critical): Citizenship as Performance**

According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), the queer citizenship discourse is one that both “highlights and celebrates conditions of diversity and radical difference” (p. 674). Within this context citizenship is conceived as a location or space in which those who have been marginalized in light of their differences can freely express or “perform” their lives and social worlds (p. 675). In performing social worlds queer citizenship, is intended to challenge accepted norms and civic ideals and in doing so, make visible the heteronormative nature of citizenship and public life. Bickmore (2002) as such, referred to the way in which sexuality and sexual social norms are produced and re-produced in society: “The vast majority of literature used in school generally avoids explicit (or affirmative) mention of homosexuality. However, it does quietly include sexuality in the form of normalized nuclear families and heterosexual relationships” (p. 200). Similarly, Oesterreich (2002) added that, in reference to the heteronormative nature of society and the subsequent implications that are present “in the pictures we see, the conversations in which we engage, and the dominant notions of who and what counts in society” (p. 288). Later Oesterreich (2002) added, “the way our society is structured – everything from gender roles to job categories to standards of dress – reflects and extends the assumptions that men and women will pair off, reproduce, and grow old together” (p. 289). The comments representative of the queer discourse within *TRSE* suggest what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) referred to as a “utopian fantasy” projected by normative citizenship
discourse that ultimately privileges what may be considered “family” or the “American way of life” (p. 674).

Notions of the family and the American way of life are generally accepted without question (Bickmore, 2002; Oestereich, 2002). As such, the queer citizenship discourse within TRSE does offer suggestions for disrupting what may be described as heterosexism or bigotry. Similar to other critical citizenship discourses, the queer citizenship discourse within TRSE suggested going beyond what some cultural theorists would suggest as an additive (also known as tokenism) approach by simply including the biography of a sexual minority into a larger unit of study; such inclusion was understood as insufficient. The classroom for both students and teachers, within TRSE’s queer citizenship discourse, was conceived as a location of risk and disequilibrium where notions of citizenship, equality, gender and sexuality are challenged. When referring to risks specifically, Bickmore (2002) illustrated some of the challenges teachers face when bringing issues of sexuality out of the margins and into the focus of classroom discussion and growth:

When brought out into the light of the explicit curriculum, gender role socialization and the accompanying devaluation of homosexual identities are clearly unsafe territories for teachers. The news carries recurring scandals in which individual teachers are targeted for saying too much about sex, or for allowing young people to read about homosexual people. Often teachers who choose to raise the matter of homosexuality are presumed to be homosexual, and are they themselves at risk of losing their job. (p. 206)

Ultimately Bickmore (2002) suggested coalition building and the need for school board equity policies that include protections for sexual preference within its language as steps necessary to prevent punitive fear that may guide teacher self-censorship when considering homosexual
topics within the classroom. After gaining comfort and necessary protections Bickmore (2002) encouraged activating student skills including perspective taking and empathy through thoughtful deliberation considering controversial issues and interdependent cooperative group assignments (p. 210). Unlike Bickmore (2002), who sanguinely offered practical (arguably safer) measures for teachers and classroom students, Oesterreich (2002) took the notion of performance identity to the next step by powerfully disrupting socially constructed sexual norms in relation to citizenship, by disruptive teaching or what she referred to as “teaching out” (p. 292). She did so to “challenge the heteronormative discourse of democratic citizenship and provide the space for pre-service teachers to re-conceptualize participation in democratic citizenship as social justice” (p. 289). Disruptive teaching in this sense is meant to challenge how power relations attribute to mechanisms which perpetuate what is conceived as normal or socially acceptable, given that the teacher, in the traditional sense, represents the product of legitimate knowledge and authority having been acquired through life experiences, schooling, and institutional endorsement. This power relation or representation, according to Oesterreich (2002), has been normalized as heterosexual and thus perpetuates what is learned in the classroom setting as normal. Oesterreich (2002) described this further: “In seeking to challenge traditional, perhaps unexamined conceptions of socially constructed classrooms, I try to restructure power relationships by ‘disruptive teaching’ which transgresses and organizational structure of curriculum and pedagogy that perpetuates inequalities in society (p. 290).

Oesterreich (2002) was incredibly illustrative in her language regarding the magnitude of teaching out – in particular in relation to risks or safety – and the need for such an approach:

I do not teach out to promote safety; I do it to create challenge so that all of us in the classroom can grow in our consciousness around not only heterosexism, but also racism,
classism, ableism, sexism, and lingualism. As soon as I speak the word lesbian in the classroom, notions of safety ooze out under the crack in the door and we are all left to negotiate the ambiguity of identities, ideologies, theories, and practices; moreover, we are accountable to those ambiguities as they relate to our pedagogies. (p. 292)

Embracing ambiguities mentioned by Oesterreich (2002) in this instance speaks to troubling the public/private divide, a divide that remains core and necessary to liberal notions of citizenship. Queer theorists, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), suggest that by creating “pseudo public spheres” or spaces exclusive to “public identities” society has privileged what may be considered the rational thinker or rationalism, as well as universal assumptions that both frame and support rational thoughts. Similar to feminist notions of citizenship, queer theorists agree that such focus on “publics” privileges that identity (and all epistemic and contributive forces) over other forms of identities that ultimately work to masculinize identity by undermining other contributions to identity including familial that have historically been disproportionately gendered. In light of this, TRSE queer scholars advocated fluid identities and blurring the public/private chasm consistent with more common notions of citizenship (e.g. liberal interpretations) and in doing so, situated their line of thinking in a post-modern ontology. With this in mind, Oesterreich (2002) added with regards to what may be considered a modernist view of sexuality, “this narrow view of homosexuality as strictly about sex keeps the conversation from moving to issues of human rights, citizenship, and the multi-faceted notions of homosexuals who have identities other than sexual ones” (p. 293). Similarly, concerning fluid identities, Bickmore added, “Labeling some people as ‘straight’ and others as ‘queer’ or assuming sexual identity is only a problem for gay and lesbian people is inaccurate and
misleading. Understandings of self, others, and human differences are continually reconstructed in light of specific social interactions and power relations” (Bickmore, 2002, p. 210-211).

**How has the Queer Discourse Emerged?**

A bird’s eye view of the field’s represented reveals (specifically in terms of cumulative citations), when looking at the queer citizenship discourse through the lens of discourse analysis, that gender and issues surrounding sexuality dominated the conversation (see Appendix I: Table I1). Though limited in scope (only two articles from this study were ultimately located in queer citizenship discourse) it is both interesting and revealing that the fields most common to other discourses within this study (including Political Science and Social Studies) were not represented within the top five fields of influence. Within the queer discourse the field of Political Science surfaced in 2.6% of citations, while Social Studies appeared in 4.3% of citations. What is also interesting is the frequent reliance on the field of School Safety and Violence, similar in proclivity to peacebuilding, which focuses on protection of vulnerable populations and those who have experienced trauma. The emphasis on safety was evidenced in the foci of anti-harassment education, bullying prevention, and status competitions; all suggested as catalyst to heteronormativity and exclusion. Such a focus on school safety intentionally served to foreground underlying forces that contribute to heterosexism in society and to address them as socially constructed issues related to power and in the process maintain a safe learning environment where students can freely address these issues without fear of violence/rejection.

Despite the lack of attention given to queer notions of citizenship within TRSE, the discourse made frequent attempts to connect with other discourse categories, most notably feminist notions. Oesterreich (2002) for example, explained her decision to teach out as one anchored in critical feminist tradition: “My decision to come out is as much political as it is
personal – and in critical feminism the two are not separate” (p. 291). Oesterreich (2002) also connected with cultural notions of citizenship, specifically in relation to her station of privilege as a white academician: “As in the case of most racial identifiers, my students immediately construct me as White when I enter the classroom or perhaps do not even notice my race because they too live within the privilege of whiteness and have never specifically identified White as a race. In this sense I belong to the culture of power that exists in the academy where both students of color and faculty of color exist in small numbers” (p. 290). Oesterriech (2002) extended the space of privilege further: “Part of my decision to teach out is to begin to understand that homosexuality can operate within the privilege of choosing to ‘pass’ for heterosexual or to remain invisible, a privilege that I hold in relation to other colleagues who cannot in any multitude of ways ‘pass’ – for example, people of color and people with disabilities” (p. 296). In this instance Oesterreich (2002) has increased the reach of the queer discourse to include people with disabilities, something that happens only twice within this study (also see Urrieta, 2004). Unfortunately, here, as in the other mention of people with disability, this demographic was only mentioned as one of other marginalized groups. The lived experiences of these individuals within the citizenship context was never explored. Having said this, the discursive formation binging the queer discourse within TRSE includes: citizenship is heteronormative in nature and as such, serves to ostracize sexual minorities and others identified as different.

**Peacebuilding (Critical): Proactively Fostering Conflict Avoidance**

In 2004 TRSE dedicated an entire issue to the notion of peacebuilding citizenship education. Since this time, small pockets of the peacebuilding discourse have emerged but have remained minimal in comparison to the 2004 special issue. In terms of operationalizing
peacebuilding citizenship, according to Bickmore (2004), peacebuilding citizenship entails a “redress of underlying inequities and social conflicts to restore healthy relationships and/or prevent future escalation of conflicts” (p. 77). At first glance peacebuilding conceptualizations appear to resonate with critical discourses mentioned within this study including both reconstructionist and cultural notions, but peacebuilding’s overarching focus on conflict prevention and mending relationships sets this discourse apart as distinct.

The populations targeted by notions of peacebuilding citizenship are commonly those who have experienced trauma or have a history of hostile experiences within the school community. These groups have included Protestant and Catholic children in Northern Ireland (Carter, 2004; King, 2009) and persecuted ethnic minorities in urban environments (Bickmore, 2004). Inequities across geographic landscapes in these instances are conceptualized as contributive forces in the escalation and perpetuation of violence that ultimately restrict the civic development of students (Bickmore, 2004). Peacebuilding citizenship education as such, is positioned as a proactive form of citizenship intended to enable students to respond and settle disputes before confrontational situations escalate into violence (Bickmore, 2004; Carter, 2004). “Peacebuilding education prepares students for proactive citizenship which includes working to non-violently resolve conflicts for the well-being of others as well as themselves (Carter, 2004, p. 31).

In order to maintain a proactive stance with regards to citizenship, the peacebuilding discourse consistently advocated the development of perspective and student empathy (Carter, 2004; King, 2009; Murray, 2004). King (2009) for example, in a study involving both Protestant and Catholic youth in Northern Ireland, explored how media bias and differing perspectives were evidenced in historical sources such as those documenting Cromwell’s invasion. Engaging with
perspectival relics from the past, in a process King (2009) referred to as “distancing,” enabled youth, most of whom were entangled in sectarian factions within Northern Ireland, the proper amount of “space” to engage in competing perspectives that continue to frame present day conflict. “In this case, the ‘distance’ that was created was emotional and cognitive separation from what they were studying and students’ own personal histories and assumptions” (p. 236). Such practice provided an entry point for students and ultimately encouraged them to explore their own beliefs and the underlying assumptions that support and maintain those beliefs in a productive, non-confrontational manner (see p. 240). In regard to perspective development, a study by Fernenkes (2004) followed teacher use of a unit dedicated to human rights, using the biography and life of activist/artist Paul Robeson. This study explored how Robeson’s life and association with labor movements and social activism was viewed as communistic during his era, but changed over time. Currently, Robeson is esteemed as one of the 20th centuries earliest adopters of what may be considered a global orientation in the context of world and national affairs (p. 111). Similar to Robeson’s global orientation, a study by Kirkwood-Tucker (2004) sought to equip both pre-service and in-service teachers with global perspectives, particularly in relation to the widening gap between both developing and industrialized nations. To achieve such ends her work employed a UN simulation as a catalyst to promote peace and dialogue across culture and geographic location. To further perspective development, and imagine alternatives to war, Murray (2004) engaged students in a Vietnam War unit that included experiencing the war through the perspectives and the lived experiences of Vietnam War veterans, Red Cross volunteers, student activists, and innocent families affected from both Northern and Southern Vietnam (p. 114). The binding tissue that connects these studies (works)
is a focus on perspective development that is conceived by authors as transferable to student individual lives and an aiding force in reducing societal conflict.

Given this focus, the social studies curriculum and social studies lessons within the peacebuilding citizenship discourse were conceptualized as sites for students to develop skills including perspective development. Social studies lessons in this sense “provide information from different sources and perspectives about past or current conflicts show students the value of multiple resources broad viewpoints for understanding problems” (Carter, 2004, p. 31). Students within the peacebuilding discourse were encouraged to question their own assumptions in a state that has been referred to as cognitive dissonance:

Through being exposed to knowledge and value claims that conflict with their own, students experience a state of cognitive dissonance and become capable of acknowledging the inadequacies of their initial beliefs and recognizing the need for their improvement. Considering conflicting perspectives can also expand students’ content knowledge because doing so exposes them to information and judgments beyond those associated with their own social position and personal experiences. (King, 2009, p. 216)

In order to facilitate such development contributors to the peacebuilding citizenship discourse within TRSE advocated the need for safe learning environments. According to King (2009), the emotions triggered by self-reflection and the suggested exploration of personal belief and value systems in this specific context, with these (often fragile) populations, is both powerful and immediate and “any environment considered ‘safe’ must include space for the expression of those feelings or the resulting discussions risk being perceived as inauthentic and irrelevant” (p. 236). Within safe spaces contributors acknowledged the relationship between human rights and peacebuilding citizenship education. “Peacebuilding citizenship is deeply rooted in human
dignity and social justice; it is grounded in multiple perspectives, cross-cultural understanding, multilateral communications, solutions to global issues and human conflicts, and active engagement of the human condition” (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009, p. 57). To further understand the existent connections, a focus on and understanding of human rights was advocated through teacher training and support in this area (Carter, 2004). Additionally, and similar to imagining alternative outcomes associated with elements of the transnational discourse from this study, scholars within the peacebuilding citizenship discourse, by focusing on issues of human rights, encouraged students to imagine alternatives to conflict and violence (see Fernekes, 2004; King, 2009; Murray, 2004). This is consistently advocated across the discourse first through self-awareness and understanding and then through thoughtful dialogue across groups considered competing and disparate. Doing so develops what has been referred to as “civic courage” amongst these students (Fernekes, 2004, p. 110).

**How has the Peacebuilding Discourse Emerged?**

Given the limited attention to peacebuilding citizenship discourse within TRSE and the brevity of its scope in terms of periods affected (see Appendix J: Table J1), considerable energies were expended in unpacking Peace Education as a curricular orientation for readers. As a result, Peace Education across this discourse represents the most frequented field of reference at 15%, followed by the Social Studies (12%), and Global Education (11%). Within this context, Bickmore (2004) for example, drew extensively from Peace Education in discerning three approaches that she asserted, are common to urban schools: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Other scholars converged Peace Education with other fields including Global Education (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004) and Human Rights Education (Carter, 2004; Fernekes,
ultimately choosing to situate these within the larger context of citizenship education; hence arriving at peacebuilding citizenship education.

Looking at the peacebuilding citizenship discourse through the lens of discourse analysis and attempting to ascertain how the object (citizenship) is conceptualized reveals further insight regarding peacebuilding’s overarching focus on conflict prevention and relational restoration. Citizenship in these contexts, rehearsed and played out against the backdrop of a vigilance toward violence, is entertained as a joint venture or journey featuring both teachers and students. For example, Bickmore (2004), did not limit the need for skills within democratic settings only to students: “To teach democratic citizenship requires a balance of alternatives and protections relevant to diverse populations and situations, and steady attention to teaching the skills, knowledge, and values of peacebuilding to staff and students” (p. 77). Staff in her work extended beyond teachers and also included policy makers, administrators, and security personnel, and in doing so, suggested a flattened hierarchy of responsibility in the general well-being and success of the whole. Similarly, Carter (2004) referred to not only student knowledge concerning peace but also that of classroom teachers: “When such learning involves cross-cultural integration, it has the potential to build peace by increasing young citizens’ and their teachers’ knowledge about people whom they might not otherwise encounter” (p. 28). With further reference toward flattened hierarchical power relations in the classroom context, King (2009) went so far as to advocate the inclusion and sharing of teacher vulnerabilities with students in this joint expenditure. Doing so propels the teacher toward attaining student trust, which, given the trauma commonly endured by students within the peacebuilding discourse, cannot be assumed: “Trust [in these contexts] cannot be taken for granted; rather, it is predicated upon teachers’ willingness to disclose their personal beliefs, biography, doubts and confusions in
order to enter into a genuine engagement with students” (p. 236). Such practice removes any veil that either consciously or without intention operates to maintain power differentials within the classroom setting. King (2009), when discussing further the environment and necessary structure needed to facilitate what might be considered powerful conversations in a safe setting added: “In order for discussions to promote desired outcomes, teachers and students alike must be willing to abide by norms and procedures that grant fair hearing to all participants and perspectives” (p. 220). No teacher/student distinction is made in the consideration of participant or perspective.

Despite peacebuilding citizenship’s lack of representation in terms of frequency within this study, the discourse can be described as active in terms of efforts to connect with other citizenship discourse categories. Interestingly, within author statements, the discourse has shown signs of connecting simultaneously within other discourses. Peacebuilding citizenship, according to Carter (2004) aims to instill “global and local knowledge, skills, and dispositions to recognize diverse perspectives and cultures to help members of a society cooperate for the common good of all, not just the needs of the privileged and dominant members” (p. 27). In this instance Carter (2004) visited three discourses with her inclusion of both local and global knowledge (transnationalism), support for the common good (civic republicanism), and an affirmation of privileged locations within society (cultural). Kirkwood-Tucker (2004) added, “white teachers often resist examining education through the lenses of racism and oppression, thus reinforcing stereotypes and bias that global educators intend to eradicate” (p. 71), thus making a case for transnationalism while foregrounding issues core to the cultural citizenship discourse (privilege). The connection to transnationalism is furthered in the most cited work within the peacebuilding discourse: Boulding’s (1988) *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent*
World, which was cited three times (see Appendix J: Table J2). Ultimately the discursive formation binding the peacebuilding discourse includes: citizenship requires an understanding of self and a shared commitment to others in order to secure/maintain a peaceful coexistence.

Transnational (Connected): Glocalism?

Citizenship within transnational discourse, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006) includes spaces of membership not limited to or confined within the geography of nation-state boundaries and includes political and social affiliations within both local and global contexts (see p. 675). Abowitz and Harnish (2006) suggested that transnational notions of citizenship are commonly folded into larger conversations concerning globalization (a concept they suggest is not particular to our century). With the rise of modern, mobile communication devices and new forms of media, citizenship now affords a need for more fluid and transitory forms of membership: i.e. transnationalism (see p. 676). Given this context it should be of no surprise that TRSE contributors to the transnational discourse nested their ideas concerning citizenship within a globalized context. Within this specific context, scholars (interestingly all of North American birth) consistently point to the challenges of global and/or transnational citizenship within U.S. settings (see Blankenship, 1990; Clements, 1990; Gaudelli, 2007; Johns, 1978; Parker & Camicia, 2009). Myers (2006), for example, pointed to the paradox entangling perceptions of the concept “global” within the United States but also the larger world:

Much of the world considers globalization as synonymous for ‘Americanization’ and an instrument of U.S. hegemony. At the same time, within the U.S. there are conservative fears that cultural pluralism is causing us to lose our national identity and the ‘American way of life’” (p. 371).
Citizenship as such, is not conceived within the transnational context as antithetical to the nation-state and domestic affairs but rather seeks to expose singular gazes of nation-state citizenship as insufficient given the complexities associated with the rise of globalization and nascent affiliations. Parker and Camicia (2009), for example, in a study of the ‘international education’ movement within the U.S. discovered the need for a more expansive and inclusive notion of citizenship given the complexity and shifting affiliations within global society: “We believe an ever-complex picture, loaded with multiple, flexible, and hybrid purposes, and affinities, is emerging as young and old people alike move between scales of national, global, and local identification and as more and more youth grow up global” (p. 69).

In navigating emergent affinities and undertaking the possible flexible nature of citizenship within a transnational or global context, the transnational discourse, according to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), promotes a sense of interconnectedness of things unlike other citizenship discourses. Transnationalism’s foci on local, national, and international communities – and more specifically, the intersections of these communities is intended to uncover how they (communities) are interconnected and in doing so, leverage what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) referred to as “new global frontiers” (p. 676). Interconnections were given considerable attention within TRSE’s transnational discourse, both in theory and in practice. With regards to theory, Johns (1978) suggested that connections are the essential cognitive location necessary for cultivating individual meaning making: “Meaning means a sense of continuity and mastery but, above all, a sense of connectedness between oneself and some larger scheme of things which one values and belongs to (p. 13). Johns (1978) went on to add that the search for meaning (that is ultimately captured through conceptualizing the connectedness of things) leads one to seek perspective that extends beyond the familial, the communal, and the social (p. 13). Here Johns
(1978) scratched out the relationship, merging both perspective development and scheme acquisition that is ultimately harnessed through interconnected association.

Within more practical spheres concerning suggested interconnected associations, Gaudelli (2007) latched onto human rights by way of attention and application of international law within domestic settings – something he referred to as transjudicialism. Transjudicialism, as described by Gaudelli (2007), refers to “a phenomenon where precedents beyond a particular venue, such as national courts, serve as legal rationale within sovereign jurisdictions” (p. 465). Transjudicialism in this sense points to how individuals are what Gaudelli (2007) refers to as multicitizens – conceptually speaking individuals with rights, responsibilities, and protections within both local and global politics (p. 467). To further illustrate the nature of complex affiliations within today’s global context Gaudelli (2007) uses the example of a hypothetical Polish citizen:

She is legally responsible to and protected by Polish national law as well as to one of 16 bodies of provincial, intrastate law. But she is also afforded the protection of the European Court of Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the International Criminal Court, and an array of other covenants and rights NGOs. Further, none of the judicial entities is isolated from others. Thus, legal discourse about the rights and duties of citizens are cross-fertilized with great regularity. This Polish woman is in effect, enmeshed in a mult-layered legal system within which she has rights and responsibilities. Legally and otherwise she is a multicitizen. (p. 480)
What is consistent across TRSE’s attention to transnational discourse is a focus on the social and political interconnectedness of associated living in a globalized context and with this, tapping into what Abowitz and Harnish (2006) have noted as “global frontiers” (p. 676).

Within global frontiers there was a moderate effort on behalf of scholars located within TRSE’s transnational discourse to foreground what may be considered a “common humanity,” or the characteristics/needs/desires that unite humans or are a part of the collective human experience. Embedded within a common human experience were attempts to focus on social and environmental problems within a globalized context. When considering social problems in particular, TRSE scholars situated their work within a human rights framework (see Gaudelli, 2007; Myers, 2008) that appropriately aligned with notions of common humanity. This was done because “the concept of human rights does not rely on the authority of a limited political community, but instead on the universal premise that all people hold the same unconditional rights” (Myers, 2006, p. 376). In a later work, Myers (2008) coupled human rights with a moral universalism he described as a key dimension of global citizenship: “A key dimension of education for global citizenship is the development of shared moral values and of identification with, and responsibility to, distant others in order to create a better world” (p. 96). Myers’ (2008) work suggested a responsibility and investment in the lives of “distant” others. Johns (1978) captured this theme by channeling existential theologian Martin Buber’s work that described man’s relationship with the world comprising two forms: I-It and I-Thou relationships. I-Thou referred to a reflexive relationship between persons interacting. I-It however, suggested a more impersonal transaction between persons or things. Real living, according to Johns (1978) “is I-Thou, which means in its fullest sense, persons responding with a total continuing commitment to each other as persons. Only by responding in this way – by giving oneself fully
We can achieve the highest degree of responsibility and fulfillment by losing ourselves in others’ (p. 12).

According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), transnational citizenship discourses suggest a fundamental duty or responsibility of schools to prepare students for citizenship in both national and transnational or global contexts. Further, they suggested that the transnational discourse argues that the responsibility of the school is to “cultivate democratic notions of tolerance and empathy so that students attain the tools needed to bridge the gaps dividing people across intellectual, philosophical, and cultural chasms” (p. 676). As such, the school and classroom are envisioned as sites for broadening student notions of civic identity. Similar to liberal and cultural notions of citizenship within TRSE, an open classroom where students can discuss and examine topics was suggested (see Blankenship, 1990; Myers, 2006, 2008). Within an open classroom context, Blankenship (1990), for example, discovered a positive correlation between classrooms viewed as open and appropriately supportive by students, and student global knowledge and global attitudes (see p. 383). Interestingly, Blankenship (1990) also discovered that student capacities to develop global attitudes and knowledge can occur concurrently with student development of attributes stemming from more national orientations including political efficacy and political interest in national politics (see p. 383). Blankenship’s (1990) findings spoke to zero-sum fears that by focusing on one (either national or global orientations) one is sacrificed in the process.

The classroom as such, becomes the site where students develop critical thinking skills (Blankenship, 1990), empathy (Johns, 1978; Myers, 2008), perspective development (Clements, 1990; Johns, 1978), and an understanding of how phenomenon are connected (Myers, 2006; 2008). Scholars within TRSE’s transnational discourse also have described skill development
including synthesizing and interpreting information, and also forecasting--or student capacities to predict possible futures or imagine alternative outcomes (Gaudelli, 2007; Myers, 2008). It has been proven that student abilities, if challenged, can synthesize and interpret significant amounts of information, in relation to complex social problems and then subsequently craft possible solutions. This finding resonates with other discourses that have arrived at similar conclusions regarding student’s unlimited potential if challenged.

**How has the Transnational Discourse Emerged?**

The transnational discourse early on (1978-1980) was highly influenced or situated in philosophical works – nearly a quarter of all citations were identified as such (see Appendix K: Table K1). Johns’ (1978) invocation of philosophes including Buber, Niebuhr, and Cassirer, amongst others, was done in an effort to make defensible an image or characterization of global citizenship within classroom contexts. Drawing almost exclusively from the work of Martin Buber, Johns (1978) attempted to make his suggestion for Man-In-Dialogue pedagogy tangible, practical, and visible (see 3 Stages, p. 8-10). Along the way, Johns (1978), rather indirectly, alluded to a theme of morality or possible signs of a moral universalism that extends across much of TRSE’s transnational discourse. Johns’ (1978) essential thesis has made practical what he considers otherwise idealistic and without practitioner guidance (see p. 3). Johns (1978) defended his efforts: “I believe that attempting this task is necessary so that those working on diverse projects can know clearly what moral direction other projects intend, debate its defensibility, make indicated changes, and increase the likelihood of the effectiveness and support of education for global citizenship” (p. 4). Moral direction in Johns’ (1978) work became an image of human responsibility that helps to steer the course between Scylla and Charybdis. Notions of ethics and morality are noticeably absent from other discourse categories
from this same period which more commonly focus on issues surrounding political behavior, knowledge, and attitudes (see civic republican, liberal, and feminist notions).

Johns’ (1978) work – in addition to tapping into issues of ethics and morality – also began to extend additional space within citizenship conversations for the totality of things affected by human interaction not limited to humans themselves. Later on in the transnational discourse, the notion of environmental stewardship becomes a focus that is embedded within the larger theme of interconnectedness and, more specifically, the implications of human action/choice within an ecological framework. One can begin to tease some of this out with Johns’ (1978) work concerning moral responsibility: “In short, responsibility is responding in dialogue with all beings and with all things. Given this view, it is irresponsible if one acts as if he or she, were a solitary individual – or more accurately, an isolated body or mind, an atom in the social universe rather than a social, interpreting agent, or self” (p. 5). Later Johns (1978) continued the notion of interconnectedness and implications that extended beyond a singular human gaze: The commitment to dialogue, Johns (1978) added, begins “with the persons one interacts with directly and extends to all those beings and things by which one’s actions and interactions are affected” (p. 22). Interaction in this sense is not limited to human to human transactional encounters but includes “things” that are impacted by human encounters.

It was not until a decade later that the transnational discourse is picked up again and with this, Clements (1990) latched onto the idea of environmental stewardship in his three perspectives on citizenship education: 1) citizen soldiers, 2) citizen intellectuals, and 3) citizen earth watchers. Citizen soldiers for Clements (1990) were essentially promoted as blind, obedient patriots willing to “kill or die for the various cause in which nation states engage” (p. 324). Citizen intellectuals were slightly more critical of the actions taken by the nation state but
maintain a certain reverence for the culture, tradition, and symbols of the nation state (p. 324). Citizenship earth watchers, the main thrust of Clements’ (1990) focus, recognized violence has been committed on the life systems of our planet (p. 325). Recognizing this violence, citizen earth watchers in the view of Clements (1990) seek to “restore and preserve the living systems of the planet that are becoming contaminated by poverty as well as toxic water, fossil gases, plastic refuse, and poisoned streams, rivers, lakes, and seas” (p. 325). Clements’ (1990) work here not only captured the environmental connection in relation to human choice and action but also included space for social problems including poverty and the relation they may have on ecological resources.

Clements’ (1990) voice within TRSE’s transnational discourse evidences a critical stance unlike other contributions within the narrative. For example, he asserted that schooling in its present context produces (what he considers) a disproportionate number of citizen soldiers, going so far as to label schools “children factories” in the process (p. 324). His point is clear: by shifting the focus from nation-state allegiance into broader conceptualizations of citizenship, the ramifications could improve both human and non-human communities: “If schools are to be the loyalty-making institutions, let them generate citizen poets, dancers, and earth watchers loyal to the living arrangement of plants, birds, fish, people, rivers, lakes, and seas. Let us learn how to turn factory schools of today into caring communities of our common future” (p. 326). Caring in this sense speaks to notions of ethics and morality.

In 2006, Myers picked up where Johns (1978) left off in his thoughts of a defensible articulation of global citizenship, or in the case of Myers (2006), global citizenship education. Myers (2006) added, “I contend that the concept of global citizenship education is a more accurate curricular frame for orienting social studies education because it accounts for the
changing nature of citizenship in the context of globalization” (p. 371). Myers’ (2006) work here represents a departure from Clements’ (1990) idealistic rhetoric for citizen poets, dancers, and earth watchers, and resonates more with Johns (1978) in terms of its practical approach. Myers’ (2006) endeavor in particular advocated three curriculum topics that needed to be considered for global citizenship education: 1) focus on international human rights, 2) reconciling the global and the local, and 3) political action beyond the nation state (p. 376). By focusing on human rights at the outset, Myers (2006) pointed to notions of ethics and morality. According to Myers (2006), human rights represents a moral framework based on principles of equality and justice and stands apart from what he described as more utilitarian frameworks (p. 378). Myers (2008), in a separate work – with regards to ethics – advocated shared moral values and responsibilities toward distant others. Distant others however, should not be interpreted as singular recipients of such moral responsibility. This is approached later by Myers’ (2006) efforts to reconcile the local and the global; primarily what he described as the local dependencies on the global. Global citizenship, in Myers’ (2006) view is a local act (see p. 377) (see also Gaudelli (2007) various publics, p. 488; Parker & Camicia (2009) p. 69). Global citizenship as such emphasizes “ethical responsibilities within a world community and the consciousness to act and resolve social problems” (p. 96). Social problems may extend to issues including environmental concerns. Myers (2006) added “The inability of nations to solve problems such as environmental degradation, migration, ethnic genocide, and poverty are signs that new forms of governance are needed” (p. 371). It it compelling to note Myers’ (2006) inclusion of environmental or ecological crises alongside what may otherwise be considered human or social issues. This may suggest no distinction in terms of overall influence of affairs and furthers notions of interconnectedness and interdependence that run through this discourse.
Ethical responsibilities include concerns for sustaining and protecting earth – the space alluded to by Johns (1978) is further emphasized (see also Gaudelli, 2007, p. 485).

Within the transnational discourse we see attempts to connect with other discourse categories, most notably reconstructionist and cultural discourses. Johns (1978), for example directly quoted the multiculturalist mantra embedded within the cultural discourse when articulating a commitment to dialogue across difference: “This is a commitment to oppose all dogmatisms, all closed systems, and all intolerance of cultural or individual differences. This commitment gives moral direction but also moral freedom. It is a commitment to unity within diversity” (p. 22). Clements (1990), in his critical stance on schools, referenced schools as sites for citizen soldier production. This resonates with Marciano (2001) who made similar assertions in his arguments for civic literacy in schools (see p. 538-539). Other attempts to connect are less substantial; for example, Myers (2006) mentioned that global themes are often merged with multicultural perspectives within curricula.

The transnational discourse’s association with Global Education is evidenced by fields most frequented and is furthered in light of the most common works cited within its discourse, which include Gaudelli’s (2003) *World Class: Teaching and Learning in Global Times*, Ibrahim’s (2005) “Global Citizenship Education: Mainstreaming the Curriculum,” and Thomas Friedman’s (2006) *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*, all cited 2 times (see Appendix K: Tables K4 and K6). Within the transnationalism discourse the discursive formation binding the conversation includes: citizenship is a form of membership to local, national, and global communities and requires an understanding of how these communities are reciprocally connected.
Penumbra (Technical): Making the Case for Shared Understandings

Within TRSE’s attention to citizenship a discourse emerged that did not directly advocate a form or type of citizenship but rather argued for clarity and consistency concerning the concept. This discourse category, which I will refer to as Penumbra, was often packaged and delivered in a voice that would resonate with practitioners first and researchers second. Other discourse categories have argued for clarity concerning citizenship, but for different means; e.g. civic republicanism has called for clarity in the name of attaining measurable and accessible learner outcomes. Within the penumbra category, however, authors advocated consistency as a mechanism for crowding out the influence and interest of groups including textbook companies and other curriculum developers (see Longstreet, 1985; Vansledright & Grant, 1991, 1994). Longstreet (1985) for example sounded the alarm for an entire citizenship curriculum independent of the social studies:

Without having a knowledge base about citizenship independent of the social studies, curriculum developers each establish their own rationale for the design and selection of content. In effect if the curriculum establishes that learning to be a good worker is learning good citizenship, then work is part of the definition of citizenship. (p. 24)

Without such a knowledge base independent of the social studies, Longstreet (1985) argued that citizenship will remain the “phantom” of the social studies. Similarly, with regards to consistency, VanSledright and Grant (1991) noted that citizenship education literature authors operate under an assumed understanding of citizenship: “With rare exceptions authors use language without definition, phrases like “civic knowledge” and “civic life” are constantly asserted throughout texts without adequate referant” (p. 296). Ultimately Vansledright and Grant (1991) advocated the need for shared understanding, and the lack thereof, they asserted was troubling (p. 299). With further regard for shared understandings and the possibility of a
citizenship discipline, Parker (1992) metaphorically eluded to a described need: “An invisible target is impossible for an archer to hit, no matter how good her aim. The remedy surely is not to ban archery or ridicule the archer, but to find the target” (p. 496-497). Parker’s (1992) sentiments here were meant to address efforts within the field to abandon socialization elements of citizenship education (and focus exclusively on political knowledge), and in doing so, he made a cogent point for consistency (targets) concerning citizenship understandings and goals; something that is uniformly accepted across the penumbra discourse.

In addition to advocacy for shared citizenship understandings and/or “targets,” practitioner voice is positively valued within the penumbra discourse. Vansledright and Grant (1991), in their analysis of citizenship literature noted the absence of practitioner authors within journals, including TRSE and Social Education (p. 289), an indication that publication privileges the faculty voice. “It is troublesome that classroom teachers – certainly experts at many things and on many topics – all too infrequently share the expertise by exercising their voice in the pages of the journal and thereby the social studies field at large” (p. 298). Interrogating the possible implications of such a crowded yet segregated conversation further, Bohan (2001) argued that the prevalence of faculty authored scholarship and dearth of practitioner voices has resulted in social studies research that too narrowly focuses on its own scholarship (p. 518). Bohan (2001) went on to argue that the narrow insular focus has abandoned generations of scholarship concerning citizenship, to the detriment of the field (p. 521). Speaking to needs expressed across the penumbra, Vansledright and Grant (1994) in an effort to capture “portraits” of citizenship education in practice within elementary settings, discovered external factors teachers face including content coverage, classroom management/control, time constraints, and community standards (collectively) that inhibit citizenship as a priority with the social studies
classroom (see p. 332). Vansledright and Grant’s (1994) study in some ways managed to weave together the central theses that stretch across the penumbra narrative. Teachers may not be privy to scholarship (research) within the field of social studies education, possibly because their voice is simply not valued (see Bohan, 2001; Vansledright & Grant, 1991) within research contexts, but also, possibly, due to the external forces of teaching that may preclude that potential. Citizenship as such (considering the referenced quote), may not represent a priority within schools and for reasons some have argued necessitates or possibly substantiates calls for a citizenship discipline. The penumbra is uniquely positioned as one not dogmatically tied to how citizenship is interpreted and conceptualized and as such, may have leveraged space within its own discourse to address what may include systemic arguments for change that ultimately bridge the academe and the classroom.

**How has the Penumbra Discourse Emerged?**

Through the lens of discourse analysis, the concept of citizenship and the need for consistency concerning citizenship extends across the penumbra discourse; however, looking closer, it becomes evident that subtle interpretations and desires toward attaining consistency did not precisely align. In what may be considered the seminal work for the penumbra (in light of subsequent authors latching onto expressed views) Longstreet (1985) suggested the need for an exhaustive and comprehensive knowledge base of citizenship, one that extends beyond curricular conceptions or citizenship in relation to curriculum and beyond referential notions: “I am referring to a full-blown effort to develop scholarly knowledge about citizenship in all of its complexities and nuances” (p. 24). Embedded within the expressed complexities and nuances of such a knowledge base concerning citizenship, Longstreet (1985) interestingly cited the need for a neutral underpinning that frames the discipline she advocates: “the kind of study [discipline] I
am referring to needs to move, however imperfectly, toward being value-free” (p. 28). Certainly a difficult (if not impossible) task and one that “imperfectly” may fall severely inadequate as a qualifier. Considering the nuances and complexities mentioned, value-free citizenship – as she advocated – appears naïve in its delivery and for many, undesirable in its basic conceptualization. More critical scholars would suggest that competing values and the ensuing conflict are in fact the civic spaces most desirable, and represent the spaces where students grow and learn.

While Longstreet (1985) stressed a need for a robust, more than denotative definition of citizenship, Vansledright and Grant (1991) did just that: advocate a need for a referential understanding and definition of citizenship. In most of their work, Vansledright and Grant (1991) pointed to the “myriad” of ways citizenship is articulated within citizenship education literature, arguing in terms of how citizenship is theorized: “the relative matter of personal taste seems to prevail. Constructive diversity blurs into disconcerting superfluity” (p. 299). In arguing for more conversation/dialogue about citizenship and citizenship education, Vansledright and Grant (1991) suggested that “if language is used injudiciously, opportunities for misunderstanding and miscommunication about the potential for conducting an authentic conversation diminishes” (p. 299). It appears, while Longstreet (1985) and Vansledright and Grant (1991) agreed on consistency, Vansledright and Grant (1991) asserted the need for an agreed upon definition that would feed larger conversations to the ultimate benefit of the ways in which citizenship is learned and researched in schools. In closing their work, Vansledright and Grant (1991) cited Longstreet’s (1985) work, adding that her suggested discipline meshes nicely with their argument for more representative conversation (not limited to faculty but inclusive of
classroom teachers) and agreed upon understandings hovering key terms and concepts including citizenship.

Like Vansledright and Grant (1991), Parker (1992) also cited Longstreet’s (1985) work in making the universal point (within the penumbra) that citizenship as a concept remains vague in its interpretation within social studies education. Similar to Longstreet (1985), Parker (1992) advocated for change but instead focuses his efforts of citizenship goals – not limited to knowledge (Longstreet, 1985), or meanings (Vansledright & Grant, 1991). This work, he argued, is straightforward: “A curriculum committee needs to have conversations about the goal, exploring alternative meanings, and working toward representations of the goal that are practical” (p. 497). Parker (1992) did not explore the need for agreed upon territory with regard to meaning but does situate his work in the need for the practical, something which is readily agreed upon within the penumbra discourse.

The need for the practical becomes more evident within the penumbra as teachers increasingly become the focal point. Vansledright and Grant (1994) employed the work of Cornbleth (1982), specifically her three forms of citizenship education: illusory, technical, and constructive in making sense of how citizenship is actualized in real classroom settings. They discovered citizenship education among three classroom teachers was highly context-driven and no sole form remained consistent within any classroom or with any teacher. Their study suggested that “different forms or approaches emerge from one lesson to the next and even within lessons. The actual citizenship education practices of these teachers are complex and eclectic” (p. 331). Ultimately, Vansledright and Grant (1994) argued for more control for teachers and students (in particular) with regard to choices about their learning (subject matter is mentioned specifically) and less control residing with administrators and the community. Such
an argument represented a departure from discourses that advocate communal involvement (e.g. cultural and communitarian strands of civic republicanism). Considering choice and autonomy certainly would include interest, and by extension, values. At this point within the discourse, Longstreet’s (1985) vision – in theory - is simply acknowledged as a need for systematic study of citizenship education. The complexities of citizenship with consideration for choice cannot be divorced from values – something advocated by Longstreet (1985).

With regard to both intertextuality and interdiscursive efforts, the most cited works within the penumbra included Dewey’s (1916) *Democracy and Education*, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) *Defining the Social Studies*, Leming’s (1989) article, “The Two Cultures of Social Studies Education,” and Longstreet’s (1985) article, “Citizenship: The Phantom Core of Social Studies,” all cited 3 times within the discourse (see Appendix L: Table L2). The penumbra makes few efforts to connect interdiscursively with other discourses embedded within this study. The conversation at large is mirrored in the fields most referenced (see Appendix L: Table L1) with a heavy focus on curriculum (Social Studies at 52%) and also attention to curriculum change as evidenced by critical fields cited, including Educational Reform (4%) and Curriculum Studies (7%). The few attempts to connect with other discourses reflect a commitment to teachers and teacher voice that extends across the discourse. Vansledright and Grant (1991), for example, pointed to issues of privilege (a core component of more critical discourses) concerning the lack of teacher representation in research and practitioner journals:

> If the contributors of a significant portion of the community to that conversation are muted, then the substantive conclusions put forth to date are not substantive at all, but become problematic and open to serious question. These differences in voice make possible the speculation that classroom teachers and college and university faculty share
little more in common than an interest in similar academic subjects. (p. 298)

Bohan (2001) voiced similar concerns from teachers’ perspective when referring to arguments made within a research journal: “the use of postmodern jargon obfuscates her (the author) central message and provides few alternatives for social studies educators to employ when they make decisions. Specific and substantive proposals that inform practitioners would have proved more insightful” (p. 518). Insightful and substantive in these instances are viewed through the practical experiences of the classroom teacher, a voice that was argued, is disproportionately absent from the field of social studies education. Ultimately, the discursive formation that binds the penumbra discourse includes: citizenship within schools would benefit from shared understandings that consider the needs/voice of teachers and students.

I now turn my attention toward the discussion of this study’s research findings. Within the following chapter I will provide an overview of findings and then deposit those findings within this study’s theoretical framework for the purposes of protracting further meaning as it relates to broader implications of this work. Finally, I look at this study’s research findings through three separate yet connected lenses: 1) For Myself, 2) For My Practice, and 3) For Scholarship. In closing I consider possible future avenues for this work.
Chapter 5: Discussion

“Why?” “Why should I become a citizen?” This simple, yet complex question posed by my partner inspired this work that would ultimately challenge me to explore how citizenship, a fundamental concept to democratic education, has been represented in *Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)*; a journal arguably considered the “flagship” journal for research in social studies education (VanSledright & Grant, 1991, p. 289). *TRSE* has been published on an uninterrupted basis for more than 40 years, dating back to its first publication in October of 1973. Over this period *TRSE* has given considerable attention to the cause of citizenship and citizenship education in schools, a cause that the social studies field continues to value as its governing rationale and source of academic responsibility (see Barton & Levstik, 2009; Evans, 2004; Houser, 2009). According to its mission statement *TRSE* serves to “foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge and understanding of the purpose, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations” (NCSS, 2012, para. 1). As such, this study has examined the creation and exchange of ideas concerning citizenship within *TRSE* over a 40-year period (1973-2013) and through content and discourse analysis has specifically addressed the following two research questions:

- How is citizenship represented in *TRSE*?
- How have these representations emerged?

An understanding of these questions is suggested as positioning and preparing the field to respond most appropriately when charged with fundamental civic inquiries such as those which have inspired this dissertation study.
**Perspectives and Contribution**

The theoretical framework employed for this dissertation study represents a cross-pollination of specific works from Gallie (1956), Bourdieu (1996), Foucault (1977), and Stuart Hall (1997). *TRSE* as such, is conceptualized as a community: its editors, reviewers, readers, and contributors all comprise membership within the ecology and community that is *TRSE*. Within this context, citizenship is theorized as an essentially contested concept (Gallie, 1956) that is made manifest or materialized through cultural representations expressed within the community (Hall, 1997). Gallie’s (1956) essential conditions unique to essentially contested concepts served to expedite attention economically toward points of departure and dissention that frame how citizenship is theorized and maintained within the community. The site of convergence linking Bourdieu’s (1996) field and habitus, and illusio provided an environmental space in which to situate expressed logic stemming from underlying assumptions captured by Gallie’s (1956) work. Identified logic within the discourse categories were then held against the light of Foucault’s (1977) political technology of the body and panopticism along with Bourdieu’s (1996) illusio to consider implications further.

Within the literatures citizenship is consistently esteemed as the principle mission of the social studies in schools (Banks, 1997; Cherryholmes, 1980; Engle & Ochoa, 1988). A formal reverence for citizenship within the field of social studies education is traced back to the 1916 Report of the Social Studies and its recommendations which included civic capstone courses for grades eight and twelve (Evans, 2004; Martorella, 2005; Nelson, 2001; Vinson & Ross, 2001). More recently, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), a national representative body of social studies educators, researchers, and teacher educators has suggested the primary purpose of the social studies is the promotion of civic competence through the integrated study of the humanities and social sciences (NCSS, 2010, p. 3). Considering the relationship of the
social studies with the concept of citizenship significant energies have been extolled toward ascertaining what citizenship looks like in schools in relation to teaching and learning (e.g. Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1978; Cornbleth, 1982; Tomey-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Studies have shown that despite a collective vision within the field, factors not limited to the influence of standards and standardized assessment (Kahne & Middaugh, 2010; Levinson, 2012); teacher reliance on textbooks and other curriculum sponsored materials (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006; Segall, 2003); a reduction of class time dedicated to the social studies (Au, 2009; Brophy & Alleman, 2008; Levstik, 2008); and teacher biography (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1978; Osler & Starkey, 2005) have affected citizenship foci within schools, often resulting in less than desirable civic learning outcomes.

Given this contextual milieu as a backdrop and the confluence of factors involved, few studies have looked at the citizenship discourse (as a discursive practice) within social studies education to understand how the field has grappled with citizenship over time. The most notable attempt is that representative of Kathleen Knight-Abowitz and Jason Harnish (2006); a study that examined the citizenship discourse over a 13-year period across multiple fields including general education, social studies education, philosophy, and political theory and genres including academic journals, state standards, scholarly books, and curriculum materials. With such a range of disparate texts examined, which authors disclose as attained through random selection, and text origins (fields), it is difficult to assess cohesion within the corpus analyzed; something researchers have suggested as a desirable condition when analyzing texts (see White & Marsh, 2006). The exact number of texts analyzed is not disclosed for readers nor is the distributional ratio representative of fields or genres included or time periods. For these reasons and others stemming from a less than transparent methodology section the contribution of the Abowitz and
Harnish (2006) study may lie in question. This dissertation study as such, represents an attempt to address shortcomings mentioned and provide the field with a more robust glimpse into citizenship conceptualizations, their temporal trajectories, and the forces that mold them, of which the implications are further considered.

**Overview of Findings**

This study was inspired in-part by the disequilibrium experienced as the result of being asked, rather boldly and with directness, why should someone (a recent immigrant) apply for U.S. citizenship? Coupled with this, the study itself is contextualized or located within my professional journey from classroom teacher to the role and culture of the academe as an aspiring teacher educator and researcher. Essentially, this study is conceptualized as a two-sided coin, one with both professional and personal implications embedded across its contours: How could I, for example, react to my partner in a more meaningful way? Conversely, how could I leverage an understanding of citizenship that would be of more substantive value and mean something to the students I teach, and by extension, the students they will serve? I looked to TRSE for answers.

In retrospect, I launched into this study looking for clarity and any discernable guidepost that would make calm or in some way, harmonize the disequilibrium that remained with me. Searches for clarity however were disguised as such, and upon closer inspection revealed desires for immediate and accessible answers to questions including: How is citizenship defined in TRSE? What does TRSE have to say about what it means to be a citizen? And, how should citizenship be taught? Ultimately, desires for immediate answers (masked as clarity) to such questions proved unprofitable. Quests for referential notions of citizenship, for example, were simply not offered; citizenship, within the parameters of this study, was operationalized/defined
once (see Martin & Choido, 2007, p. 114). The absence of a denotative vision for citizenship, I would discover, was symbolic and representative of the direction I knew I was meant to take if real answers to this study’s research questions were to be uncovered. I had to take apart this discourse, examine its parts – get my hands dirty – and then attempt, however imperfectly, to put the pieces back together. In putting the discourse back together it would remain unchanged, but different – now carrying with it (and a part of it) my latent prints as visible evidence of my labors. Having said this, what follows is a brief summation of my findings that are then situated within the theoretical framework that guided this work; doing so, provides space for further discussion and consideration regarding implications.

In looking at this study’s findings, globally, and assessing how citizenship is represented within the TRSE anthology, the concept of citizenship can be located, in large-part, within four discourse categories: civic republican, liberal, cultural, and reconstructionist discourses. Collectively these discourses tally more than ¾ of the overall citizenship-related articles analyzed (78%). Interestingly, these discourse categories represent opposite ends of what can be considered a critical continuum concerning perceptions of the status quo of Western society (as evidenced within discursive formations), with civic republican and liberal discourses (both housed within Practical Perspective) situated along the non-critical to mildly critical far left of the spectrum, and cultural and reconstructionist discourses (both housed within Critical Perspective) occupying the highly critical location situated along the far right of the spectrum. The discourse categories of queer (2%), feminist (4%), peacebuilding (5%), transnational (6%), and the penumbra (5%) represent slightly more than 20% (collectively) of the remaining citizenship discourse within TRSE.
Further inspection and undertaking how these representations within *TRSE* have emerged, requires a bird’s eye view of where the discourses are mapped/located within the larger 40-year period of analyzed texts (see Figure 1). In looking at the articles included from a distance, two sub-periods emerge that inform a trajectorial understanding of the citizenship discourse housed within *TRSE*. By portioning the anthology in two parts, like a choice-cut of meat, the inner workings/movements or marbilization of the citizenship conversation becomes visible. Apportioning the discourse at the period ending Fraenkel’s editorship (1995) and starting that of Ross (1996) we begin to see this. The most immediate observation to be made, given the two examined parts, is the increased attention awarded citizenship since 1996: from 1973 until 1995 the discourse included 41 articles focused on citizenship, while the period 1996 to 2013 included 70 articles (an increase of more than 70%). For the periods 1973-1995 more than half of the articles included (54%) were identified as Practical Perspective (including both civic republican and liberal discourse categories) and less than 30% were identified as Critical Perspective – some editorial regimes included in this period represented 100% Practical Perspective (see Cherryholmes, 1973-1975; Popkewitz, 1979-1981; Neslson, 1982-1984). During the Ross editorial period (1996-2001) however, the journal experienced, for the first time, Critical Perspective occupying more than half (70%) of the citizenship discourses identified. The Critical Perspective continues to occupy more than half of the identified discourses over the next two, more recent editorial periods (Yeager, 2002-2007 (59%); Avery, 2008-2013 (67%)) – the residue of which, can even be found within Practical Perspectives, which have more recently (since 1996) included issues core to Critical Perspectives including the role of conflict in citizenship education, exposing stations of privilege (albeit from a distance), expanding notions
of rationalism or rationalistic thought, and also employing the fields of race, cultural, and ethnic studies as part of their own research narratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Represented</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Number of Articles Included</th>
<th>Discourse Categories Represented</th>
<th>Categories and Percentage Represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973 - 1975</td>
<td>Cherryholmes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Civic Rep. (1)</td>
<td>Practical 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 - 1978</td>
<td>Ehman</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Liberal (4) Civic Rep. (2) Feminist (1) Transnational (1)</td>
<td>Practical 75% Critical 12.5% Connected 12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979 - 1981</td>
<td>Popkewitz</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Liberal (2) Civic Rep. (1)</td>
<td>Practical 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982 - 1984</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Civic Rep. (1) Liberal (1)</td>
<td>Practical 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985 - 1987</td>
<td>Larkins</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Civic Rep. (3) Recon. (2) Cultural (1) Penumbra (1)</td>
<td>Practical 43% Critical 43% Technical 14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988 - 1990</td>
<td>Clements</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Liberal (2) Recon. (2) Transnational (2)</td>
<td>Practical 33% Critical 33% Connected 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 - 2001</td>
<td>Ross</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Recon. (9) Civic Rep. (3) Feminist (3) Cultural (2) Liberal (2) Penumbra (1)</td>
<td>Critical 70% Practical 25% Technical 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 - 2013</td>
<td>Avery</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Recon. (7) Cultural (6) Civic Rep. (3) Liberal (2) Transnational (2)</td>
<td>Critical 67% Practical 23% Connected 10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is evident based on this study’s findings, that the citizenship discourse within TRSE has increasingly adopted a critical stance with regards to the status quo in Western society and the institutional forces that maintain present political, social, and class structural arrangements. Ultimately such a stance frames how citizenship is conceptualized/communicated within TRSE and represents contributor worldviews that are evidenced in the discursive formations that bind discourse categories. So what does all of this mean? In search for answers, I find it necessary to situate the reported findings within the theoretical framework employed for this study, which resides in the work or Gallie (1956), Hall (1997), Bourdieu (1996), and Foucault (1977).

**Framing Findings**

First, in looking at the study’s findings through Gallie’s (1956) essentially contested concepts, the contested nature of citizenship becomes more visible, nuanced, and complex. Gallie (1956) supplies conditions for essentially contested concepts, which include an assertion the concept itself represents a valued achievement. The teleological nature of this condition is important in discerning notions that in particular, view democracy in relation to citizenship as a completed journey (see Callahan et al., 2008; Hurst, 1979) in comparison to those that would suggest democracy as an ongoing struggle (see Brown et al., 2011; Gordon, 1985; Ritter & Lee, 2009). This initial slice into findings utilizing Gallie’s (1956) work marks a complete separation of the bulk of Practical Perspective from the entirety of Critical Perspective and provides poignant insight regarding epistemological assumptions hovering citizenship interpretation. Within this context, some have viewed for example, founding documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution as esteemed (see Gutierrez, 2003; Kaltounis, 1994;
Leming, 1986) while others point to the inherent contradictions of their idealism with the actual lived experiences of people, particularly marginalized groups (see Pak, 2000; Pang et al., 1995; Preston-Grimes, 2007). Further, the achievement of the contested concept, according to Gallie (1956), must be of internally complex character in that its value is attributed to it as a whole. The complexity of citizenship is articulated within TRSE by its parts which would include parts/elements such as responsibilities, loyalties, and certain privileges, amongst others – but must also consider contextual environments where attributed parts/elements are exercised. This again, creates spaces of dissidence amongst contributors – some would for example, isolate citizenship within an exclusively political context (see Kunzman, 2006; Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Parker, 1997), while others have argued that such isolation privileges “publics” or public spheres of identity resulting in gendered conceptions of citizenship that undermine private spheres and contributions (see Hahn, 1996; Oesterreich, 2002; Stone, 1996). This condition unique to essentially contested concept reveals one of the more compelling sites of departure within TRSE’s citizenship conceptualizations; that concerning the role and/or influence of particularism within the context of universal or shared democratic affairs/spaces (i.e. the “public square”). This becomes most salient within the cultural citizenship discourse category and represents my decision to locate this discourse into two sub-categories: multicultural citizenship (aim is unity/collectivism) and cultural citizenship (focus is diversity/particularism). These should not however be interpreted as neat demarcations or mechanisms for compartmentalizing/sorting this conversation, but rather serve to underscore a philosophical division among scholars concerning views Beiner (1995) has described as liberal universalism and anti-liberal particularism (p. 12) in relation to group identity.
While the concept of citizenship (and its attributed parts) hold value within TRSE, this should not be interpreted as a universal claim: some have questioned the utility of citizenship within post-modern contexts (see Houser, 2005, 2009; Stone, 1996). Having said this, Gallie (1956) would also suggest, with regards to features of essentially contested concepts, that the concept itself must be modifiable in nature; able to adapt to changing circumstances. Reliance on post-modernism as a contextual frame within Critical Perspective, most notably within queer, feminists, and reconstructionist arguments, suggest a modifiable nature of citizenship based on present circumstance/encounters; post-modernism in this sense opens doors for temporary associations, shifting affiliations, and more substantially, the consideration/inclusion of alternative voices within citizenship narratives. The modifiable nature of citizenship is also evidenced within Practical and Connected Perspectives. Environmental stewardship, for example, though vaguely alluded early in the Connected Perspective concerning human/non-human relations, becomes more prominent within recent periods including John Myers’ work (2008) who foregrounds the correlative relationship of human poverty with environmental degradation. Additionally, the modifiable nature of citizenship is evidenced within the civic republican discourse, particularly during the early 1990s when the discourse annexes civil society into its political community and subsequently adopts a communitarian stance regarding the parameters of citizenship.

Further, Gallie (1956) suggests users of essentially contested concepts are cognizant of other uses of the concept and as such, advocate their own use/understanding must be maintained. Within TRSE evidence of such logic is tangible even within the parameters of given discourse categories, case and point civic republicanism’s declarations concerning active (Dinkleman, 2001; Wade, 1993; Wade & Yarborough, 2007) versus non-active (Jones, 1975; Leming, 1986;
Mac Isaac, 1986) forms of citizenship education. This inner-familial scuffling is captured most poignantly as Wade (1993) calls out Leming concerning his proclamation for civic knowledge, alone:

Knowledge alone has little effect on the goal of creating active citizens. I fail to see how an exclusive focus on knowledge would revitalize the profession rather, it would seem to issue the social studies, with its professed goal of active citizenship, a confirmed death warrant. (p. 158)

Further evidence is found within the cultural citizenship discourse, as some authors point to specific scholars whose views stand in direct opposition of their own. Citizenship views from scholars including Arthur Schlesinger and Diane Ravitch, for example, are used as launching pads for cultural scholars within TRSE to dive into their own rhetoric (see Miller-Lane, et al., 2007; Pang et al., 1995; Parker, 1997) – interestingly, assumptions stemming from Gallie’s (1956) first criteria for essentially contested concepts provides the basis for this departure, i.e. democracy as completed journey versus an ongoing struggle. This particular condition and process within TRSE becomes one without friction – almost seamless – given Gallie’s (1956) last assertion that essentially contested concepts represent the derivation of a concept, evolved from an exemplar. The concept of citizenship within the analyzed texts is defined once across this study; no exemplar is suggested. Citizenship in this sense embodies what some have suggested within the penumbra that citizenship interpretations are influenced more by tastes than scholarship (see Bohan, 2001; VanSledright & Grant, 1991). This begs the question, do we (as a field) need a denotative, referential notion of citizenship as some have argued (see VanSledright & Grant, 1991; 1994)? I address this particular question later in the chapter, but first I review findings through the works of Bourdieu (1996), Hall (1997), and Foucault (1977).
In looking at the study’s findings through the mentioned works, the discourse becomes more compelling. Inspection of agents who reside in this community (Hall, 1997) reveals a dearth of practitioner presence: only four classroom teachers within this study were identified as author(s). This fact could be explained away or pushed aside given the journal’s identity/label as research journal, but if thoughtfully considered, may suggest what Bohan (2001) has reported as an insular community within the social studies field and creates space for further questions including why practitioner voices are not visible within research journals? Surely they have something to say (see VanSledright & Grant, 1991, p. 297).

Considering this, the TRSE community can be conceived as a segregated community, crowded with university folk and its influence. If we further localize or situate the analyzed discourses within Bourdieu’s (1996) field the influence of the community becomes more visible. The community of TRSE, through a Bourdieuan lens represents a coveted location or site of recognition or consecration given its low acceptance rate (15% per Cabell’s Difficulty of Acceptance) and flagship status. Such factors constitute hard currency within Promotion and Tenure guidelines, research funding organizations, and opportunities for field advancement. Understanding the desirable nature of TRSE within this context may explain reasons to adopt its logic (illusio), which this study has shown is a critical one; even within Practical Perspectives we see evidence of those discourses experimenting with a critical logic within their own scholarship.

A significant increase in Critical Perspective within the last 20 years may represent the bi-product of what Hall (1997) has described as cultural representations if the reader demographic of TRSE is equally segregated as that of authors – furthering notions of insularity. The increased critical logic adopted by scholars/agents coincides with a surge of attention to citizenship within TRSE: since 1996, the number of citizenship related articles has increased
more than 70%. Such an increase situated within the milieu of Critical Perspective (logic) suggest both a productive and subjected body (see Foucault, 1977, p. 25). The adoption of Critical Perspective in this sense may reveal the evolving landscape of how citizenship is represented/understood within the field or may simply reflect agent attempts to stay competitive/productive given the condition of the conversation and its setting. The illusio however, as Bourdieu (1996) would suggest, is a two-fold transaction. As a field chooses to adopt a logic, conversely it chooses to abandon or distance itself from a competing logic. What about the classroom teacher? How are they affected in this transaction of logic? How does a generational paradigm, which may be indicative given this study’s research findings, affect classroom teachers? Such questions orient how I make further sense of findings that are now considered within the context of which teachers work.

**What Does this Mean for Teachers?**

What do the research findings from this study mean for classroom teachers? What about the teachers I work with in Virginia? What about the teachers I will work with in Nebraska? To further understand these questions (contextually) and in framing a response, it is important to situate the findings in the respective state standards that illustrate the context for teachers in both locations, first the state of Virginia. According to Virginia’s Standards of Learning (SOLs) for history and social science:

Standards for Civics and Economics examine the roles citizens play in the political, governmental, and economic systems in the United States. Students will examine the constitutions of Virginia and the United States, will identify the rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizens, and will describe the structure and operation of government at the local, state, and national levels. Students will investigate the process by which
decisions are made in the American market economy and explain the government’s role in it. The standards identify personal character traits, such as patriotism, respect for the law, willingness to perform public service, and a sense of civic duty, that facilitate thoughtful and effective active participation in the civic life of an increasingly diverse democratic society. (Virginia Department of Education, 2008, p. 1)

Many compelling snapshots can be observed from the mission statement for Civic Education in Virginia beginning with a recognition of the United States-centric nature of the statement. The context for student civic learning is entirely housed within an American context; the focus lies solely on nation-state citizenship, which would not suggest global citizenship as a priority within student learning. Additionally, the nature of citizenship advocated within Virginia Civic Education is highly political with emphases on understanding citizenship roles within political, government, and economic systems and also an understanding of the structures and operations of government. Absent from all mentions of politics/government are references to how these systems may contribute to social/class divisions or inequalities that would align with Critical Perspectives foregrounded in this study’s research findings. Also missing are critical skills common to discourses mentioned including critical thinking, developing arguments and forming opinions, synthesizing information to solve problems. The focus within the Virginia statement is on lower level skills articulated through verb-use including identify, explain, and describe. The mention of character traits provides more perspective regarding what is valued; traits such as patriotism, respect for the law, and public service. The intended civic learning outcome is obedience and securing and/or maintaining the common good. Collectively, the focus embodied within the mission statement would situate civic education in Virginia within the purview of a civic republican citizenship conceptualization – this would include evidence of
more recent trends within civic republican thought within TRSE including attention to the civil sphere of society with mention of public service and participation in the community. Further reason to locate the statement within a civic republican framework are noted given “effective participation” is not defined and the only mention of diversity is provided in relation to preparing students for a diverse world – what this means or any recognition of socio-political inequalities are simply not offered.

Nebraska’s standards for civic education do not include an accessible mission statement as offered with those from Virginia. In order to provide some consistency with this comparison I have included the civic standards for middle school grades (6-8) as they are to be applied to each middle grade. Social studies standards for Nebraska are divided into strands that include the major disciplines represented within the social studies and the standards listed below are representative of civic standards for students:

SS 8.1.2 Students will describe the roles, responsibilities, and rights as local, state, national, and international citizens and participate in civic service.

SS 8.1.2.a Describe ways individuals participate in the political process (e.g., registering and voting, contacting government officials, campaign involvement).

SS 8.1.2.b Describe the significance of patriotic symbols, songs and activities (e.g., Pledge of Allegiance, "The Star Spangled Banner", celebration of Memorial Day, Independence Day, Veteran’s Day, Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, American Indian Day, Constitution Day).

SS 8.1.2.c Demonstrate civic engagement (e.g., service learning projects, volunteerism).

SS 8.1.2.d Evaluate how cooperation and conflict among people have contributed to political, economic, and social events and situations in the United States.
SS 8.1.2.e Identify the roles and influences of individuals, groups, and the media on governments (e.g., Seneca Falls Convention, Underground Railroad, Horace Greeley, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Muckrakers, Booker T. Washington). (Nebraska Department of Education, 2012, p. 27)

In juxtaposing the research findings of this study with the Nebraska civic standards for grades 6-8, it is worth noting responsibilities and rights are mentioned at the outset in a reciprocal fashion consistent with civic republicanism, but more compelling is the inclusion of students as international citizens. This is notable given student association as international citizen is offered alongside local, state, and national political contexts. This would suggest an international or global perspective as equally valued within Nebraska schools and also suggest incumbent rights and responsibilities of Nebraska students within an international context. From there the Nebraska standards remain loyal for the most part to civic republican thought with a heavy political focus including attention to voting, election campaigning, and communicating with elected officials, and the promotion of patriotism through shared symbols and holidays. Civic engagement is teased out from political engagement (voting, etc.) and includes the third sphere of political community, civil society (service learning, volunteerism). Within the Nebraska standards is the introduction of conflict (paralleled with cooperation) and the extension of how conflict has contributed to situations not limited to politics. What that conflict might look like is not articulated nor are examples provided, unlike those offered for songs and symbols. Despite early mention of global roles, responsibilities, and rights, the Nebraska civic standards are located within the tradition of civic republicanism. This location is awarded given the highly political nature of the mentioned standards, which includes reverence for a shared identity through patriotic symbols, songs, and activities.
Looking at these standards through the lens of this study’s research findings we are left with what appears to be divergent paths. Social studies curricula and classrooms as represented by this look at civic education standards in Nebraska and Virginia suggests an un-critical look at citizenship; one that hinges on political knowledge of U.S. institutions and civic engagement within the confines of service learning and altruism. Essentially a civic republican outlook, which stands in stark contrast to the trajectory of the field of social studies education as evidenced by the critical nature of citizenship positions taken within TRSE. In looking at the divergent paths through Bourdieu’s (1996) work in particular, it appears that by choosing to adopt such a stance (logic) the field may be distancing itself from the object of its own research, that of real classrooms, teachers, and students. Certainly one would be misinformed to suggest or make the broad generalization that practical interpretations of citizenship (i.e. Practical Perspectives) are not valued within TRSE, but based on this study’s findings one can confidently suggest that practical notions of citizenship have been significantly reduced in proportion to other more critical forms. Civic republican and liberal notions (Practical Perspective) each were represented at 19% with regards to the citizenship discourse across this study. But more recently (since 1996) that number has fallen to 16% and 13% respectively, while more critical notions of citizenship including reconstructionist and cultural citizenship have increased. Across the 40 years of analyzed texts for this study the reconstructionist discourse made up 24% of positions taken and cultural included 16%. But since 1996, those numbers have risen to 29% and 20% respectively. Have we (as a field) furthered the metaphorical chasm separating the ivory tower of the academic hall from that of the practitioner and classroom students? In the race for more coveted locations within the field have we compromised our commitment to making a difference in education? I will visit such questions in the closing portion of this chapter. Next I explore the
implications of this study’s research findings through three perspectives: For Myself, For Practice, and For Scholarship.

For Myself

In looking at where this study began – captured by the response to my partner’s question – and holding that response up against how citizenship is articulated within the mentioned standards, there appears to be some residue or provenance indicating how I arrived at “so you can vote.” Considering the highly political nature of how citizenship is packaged and ultimately translated both in Virginia and Nebraska standards, there is plausible evidence to suggest that my response can be understood as a by-product of citizenship as culturally represented in schools. I was after all relying to a large extent on my six years of classroom experience when challenged as to why she should become a citizen. Certainly the act of voting is valued and promoted within both the Nebraska and Virginia standard documents. The consideration of my case as not one in isolation – something I hypothesized early on – has been corroborated by this study in the numerous articles indicating the struggles of classroom teachers to articulate a clear vision for citizenship in their classrooms (Dinkleman, 2001; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004; Prior, 1999). So how do I respond now?

Before addressing this, I find it compelling that in retrospect my search for answers to how citizenship is represented in TRSE, I was initially guided by desires for clarity and with this, resolving the disequilibrium I experienced. By clarity I mean answers to questions that would efficiently sweep across the landscape of this study, e.g. what is citizenship? Or, what does it mean to be a citizen? My quest for clarity in terms of an accessible/referential understanding, for example, proved futile. Across the terrain of this study, citizenship was defined once. Could this explain why I could not articulate a meaningful response to my partner’s question? If so, how
has this affected the way I would respond to this question now? Do we need a referential understanding/definition of what citizenship means as some have argued?

Having discussed the general outline of this study with many people, I have discovered how impactful that question has been for others. I cannot say for certain whether people are just taken aback given my response to her question (considering my biography) or whether their interest lies more in the perfect storm of an environment her question was ultimately deposited. Regardless, people have connected with the narrative (including Walter Parker) and with this many have asked how I would respond now if asked the same question. I have given significant attention to this and have drawn inspiration from how my partner responded to “so you can vote”, which was her immediate harangue detailing an unhappiness with American politics. In that moment it quickly became obvious she had not adopted a blind love for her host country and government but rather criticized it for taking positions that contradicted her own values. She was not afraid or willing to accept things at face value but wanted instead to seek change and hold leaders accountable to ethos she held dear, ethos that expanded beyond the reach of nation-state borders and were applicable to all humans. Given my inspiration from her and having now experienced 40 years of citizenship within TRSE, I locate my own thoughts and work at the cross-section of cosmopolitanism and that of the porous spheres of the feminist tradition and queer discourse in light of my inclination and preference for blurring public/private facets of identity. I find it difficult to divorce my private life from public life. I recognize the inherit tension within a pluralistic society that is captured when these “facets” collide. I think it healthy however, to embrace the site of impact not limited to public/private dualisms but rather, including the totality of forces that shape notions of self including citizenship. As such, I do not locate myself singularly within any discourse but rather see myself navigating between
interpretations not limited or fixed to any one stance. With that I believe there is an essential tension necessary for continued growth.

**For My Practice**

So how does this study contribute to my work with pre-service teachers? Many teachers, as evidenced within this study (Dinkelman, 2001; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004; Prior, 1999) have difficulty articulating a clear vision for citizenship education in their classrooms – consistent with my own station. With this, TRSE scholars have advocated safe learning spaces for pre-service teachers to question their own assumptions concerning citizenship and explore how those assumptions inform/frame how we approach citizenship with students (Bickmore, 2004; Blankenship, 1990; Carter, 2004; Castro, 2013; Shinew, 2001). As Dinkelman (2001) reminds us, “If social studies is going to improve its record as a form of democratic citizenship education, teacher education must help beginning teachers cultivate personal theories of teaching that make sense of what it means to educate for democracy” (p. 637). With this, and thinking about future contexts and my work with pre-service teachers, I feel it necessary to aid students in accessing their own assumptions concerning citizenship, including positions of privilege and worldviews. Centering those beliefs in the context of teacher education necessitates a safe space where this can fruitfully transpire. But what does this look like? In working with Dr. David Hicks as part of social studies methods at Virginia Tech, we engage our students in an activity that I will take with me and one I feel provides a safe access point into positionalities and potential states of privilege. This activity, very simply, asks students to list the top 10 individuals they feel should be taught in U.S. history, World history, and Government. The assignment then asks students to list the top 25 events that should be taught in the listed disciplines. Ultimately we have discovered that the individuals/events listed by students are characterized by wealthy, white
males, e.g. Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Franklin Roosevelt amongst others. This activity then requires students to compare their lists to the Virginia’s Standards of Learning (SOLs). At this point students recognize how the individual/events on their lists closely mirror those representative of the SOLs. The students begin to realize how their own educational biography and learning have been impacted by standards, but also begin to scratch out an awareness regarding whose history we value? This type of an assignment serves as a safe window into assumptions in that it provides students with distance (the initial focus is on the lists and standards) but also provocative and personal enough in nature that it forces students to consider what they value. The capstone of this activity pushes students to question, based on their lists, what does this mean for classroom students who are not represented on their lists?

This study and my journey has foregrounded the need for the development of theory alongside classroom pedagogy and content knowledge within the context of social studies teacher education. As a teacher educator I find it my responsibility to encourage students to locate their own understandings of citizenship and provide learning experiences that call those understandings into question – essentially replicating the disequilibrium that launched this study. If citizenship is to be considered a fundamental principle to the social studies certainly teacher educators should encourage students to grapple with assumptions and world views that ultimately frame citizenship understandings. But such intrapersonal challenge, I feel, needs to occur in a safe environment where students are appropriately supported and encouraged to embrace tension and productive ambiguity within the scope of citizenship education.

For Scholarship

One of this study’s greatest contribution to the field of social studies education is that it provides the field with a conceptual map indicating how citizenship has been conceptualized and
theorized (indicative of 9 identified discourse categories) within the field’s discourse over a period of more than four decades. Equally significant, this study through the use of discourse analysis, has provided the field with perspective regarding epistemological assumptions concerning citizenship that are evidenced in discursive formations that bind discourse categories and ultimately frame how citizenship is conceptualized. Considering discursive formations, this study provides the field with four overarching citizenship Perspectives (Practical, Critical, Connected, and Technical) that situate or house the nine identified discourse categories within this study within a larger contextual frame.

In addition, this study has shed light on questions surrounding the possible chasm separating the academe and the practitioner that is made manifest in the divergent paths the representative parties appear to be taking, and by the lack of representation of practitioner voice across this study (only four article authorships were attributed to classroom teachers). In this context, this study represents a call to the field in terms of considering the connection of research and practice. Subtle signs supportive of such a call are evidenced within the parameters of texts analyzed for this study, including VanSledright and Grant (1991) who through analysis of social studies journal authorships and conference programs discovered an alarming disproportion with regard to contributor demographic (professorate/practitioner) and in doing so, pointed to the larger implications when practitioner voices are muted within the community:

Without casting blame or suggesting that all journals and conference programs change their practice by reserving proportional representation for classroom teachers, we are nevertheless concerned about a substantial number of community members who are unheard and who seem unrepresented. The membership of a minority - the college and university faculty - is clearly favored, and that of the majority - classroom teachers - is at
best underrepresented. The implications of this practice seem quite large. At a crucial level, it forces a reconsideration of the idea that multiple and diverse voices within the community can all have equal voice. As the voices of some are ensured, issues of status are raised that are incompatible with the need for democracy and equality of participation that seem so important to the viability of a community. At the same time, the substance of the conversation becomes suspect. If the contributions of a significant portion of the community to that conversation are muted, then the substantive conclusions put forth to date are not substantive at all, but become problematic and open to serious question. These differences in voice make possible the speculation that classroom teachers and college and university faculty share little more in common than an interest in similar academic subjects. (VanSledright & Grant, 1991, p. 298)

Considering this, Wade (1993) added that social studies researchers must make their findings more accessible to teachers and the general public (p. 159). However, she also added that the role of the social studies professorate is to provide leadership and guidance for social transformation, and that the professorate should not be dismayed by failed efforts to gain the support of teachers in this process (p. 159). While I agree with Wade’s (1993) assertion that research findings need to be made available to classroom teachers, her assumption of the professorate as leaders reintroduces the problem she’s trying to escape and privileges positions taken within research communities – furthering the chasm. Having said this, my call to the field does not suggest a redefinition of scholarship or in any sense a devalued recognition for the contribution of specialized work or academic publishing including journals such as TRSE. I respect scholarly outlets including TRSE and some day hope to find my own work in TRSE. What I am suggesting through the vehicle of this dissertation study is equal consideration of both
research and practice, or, as Sam Wineburg (2013) has recently suggested, equal consideration of real world factor with that of journal impact factor. For me I desire opportunities for both research and practice and appreciate the reciprocal relationship they afford social studies scholars.

So Where Do I Go from Here? What About this Work?

I continue to be intrigued by conversations concerning classroom teachers access to social studies journals. With this I would like to apply the design of this study to a journal that is perceived as practitioner-based. In the mentioned VanSledright and Grant (1991) study, they noted even within the practitioner journal *Social Education*, only 8% of authorships were solely attributed to classroom teachers (2% were identified as co-authors) over a three-year period (p. 290). How citizenship is represented within practitioner-based journals is an area that needs to be explored further.

With further regard to publishing, this study was unable to fully explore the role and perceived power of journal editors in terms of affecting the field’s citizenship discourse. Certainly evidence of that influence can be traced within the shifting trajectory of the citizenship discourse that was demonstrated during the Ross (1996-2001) editorial period, but how much of that is attributed to the editor and their vision? Are the changing trajectories as noted in this study simply a microcosm of new understandings and dispositions within the field? What about editorial leaderships post-Ross? Was a torch passed? What happens in the space of journal editor transition? This study has provided a context needed to explore such questions further.


Publishing.


Kabeer, N. (2002). Citizenship and the boundaries of the acknowledged community: Identity,


doi:10.1080/00933104.2012.724361

CA: Sage Publications.


Levy, B. M. (2011). Fostering cautious political efficacy through civic advocacy projects: A mixed methods case study of an innovative high school class. *Theory & Research in


doi:10.1080/00933104.2012.674867


doi:10.1177/003172171209400314

and participation. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.


Press.


doi:10.1080/00933104.2013.782528


doi:10.1080/00933104.2013.840717

Publishing.


*global awareness* (pp. 81-92). New York: Teachers College Press.


doi:10.1177/0038038590024002002


Appendix A: TRSE Citizenship Articles Included

TRSE Citizenship Discourse by Category


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Appendix B: EBSCO Host Article Matches for Key Term Citizenship


Eliminated: No attention to citizenship. Citizenship appears once in article and occurs in reference to “citizenship objectives” (p. 76) that are not articulated but generically should be considered when designing questions and levels of questions for social studies students.


Eliminated: No significant attention to citizenship. Citizenship appears once in article (p. 1) and refers to the demands of “citizenship” in a democracy in relation to rapid change, e.g. knowledge quickly becomes obsolete. The focus of the article is on critical thinking which certainly is an associated skill of effective citizenship, however, lack of attention to citizenship the connection is only inferred and the connection is not attempted.


Eliminated: This rejoinder features a dispute between former TRSE editor Cherryholmes and contributor Foshay over an article by Foshay and Burton (1977) – specifically Foshay and Burton’s use of John Rawls’ *A Theory of Justice* (1972). Cherryholmes is critical of the vagueness of the concept “justice” employed in their work, and by corollary citizenship. Foshay asserts Cherryholmes’ position proves the problem associated with “specialist” in education, a inference to Cherryholmes’ background as political scientist. Ultimately the dialogue is not concentrated on citizenship but ideological grounds concerning justice.


Eliminated: Abstract removed


Eliminated: Research in progress removed:


Eliminated: Publication is a response to a critical review of two works by Newman – *Education for Citizen Action* (1975) and *Skills in Citizen Action* (1977). The focus is solely on Newman’s rebuttal to what is viewed as an unfair and cursory examination of the mentioned works. Citizenship – outside of the focus of the works reviewed – is not taken up in this response.


Eliminated: Research in progress removed


Eliminated: Article is a critique of a TRSE study appearing the year previously. Focus is on that particular study’s methodology and how questions looming from that cause the authors to question the overall validity of its findings. Most criticism is aimed at quantitative aspect of study (it also feature qualitative methods) – the critique does not address citizenship.


Eliminated: Rejoinder removed.


Eliminated: Errata only.


Eliminated: Citizenship is not a focus of this article. The article is essentially a content analysis of history and civic texts from the 19th and 20th centuries. While the study does a nice job of foregrounding both period texts with avoiding social problems, inculcating students with patriotic beliefs, and promoting a general unproblematic worldview (critical in nature), citizenship is not addressed within its contents.


Eliminated: Article is a review of research concerning economic reasoning in children, specifically how Piaget’s cognitive development theory is applicable for future research in this area. Citizenship is not an intentional focus of this article – citizenship appears four times, all within the first paragraph.


Eliminated: Article uses Huebner’s six modes of language to analyze social studies publications (including TRSE) and in doing so, unpacks how each mode is evidenced through the mentioned materials. Citizenship is reported but only as a bi-product of analysis – no significant stance on citizenship taken. Citizenship is not a focal point of this article.


Eliminated: Article reassesses previous work of Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978) – Three Traditions – by surveying 90 in-service teachers with regards to their teaching styles. While Citizenship Transmission is one of the three traditions considered, no specific attention is given to citizenship as a concept and as such, no significant stance on citizenship is taken. The authors
suggests that the traditions do not operate in isolation but rather teachers (either consciously or subconsciously) mediate between all three traditions as part of their practice. Teachers who were identified as being more Citizenship Transmission oriented in their styles/beliefs did score higher on a sub-scale which measure levels of dogmatism.


Eliminated: Abstracts removed.


Eliminated: This study addresses the issue of generalizability of research data across NAEP data, specifically Social Studies/Citizenship NAEP data collected. Citizenship is not a focus of this study but rather a source of data from which the author’s make their point concerning delimiting generalizability of research results. Citizenship data is only employed because of its accessibility – no stance taken regarding citizenship as a concept.


Eliminated: Although this study does take a critical stance on perspectives of pre-service teachers’ attitudes (particularly Social Studies as Citizenship) this attention is minimal. The article follows student perspectives regarding the social studies and how those play out/effect their instruction during student teaching placements. From a distance the author critically reports how some students encouraged an unquestioning loyalty toward the nation state. This only surfaces as a small portion of this study and this is not considered an area of focus. The focus centers on ascertaining and tracking student perceptions of the social studies across their teacher education experiences.


34. CIVIC REPUBLICAN: Leming, J. S. (1986). Rethinking social studies research and the goals of social education. *Theory & Research In Social Education, 14*(2), 139-152.


Eliminated: Article explores the history of the Expanding Environments elementary school curriculum. The focus is whether recapitulation theory serves as a defensible framework for conceptualizing social studies foci in the elementary grades. The article is mainly a history of the expanding environments curriculum with minimal attention to citizenship. The author suggests that its simplicity and unproblematic approach will contribute to its resiliency looking forward.


Eliminated: Article is a biography of Emma Willard and recounts her contributions to the social studies field through her many textbook publications. Citizenship, despite being an interest of hers is not a focus in this piece – either from Willard or Nelson (article author). Citizenship is only mentioned twice throughout the article – once in the abstract and once in the conclusion.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Response to book review removed.


Eliminated: Response to book review removed.


Eliminated: The article traces social studies skill sets advocated across much of the twentieth century. Through document analysis the authors identify specific skill sets to emerge within decades beginning with the 1920s. Citizenship skills, thinking skills, and inquiry are most commonly cited. The mention of citizenship and citizenship skills are only historical references to what was reported during specific time periods that were assessed. No original author opinion/stance is offered.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This editorial note is a simple description of the contents of this particular issue. “Citizenship” appears once and is only a reference to an article by Wraga (1993).


   Eliminated: Errata only.


   Eliminated: In this editorial note, the editor explains publication views regarding manuscript length and also the review process. “Citizenship” is only mentioned in a description of the Sears (1994) article to appear in this specific issue.


   Eliminated: Historical analysis with minimal attention to citizenship. Focus of article is on pro-social actions (e.g. scrap drives, stamp sales) taken by elementary school teachers during Second World War to promote patriotism and achieve common goals.


Eliminated: This study surveys 200 social studies methods professors about their beliefs regarding academic freedom in the K-12 classroom and the extent to which issues involving academic freedom surface in their own instruction. Findings suggest most support academic freedom but rarely incorporate it as part of their methods classroom instruction. While academic freedom is certainly a topic of relevance to citizenship the connection is not made within this article by the authors nor do they provide any substantial attention to citizenship. “Citizen” appears only three times in this article – once in abstract and twice in section leading up to methodology.


Eliminated: This article is a quick reflection upon the first 25 years of *TRSE* and a look at research motivating factors within the field of social studies education. The author’s overall theme is that future research need be more intentional with regards to the needs of the classroom teacher and their students. While citizenship is mentioned within the reflection’s title it is not significantly addressed within its contents. Citizenship, according to the author, has been viewed as a by-product of curriculum that avoids attention to the environmental factors within classrooms. Despite this critical – yet generic stance, the author does not offer additional attention to citizenship of significant substance.


Eliminated: This study examines eight high school economics teachers’ perceptions about the course they teach and the rationale/significance of economics curriculum on the lives/futures of students. Citizenship emerges as a theme with regards to a rationale for economics, i.e. economics as good citizenship. The author does not interrogate notions of citizenship expressed and thus does little more than report what participants offered. The study does however interesting insight on the significance of teacher beliefs and how those impact day-to-day classroom experiences (p. 395-6, 406-7).


Eliminated: This article is a history of the life of Hannah Adams - a textbook writer during America’s infancy. The article foregrounds her contributions including promoting religious tolerance and gender equality by adding historical female figures such as Anne Hutchinson in her texts. Despite promoting such traits – that are equated with citizenship education – the author (Schwartz) rarely offers their own take on citizenship. Citizenship as such, is only mentioned or reported from a historical viewpoint and only from the view of the historical actor (Hannah Adams).


Eliminated: Eliminated because the author does not offer own opinion with regards to citizenship but rather foregrounds commonalities that extend across this issue of TRSE and in effect warrant the editorial note’s title “Connected Citizenship”. This does however offer insight into how a collection of articles may be paired/published in the same issue.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This note from the editor serves as a preface only for this particular issue’s contents. Citizenship in only mentioned in the context of reporting how it is suggested within the mentioned works.


Eliminated: Authors do not take a discernable stance on citizenship. Focus is on teacher candidate pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) within the civics classroom, specifically within elementary teacher education programs.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This note from the editor serves as a preface for this particular issue’s contents. Citizenship in only mentioned in the context of reporting how it is suggested within the mentioned works.


Eliminated: Although citizenship is mentioned frequently within this article it is done so in the context of how elementary teachers rationalize the inclusion of social studies as a core subject. The author – in his own voice when commenting on citizenship – only speaks and general terms and offers no decisive opinion to mention. The focus of this article is not citizenship but on the marginalization of social studies in the elementary grades.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Authors do not promote a particular form or forms of citizenship but rather interrogate two widely recognized empirical studies that focus on citizenship education. They argue that these studies and empirical studies in education more broadly suggest recommendations for practice that are “analytically connected to the researched concepts” (p. 401). The study essentially asserts that empirical studies do not effectively serve education (or citizenship studies) because of the value-laden nature of judgments involved that are not considered by researchers.


Eliminated: This note from the editor serves as a preface for this particular issue’s contents. Citizenship in only mentioned in the context of reporting how it is suggested within the mentioned works.


Eliminated: This study follows the development of Holocaust curriculum for children in Latvian schools, a location/country where the Holocaust is commonly avoided and intentionally overlooked for many reasons. Much of the article focuses on the democratic deliberation amongst both Latvian and American teachers in the curriculum design process and the decisions made along the way. Despite the inclusion of democratic deliberation and the promotion of rational/intelligent thinking (two key elements of liberal notions of citizenship), citizenship is not the focus of this study and as such receives minimal attention.


Citizenship is certainly a recurring theme within this study however, mostly viewed through a historical lens. The focus of this article is on the life and work of Nannie Helen Burroughs (1883-1961). As such, citizenship viewed primarily from a historical perspective distances the author to an extent from inserting their own thoughts regarding citizenship or citizenship education.


Book Review: Eliminated


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This study focuses on student development in the areas of historical empathy and perspective recognition. While both can certainly translate to skills associated with citizenship, this is not the focus of this article, in fact, the word citizen appears only once throughout the entire manuscript.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.

Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.
Appendix C: EBSCO Host Article Matches for Civics


Eliminated: Research in progress.


Eliminated: Citizenship is not a focus of this article. The article is essentially a content analysis of history and civic texts from the 19th and 20th centuries. While the study does a nice job of foregrounding both period texts with avoiding social problems, inculcating students with patriotic beliefs, and promoting a general unproblematic worldview (critical in nature), citizenship is not addressed within its contents.


Eliminated: The focus of this article is on the complexity of historical understanding and this complexity is made manifest in children. The author is critical of removing imaginative elements of historical understanding in education and calls for more attention in this area. Citizenship is not a focus of this article, in fact the word citizen does not appear at all.


Eliminated: The focus of this article is specific to teacher beliefs and underlying philosophies regarding history and the teaching of history and specifically how those beliefs/philosophies affect their students. Citizenship is not a focus of this study and the word “citizen” appears only twice further suggesting citizenship not being a significant focus for this work.


Eliminated: The focus of this study is on 11th grade students’ conceptual development concerning the social studies concepts of sovereignty (conjunctive) and comparative advantage (relational). Citizenship as a concept is not addressed in this study – at any level – the word “citizen” does not appear at all within the pages of this study.


Eliminated: Response to book review removed.


Eliminated: Response to book review removed.


Eliminated: This study is a meta-analysis of research concerning the impact of classroom climates on civic education. The study was eliminated because it features very little with regards to author beliefs regarding citizenship – virtually all of its contents can be summarized as a literature review of previous studies on classroom climate (most of which precede it by more than two decades); even conclusion portion of study is written in reference to other works. With the exception of suggestions for future research, this study simply reports what has been already written.


Eliminated: This work is a critique of Wraga’s article (1993) and its suggestion for an interdisciplinary approach to teaching and learning. The critique suggests the author (Wraga) should further unpack the rationale behind such an approach and when using an interdisciplinary approach stick to an issues/problems based curriculum. The critique does not have a focus on citizenship and thus eliminated.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This is a response to Angell’s (1998) study that focused on democratic deliberation in an elementary school setting. The authors criticize Angell for not involving students in real decisions and limiting them to smaller issues such as recess time and after doing so provide their own anecdotes as to what real democratic education looks like. The focus of this study is not citizenship but rather offering suggestions mostly stemming from providing students with choice in their learning.


Eliminated: Rejoinder removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This article is a history of the life of Hannah Adams - a textbook writer during America’s infancy. The article foregrounds her contributions including promoting religious tolerance and gender equality by adding historical female figures such as Anne Hutchinson in her texts. Despite promoting such traits – that are equated with citizenship education – the author (Schwartz) rarely offers their own take on citizenship. Citizenship as such, is only mentioned or reported from a historical viewpoint and only from the view of the historical actor (Hannah Adams).


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This work is a summary of one teacher’s “Homophobia Prevention” including detailed attention to resources and activities included. Despite addressing many topics, such as tolerance and awareness, related to attributes of citizenship the author never makes direct connections of unit to citizenship or citizenship education. Citizenship is not a focus of this article, in fact, “citizen” is not mentioned at all in the article’s contents.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This note from the editor serves as a preface only for this particular issue’s contents. Citizenship is only mentioned in the context of reporting how it is suggested within the mentioned works.


Eliminated: Authors do not take a discernable stance on citizenship. Focus is on teacher candidate pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) within the civics classroom, specifically within elementary teacher education programs.


Eliminated: This study analyzes recent (1998) NAEP test scores for Civics and Government. The study is critical of assumptions that students today simply do not know as much with regards to political knowledge when compared to adults. The study criticizes the NAEP test for focusing on the minutia of political structures and instead calls for inclusion of more relevant skills relevant for contemporary citizenship. Despite the mention of citizenship skills these are not unpacked for readers and when considered as a whole, this study does not give significant attention to citizenship – the focus is on the NAEP assessment and possible suggestions of future testing instruments that measure student political knowledge.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This note from the editor serves as a preface only for this particular issue’s contents. Citizenship in only mentioned in the context of reporting how it is suggested within the mentioned works.


Eliminated: This study analyzes Civics assessment scores across 70 years of assessment. The authors’ findings suggest that students today (4th, 8th, and 12th graders) have as much knowledge pertaining to civics and structures of government as students stretching back to at least a period of 70 years. This study does not demonstrate a significant focus on citizenship – the focus is on ascertaining student civic assessment scores and how those scores can be compared over time.


Eliminated: This study traces the evolution of the social studies curriculum, specifically through the lens of the Committee of Eight’s efforts during the early part of the twentieth century. The study suggests intentional efforts of behalf of the Committee to maintain a nationalistic history-centric curriculum as a mechanism for social cohesion and national identity given the changing nature of society at that time including the First World War. This study does not devote significant attention to citizenship or citizenship education – the focus instead resides in how the Committee of Eight’s suggestions affected curriculum development, which at this time (curriculum) dictated what teachers taught.


Eliminated: This study follows the parallel experiences of students and an instructor in a Foundations of Education college course. The study, written from the perspective of the instructor, isolates the problem of apathy and student boredom with regards to class readings and class discussions to the students own privileged educational experience. This self-study/teacher action research project is incredibly revealing regarding authentic problems faced by teachers today (not limited to higher education) but lacks an intentional focus to citizenship. The author
presents many critical vantage points concerning education but fails to make the explicit connection to citizenship or citizenship education.


Eliminated: This study follows young immigrants from the former Soviet Republic in the their newly adopted living and political environment of Israel. The focus of this study is the political attitudes of these youth – as determined by expressed sentiments concerning voting in upcoming Israeli elections – and the possible implications of recent immigration as factor on political attitudes/apathy. Despite voting and voting aspirations as central theme, little attention outside voting is awarded citizenship in article contents.


Eliminated: Focus of article is character education, specifically moral education and its need within the context of elementary social studies teacher education. Morality and the common good are central themes however, the connection of these themes to citizenship is not made explicit.


Eliminated: This brief letter from the editor serves only as a preamble to the issues contents. Citizenship is not mentioned.


Eliminated: Despite more attention to the concept of citizenship than most notes from the editor, the attention is minimal and thus difficult to interrogate author’s stance (at least to a degree with some level of objectivism intact). Note is primarily a summary of this particular issue’s contents.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This note from the editor serves as a preface for this particular issue’s contents. Citizenship in only mentioned in the context of reporting how it is suggested within the mentioned works.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: This article is a historical study of the lives of female African American teachers and reformers Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown – specifically with regards to how these pioneers contributed to character education during the early part of the twentieth century. Certainly citizenship would be considered an element of character education or vice versa however, this correlation is not made with intention and thus little focus is dedicated to citizenship or citizenship education.


Eliminated: This study focuses on student development in the areas of historical empathy and perspective recognition. While both can certainly translate to skills associated with citizenship, this is not the focus of this article, in fact, the word citizen appears only once throughout the entire manuscript.


Eliminated: Despite inclusion of civic-learning in the elementary years, the intentional focus on citizenship remains minimal. The focus is on service-learning that is situated within youth-adult partnerships. Characteristics of effective leadership styles within this context are provided.


Eliminated: This study looks at both student declarative knowledge (facts, locations, dates, knowledge of government, etc.) and student procedural knowledge (civic skills such as analyzing a political cartoon and reading a newspaper) and seeks to determine the relationship between the two by analyzing sample items from the 1999 CIVICED civics assessment taken by students in 28 countries. The findings suggest that basic declarative knowledge is requisite for more sophisticated forms of knowledge and also that in some students levels of declarative knowledge do not correlate with sophistication of procedural knowledge. The study also looked at teachers’ involvement with in-service development and found mixed results with regards to effect on student assessment outcomes. The focus here is entrenched in student assessment scores with regard to civic knowledge and does not (with concentrated attention) make the correlation to citizenship – little is offered with regards to citizenship throughout study.


Eliminated: This study explores the potential of a project-based approach to teaching and learning in a second grade social studies classroom. The study examines in particular whether second grade students in a low-SES district that employs such an approach can show measurable growth in regards to both pre and post benchmark tests and also whether these student scores are comparable to students in higher-SES school districts. The outcome showed significant gains in the tested areas of students in low-SES school districts and these scores showed no significant difference than scores of students from higher-SES school districts. Also highlighted in this study was the importance of meaningful authentic work that was of relevance to students and their community and also the need for flexibility with regards to the individual needs of classroom teachers. This study is focused on the potential of project-based learning in the elementary classroom and gives little attention to citizenship or citizenship education. Citizenship, when it does appear, is mostly limited to category titles of local assessments given
to students in this study, e.g. “Economics and public discourse, decision making, and citizen involvement”.


Eliminated: Book review removed.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.


Eliminated: Out of range.

Eliminated: Out of range.
Appendix D

Table D1

Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Civic Republican, 1973-1978 (3 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
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Table D2

Most Commonly Cited Works, Civic Republican, 1973-1978

<table>
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<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
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</thead>
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Table D3

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Civic Republican, 1979-1984 (2 articles within pd.)*

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Table D4

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Civic Republican, 1985-1990 (3 articles within pd)*

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**Table D7**

*Most Frequentied Fields of Reference, Civic Republican, 2002-2013 (8 Articles within pd.)*

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**Table D8**

*Most Commonly Cited Works, Civic Republican, 2002-2013 (Table D8 continued below)*

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Appendix E

Table E1

Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Liberal, 1976-1978 (4 articles within pd.)

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Table E2

Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 1976-1978 (Table E2 continued below)

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Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 1976-1978 (Table E2 continued below)

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<th>Editorial Period</th>
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Table E3
Most Frequentied Fields of Reference, Liberal, 1979-1984 (3 articles within pd.)

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Table E4
Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 1979-1984

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<th>Reference</th>
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Table E5

**Most Frequentited Fields of Reference, Liberal, 1988-1995 (5 articles within pd.)**

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Table E6

**Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 1988-1995 (Table E6 continued below)**

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**Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 1988-1995 (Table E6 continued below)**

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**Table E7**

**Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Liberal, 1996-2001 (2 articles within pd.)**

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Table E8

*Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 1996-2001*

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Table E9

*Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Liberal, 2002-2007 (5 articles within pd.)*

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Table E10

*Most Commonly Cited Works, Liberal, 2002-2007 (Table E10 continued below)*

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<td>Deliberation in education and society (pp. 3-24). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.</td>
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<td>Reference</td>
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Table E11
Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Liberal, 2008-2013 (2)

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### Appendix F

**Table F1**

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Cultural, 1985-1995 (4 articles within pd.)*

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**Table F2**

*Most Commonly Cited Works, Cultural, 1985-1995*

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<td>issues and perspectives (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn &amp; Bacon.</td>
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Table F3

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Cultural, 1996-2001 (2 articles within pd.)*

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Table F4

*Most Commonly Cited Works, Cultural, 1996-2001*

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Table F5

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Cultural, 2002-2007 (6 articles within pd.)*

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**Table F7**

**Most Frequentied Fields of Reference, Cultural, 2008-2013 (6 articles within pd.)**

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Appendix G

Table G1

Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Reconstructionist, 1985-1990 (4 articles within pd.)

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Table G2

Most Commonly Cited Works, Reconstructionist, 1985-1990

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**Table G3**

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Reconstructionist, 1991-1995 (3 articles within pd.)*

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**Table G4**

*Most Commonly Cited Works, Reconstructionist, 1991-1995*

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**Table G5**

*Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Reconstructionist, 1996-2001 (10 articles within pd.)*

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<td>Philosophy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Editorial Period</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counts, G. S. (1932). <em>Dare the schools build a new social order?</em> New York: John Day.</td>
<td>1996-2001</td>
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Most Commonly Cited Works, Reconstructionist, 1996-2001 (Table G6 continued below)

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Table G7

Most Frequentied Fields of Reference, Reconstructionist, 2002-2007 (4 articles within period)

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Table G8

Most Commonly Cited Works, Reconstructionist, 2002-2007

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</table>

Table G9

Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Reconstructionist, 2008-2013 (7 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Pedagogy</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race/Cultural/Ethnic Studies</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table G10

Most Commonly Cited Works, Reconstructionist, 2008-2013 (Table G10 continued below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Most Commonly Cited Works, Reconstructionist, 2008-2013 (Table G10 continued below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Appendix H

Table H1
Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Feminist, 1976-1978 (1 article within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Studies</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Research</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table H2
Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Feminist, 1996-2001 (3 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminist Theory</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Education</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methodology</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table H3
Most Commonly Cited Works, Feminist, 1996-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Appendix I

Table II
Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Queer, 2002-2007 (2 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LGBTQ Studies</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Safety/Violence</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Studies</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Pedagogy</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Education</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix J

Table J1

Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Peacebuilding, 2002-2013 (5 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peace Education</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Education</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Education</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Safety/Violence</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table J2

Most Commonly Cited Works, Peacebuilding, 2002-2013 (Table J2 continued below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Editorial Period</td>
<td>Number of times cited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Appendix K**

*Table K1*
Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Transnational, 1978-1980 (1 article within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Education</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five other fields</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table K2*
Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Transnational, 1988-1990 (2 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global Education</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Education</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Research</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table K3
Most Frequent Fields of Reference, Transnational, 2002-2007 (2 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global Education</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Justice/Human Rights</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table K4
Most Commonly Cited Works, Transnational, 2002-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table K5
Most Frequent Fields of Reference and Specific Works, Transnational, 2008-2013 (2)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global Education</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methodology</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table K6
Most Commonly Cited Works, Transnational, 2008-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Appendix L

Table L1

Most Frequented Fields of Reference, Penumbra, 1985-2001 (5 articles within pd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Education</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Studies</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Reform</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table L2

Most Commonly Cited Works, Penumbra, 1985-2001 (Table L2 continued below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Editorial Period</th>
<th>Number of times cited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Editorial Period</td>
<td>Number of times cited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>