Vocabularies of citizenship:
A survey of British Columbian secondary students' experiences and understandings in the field of citizenship education

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 2011

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Abstract

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Beginning in earnest in the 1990s, research and political communities have taken a strong interest in citizenship education both in Canada and worldwide, but in the context of secondary schools this has resulted in primarily theoretical papers rather than empirical analyses of student experiences. The student voice is particularly important to the study of citizenship education given the complexity of constructed civic subjectivities and the rapidly changing definitions of community, including the relationships between local, national and global. Canada has been characterized as post-national or even without identity, and its young people are caught up in the persisting narrative of young apathy when it comes to politics and civic duty. Drawing on theories of national and global citizenship, this exploratory mixed methods study of 104 British Columbian secondary students investigates student vocabularies of citizenship in order to map current youth understandings of citizenship and experiences in their secondary education. In discussing the results, I challenge the narratives of Canada as a meaningless signifier and youth as apathetic, and investigate scholarly concerns regarding the depoliticization of citizenship, and the potential conflict inherent to the globalization of youth identities. Finally, I discuss best practices in citizenship education with reference to established scholarly research and the student-based findings of the present study.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee ii
Abstract iii
Table of Contents iv
List of Tables vi
List of Figures x
Acknowledgments xi
Dedication xii
Chapter 1: Introduction 1
1.1 Personal background 1
1.2 Statement of the problem 2
1.3 Purpose and research questions 7
Chapter 2: Literature Review 10
2.1 Citizenship itself: Defining a problematic term 10
2.2 Citizenship as behaviour: Youth apathy or a shift in practices? 12
2.3 Citizenship as 'being': Defining a theoretical understanding of the modern citizen 21
2.4 Vocabularies of citizenship: Student-centered research 37
2.5 Educating the 'good' citizen: Best practices in citizenship education 40
2.4 Summary and definitions of key terms 50
Chapter 3: Method and Procedures 53
3.1 Design 53
3.2 Recruitment 54
3.3 Survey construction 56
3.4 Data collection and data screening 58
3.5 Analysis design 59
3.6 Scale validation 60
Chapter 4: Findings 63
4.1 Chapter outline 63
4.2 Demographics 63
4.3 Student vocabularies of citizenship in Wave 1 data 67
Q1: What vocabularies do young Canadians use to construct their civic subjectivities? 67
Q2: What does it mean to be a 'good' citizen in a particular context? 77
4.4 Investigating change: The role of education from Wave 1 and Wave 2 97
Q3: What role might the school play in shaping citizenship ideals? 105
Chapter 5: Discussion 117
Q1: What vocabularies do young Canadians use to construct their civic subjectivities? 117
Q2: What does it mean to be a 'good' citizen in a particular context? 122
Q3: What role might the school play in shaping citizenship ideals? 129
Chapter 6: Conclusion 134
6.1 Limitations and suggestions for future research 134
6.2 Summary of findings and conclusion 137
References 141
Appendix A: Supplementary Tables 162

Appendix B: Study materials 186

List of Tables

Table 1 *Percent of citizens who voted in last election* 16
Table 2 *Summary of reliability statistics for scales* 60
Table 3 *Frequencies of participants born in or out of Canada whose parents were also born in or out of Canada of Wave 1 data collection: Participant country of birth by Primary caregivers' birthplaces* 64
Table 4 *Participants' claimed citizenships in Wave 1 data collection* 65
Table 5 *Frequency table for places traveled and purpose of travel or immigration in Wave 1* 66
Table 6 *Comparative frequency table of participants born in or out of Canada whose parents were also born in or out of Canada in Wave 1 and Wave 2* 67
Table 7 *Summary of citizenship themes: "To me, citizenship means..." (n = 104)* 69
Table 8 *Item statistics and comparison of Ideal Conventional Citizenship (Conv) and Social-movement Related (SmR) scale items in current study and ICCS: "An adult who is a good citizen…"* 70
Table 9 *Voting intentions of all students: "When I am eligible, I intend to vote in…"* (n=103) 71
Table 10 *Voting intentions of domestic Canadian students: "When I am eligible, I intend to vote in…"* (n=81) 72
Table 11 *Item statistics and comparison of Predicted Conventional Citizenship (Conv), Predicted Social-movement Related (SmR), and Illegal Protest (I-P) items: "When I am an adult I might..."* 72
Table 12 *Item statistics for level of current engagement: "In my life I have already..." (n = 102)* 73
Table 13 *Item statistics for sense of political connectedness (n = 104)* 74
Table 14 *Item statistics for sense of community connectedness: "People in this group need to…" (n = 104)* 74
Table 15 *Item Statistics for sense of responsibility items: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X____ community"* 75
Table 16 *Item statistics for personal efficacy in Wave 1* 76
Table 17 *Item statistics for group efficacy in Wave 1 (n = 104)* 76
Table 18 *Item statistics for distinguishing concept – all respondents (n=104)* 78
Table 19 *Summary of Canadian theme categories: "To me, being Canadian means..." (n=104)* 78
Table 20 *Full table of Canadian themes: "To me, being Canadian means..." (n=104)* ... 80
Table 21 *Summary of Canadian symbols themes: "The three best or most important symbols of Canada are..." (Wave 1, n=104)* 83
Table 22 *Summary of claimed cultural associations in Wave 1 data (n = 104)* 84
Table 23 *Parameters of Canadian citizenship and Canadian values histogram (n = 104)* 85
Table 24 *Parameters of global citizenship histograms (n = 104)* 85
Table 25 *Summary of global citizenship theme categories: "To me, being a global citizen means..." (n=104)* 86
Table 26 *Full table of Wave 1 global citizenship themes: Written responses to "To me, being a global citizen means..." (n= 104)* 87

Table 27 *Comparative table of the parameters Canadian and global citizenship (n = 104)* 88
Table 28 *Canadian internationalism item statistics – all respondents (n = 104)* 89
Table 29 *Feelings of national/global conflict in worldviews and subjectivities - item statistics* 90
Table 30 *Proportional comparison of governance, values, and population fluidity within conceptions of Canadian citizenship (P_{CAN}) and global citizenship (P_{Glob}) in Wave 1* 91
Table 31 *Site of moral responsibility, national and global (Wave 1): "An adult who is a good citizen…"* 92
Table 32 *Site of moral responsibility items' statistical significance of proportion change from Wave 1 (n = 104) to Wave 2 (n = 51): "An adult who is a good citizen..."* 93
Table 33 *Domestic students' sense of responsibility to local, national, and international communities - histograms: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X____ community"* 94
Table 34 *National pride in domestic Canadian student responses - item statistics (n = 81)* 95
Table 35 *Communities of affiliation in domestic Canadian student subjectivities: responses to "_____ is important to who I am"* 95
Table 36 *Salience of being Canada for domestic Canadian students - item statistics (n = 81)* 96
Table 37 *Statistical significance of Likert shifts by item in Ideal Conventional (Conv.) Citizenship and Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship (SmR) scales from Wave 1 and Wave 2: "An adult who is a good citizen..."* 98
Table 38 *Comparison of Wave 1 and Wave 2 Predicted Conventional Citizenship (Conv) and Predicted Social-movement Related (SmR) items: "When I am an adult I might..."* 100
Table 39 *Statistical significance of Likert shifts by item in Predicted Conventional (P-Conv.) and Predicted Social-movement related (P-SmR) scales from Wave 1 to Wave 2: "When I am an adult I might..."* 101
Table 40 *Political connectedness and efficacy items' proportion change from Wave 1 to Wave 2* 102
Table 41 *Comparative table for voting intentions of all students: "When I am eligible, I intend to vote in…"* 104
Table 42 *Voting efficacy: "I am confident in my understanding of how these political systems work …" (n=104)* 104
Table 43 *Comparative table of descriptive statistics for sense of responsibility items: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, environmental, issues in my ___X____ community"* 105
Table 44 *Self-reported sources of learning (Wave 1, n = 104)* 106
Table 45 Histograms for Wave 2 evaluations of coursework 107
Table 46 *Comparative table for Wave 1 and Wave 2 responses to the prompt "Is it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'"? (n =104 and n=49, respectively)* 108
Table 47 Proportional change from Wave 1 to Wave 2 in 'Is it important to learn what it means to be Canadian' 108

Table 48 *Special programming students qualitative explanations of their quantitative responses to "Why it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'?" (n=58)* 109
Table 49 *Student-designed citizenship education in Wave 1: "What are the best ways for high school students to learn about citizenship? What lessons or activities have you found most useful or meaningful?" (n = 104)* 113
Table 50 *Student-designed citizenship education in Wave 2: If you could design courses or make policy, what would you say are the best ways for students to learn about citizenship? (n = 51)* 116
Table 51 Means of responsibility and efficacy items (n = 104) 122
Table 52 *Summary of open-ended qualitative themes: Wave 1 n = 104* 127
Table 53 *Comparative frequency table for age, grade, and gender of Wave 1 (n = 104) to Wave 2 (n = 51)* 162
Table 54 *Number of languages spoken by participants in Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection* 162
Table 55 *Primary language(s) spoken at home in Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection and averages from BC classrooms* 162
Table 56 *Claimed cultural associations in Wave 1 data (n = 104)* 163
Table 57 *Comparison of participants' claimed citizenships in Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection* 164
Table 58 *Full citizenship themes and contributing codes: "To me, citizenship means..." (n=104)* 164
Table 59 *Ideal Conventional Citizenship scale item histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen…"* 166
Table 60 *Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship scale item histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen…"* 166
Table 61 *Predicted Conventional Citizenship scale item histograms: When I am an adult I might…* 167
Table 62 *Predicted Social-movement Related Citizenship Scale and Illegal Protest item histograms: "When I am an adult I might…"* 167
Table 63 *Predicted conventional and social-movement related citizenship Wave 2 descriptive statistics: "When I am an adult, I might..." (n = 50)* 168
Table 64 *Predicted conventional and social-movement related citizenship Wave 2 histograms: "When I am an adult, I might..."* 168
Table 65 *Histograms for sense of political connectedness items (n = 104)* 169
Table 66 *Political connectedness item statistics Wave 2* 169
Table 67 *Political connectedness histograms Wave 2* 170
Table 68 *Histograms for sense of connectedness items: People in this group need to… (n = 104)* 170
Table 69 *Histograms for sense of responsibility items: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X___ community"* 170
Table 70 *Histograms for personal efficacy items in Wave 1* 171
Table 71 *Histograms for group efficacy items in Wave 1 (n = 104)* 171
Table 72 *Descriptive statistics for personal efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)* 172
Table 73 *Histograms for personal efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)* 172
Table 74 *Descriptive statistics for group efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)* 172

Table 75 *Histograms for group efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)* 172
Table 76 *Distinguishing concept items: Citizenship versus cultural group* (n = 104) ... 173
Table 77 *Distinguishing concept items – domestic Canadian respondents (n=81)* 173
Table 78 *Full table of Canadian symbols themes: Written responses to "The three best or most important symbols of Canada are... " Wave 1 (n=104)* 174
Table 79 *Item statistics for parameters of global citizenship and values (n = 104)* 175
Table 80 *Histograms for Canadian internationalism scale items – all respondents (n=104)* 175
Table 81 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth worldviews - histograms (n = 104)* 176
Table 82 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth worldviews Wave 2 item statistics (n = 48)* 176
Table 83 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth worldviews Wave 2 - histograms (n = 48)* 176
Table 84 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth subjectivities Wave 2 item statistics (n = 48)* 177
Table 85 *Feelings of national/global conflict in students' subjectivities Wave 2 - histograms (n = 48)* 177
Table 86 *Site of moral responsibility, national and global - histograms (Wave 1): "An adult who is a good citizen…"* 177
Table 87 *Site of moral responsibility Wave 2 histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen..."* 178
Table 88 *Site of moral responsibility Wave 2 descriptive statistics: "An adult who is a good citizen..."* 178
Table 89 *Site of moral responsibility item correlations in Wave 1 (n = 104)* 179
Table 90 *Communities of affiliation in student subjectivities (full sample): responses to "_____ is important to who I am" (n = 103)* 179
Table 91 *Communities of affiliation in domestic Canadian student subjectivities - histograms: responses to "_____ is important to who I am"* 180
Table 92 *National pride in domestic Canadian students - histograms (n = 81)* 180
Table 93 *Salience of being Canadian for domestic Canadian students - histograms (n = 81)* 181
Table 94 *Salience of being Canadian in Wave 2 all student responses - item statistics (n = 48)* 181
Table 95 *Salience of being Canadian in Wave 2 all student responses - histograms (n = 48)* 181
Table 96 *Correlation tests for Wave 1 constructs* 182
Table 97 *Correlations in Wave 1 domestic Canadian students feelings regarding national and global subjectivity belonging and conflict* 183
Table 98 *Wave 2 sense of responsibility item statistics: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, environmental, issues in my ___X____ community"* 183
Table 99 *Wave 2 models of ideal citizenship item statistics: "An adult who is a good citizen..."* 184
Table 100 *Wave 2 models of ideal citizenship histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen..."* 184
Table 101 *Wave 2 evaluations of coursework item statistics (n = 51)* 185

List of Figures

Figure 1 Letter sent to teachers inviting participation 186
Figure 2 Script delivered by teachers to students to introduce the project 186
Figure 3 Wave 1 Survey items 188
Figure 4 Wave 2 Survey items 192
Figure 5: Debrief sheet provided to students after study during interactive presentation 196

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Dedication

For my grandmother, who inspired a love of learning in our family.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Personal background

This project was born of observations in classrooms where students discussed their civic selves with energy, critical thinking, and openness; their passion led me to commit to an empirical exploration of issues that could hardly be more relevant as the nation acknowledges 'Canada 150'. In an age of interconnectivity, diversity, and increasingly globalized systems of economics, culture, and ethical governance, our education systems strive to prepare knowledgeable citizens who can act confidently and responsibly in a complicated twenty-first century milieu. Educators can pull on technology, textbooks, and their own training to build foundational knowledge and connect communities in conversation, but they are ultimately engaged in one of the most inherently personal and personalized aspects of a secondary student's coming of age: building a personally relevant understanding of the individual in society. Reflecting on my own experiences, I found myself shamefully under-educated regarding my place in relation to my own national democracy and local systems of policy-making, let alone any globalized governance, and so became fascinated by the question of how we open spaces in our classrooms for youth to consider themselves as empowered citizens at various levels of geographical affiliation. During the classroom observations that inspired this project, one teacher of a particularly energetic and innovative program put it best when he summarized their year-long exploration in two questions: What does it mean to be Canadian, and what is Canada's responsibility to the world? These are questions I had never been asked in any memorable or personally meaningful way during my own journey through a British Columbian secondary education, and I felt driven to understand how educational experiences and philosophy were shifting or varied in this arena.

As I waded into published research, pulling together what we already know about methods by which secondary school educators approach questions of citizenship and student experiences of such classrooms, I sensed that this had not been adequately addressed through empirical research. Despite scholars' repeated, emphatic calls for attention to citizenship education, our current scholarship contains more in the way of theoretical meditations on curriculum documents' potential than concrete data on student

experiences. Where there is empirical data, it tends to focus on post-secondary students in opt-in specialty programming rather than our provincially mandated mainstream secondary education. Although there are individual vehement voices on the Canadian scene and exciting large-scale multi-national empirical measures (in which Canada unfortunately does not often participate), these voices in the wilderness offer only glimpses of a rich territory for scholarship. If one thread is shared between them, particularly in the Canadian context, it is a critique of political lip-service and lack of action when it comes to addressing citizenship education (Osborne, 2000).

Perhaps researchers and politicians alike shy away from the extreme of potentially ruinous association with radical nationalism and shameful historical attempts to use public education as a means of assimilating rather than honouring diversity. As I developed a proposal for research to meet ethical standards, there was much to be considered in a sensitive approach to the question of 'what it means to be Canadian', and much to be understood the historical constructions of this question. At the same time, popular opinion seemed to believe the issue of national versus global concerns would naturally fade away as we looked to a globalized future: "As the twenty-first century unfolds, nationalism is fast losing ground. More and more people believe that all of humankind is the legitimate source of political authority, rather than the members of a particular nationality, and that safeguarding human rights and protecting the interests of the entire human species should be the guiding light of politics" (Harari, 2014, p. 207). As this research project progressed, however, our global community was rocked by waves of a refugee crisis and of terrorist threats; the rise of many strains of a populist nationalism has sought to strengthen borders and reassert national cultural identities for fear of the Other. As my analysis of youth vocabularies of citizenship developed alongside these global trends, two questions continued to frame my own consideration of current events: What *does* it mean to be Canadian, and what *is* Canada's responsibility to the world?

1.2 Statement of the problem

Citizenship education is a specific program of study, or a theme embedded in other subject domains, that aims to equip students with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values essential to an active role in local or global communities (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon,

Kerr, & Losito, 2010). Its implementation is problematized by issues in research approaches, issues specific to citizenship narratives, and issues in contextualizing best practices.

Issues in research: Clarification of terms and goals, and empirical data

Research into how and how well different countries offer citizenship education is complicated by the contestation of the term 'citizenship', which is used alternately to reference knowledge of political systems or adherence to a moral code, a personal responsibility to 'be good' or state-granted rights, competency in social tasks for daily life or activist awareness on a global scale (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & ten Dam, 2013); thus, citizenship education search terms might include or be synonymous with multicultural education, character education, moral education, global education, social studies or studies in civics. The problem of search terms makes synthesizing understanding in the field difficult (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, ten Dam, 2013, p. 170). What these areas of study share is a core belief that values, attitudes, and knowledge influence behaviours, and that by addressing the former we can create a better world through the latter. Thus, the individual's process of negotiating experiences that affect group identities and civic subjectivities must be at the core of our scholarship, alongside the more common priorities of teaching civic skills and advocating for accessible civic institutions.

Regarding civic subjectivity, recent reviews of research demonstrate a move away from monolithic claims of national identity in curriculum documents toward activist and inclusive -- and therefore multiple -- conceptions of citizenship education in Canada (see Lewis, 2011, for discussion). Similarly, Liu (2012) notes the trend toward a proliferation of new labels to explain youth's highly personal approach to political engagement: "politics of choice (Norris, 2002), 'lifestyle politics' (Bennett, 1998), 'sub-politics' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) or simply 'new politics' (e.g. Calenda and Meijer, 2009; Dahlgren, 2007)" (p. 55). The proliferation of terms is evidence of an admirable desire to provide inclusive narratives for citizenship in Canada, however, any move from an accepted norm is bound to spark controversy and debate. To speak of education with reference to personal or group identities and affiliations is to open a Pandora's box of politics, even in ostensibly multi-cultural and progressive Canada (see for example

Maclean's 2012 article "Why are schools brainwashing our children?" which challenges "the new 'social justice' agenda in class pushing politics at the expense of learning", p. 20). In pursuit of transparent, proactive education policies, the sensitivity of this field makes a robust, independent research community absolutely essential. Clarification of terms and goals, and empirical data are needed.

Issues in citizenship narratives: Youth apathy, subjectivity conflict, and depoliticization

Moving from research framework to content, the feeling that the democratic practice of voting -- alongside other conventional measures of participation -- has been losing ground with each generation has been well documented and discussed in Canada (Gidengil, Blais, Nevitte, & Nadeau, 2004; Milner, 2007; Anderson & Goodyear-Grant, 2008; Goodman, Bastedo, LeDuc, & Pammett, 2011) and abroad (Franklin et. al, 2004; Fahmy, 2006, p. 1 - 3; Wattenberg, 2008). Franklin et. al (2004) point out that early observers of the 1920s and 30s would have laid each low turn-out at the feet of politicians -- under the assumption they had failed to present vital issues to motivate citizens to the voting booths -- but that the conversation shifted in the 1960s to one of individual choice and habit, thus focusing attention on each citizen's civic duty (p. 2). The continuation of this duty narrative is the basis of today's concern that the survival of our democratic institutions is threatened by the millennial generation's unprecedented apathy, inattention, and cynicism (Milner, 2010). Although Statistics Canada (2016b) does report disinterest as a key factor in failure to vote, recent studies addressing the youth complacency narrative worldwide have pointed instead to a cross-generational dissatisfaction (Stoker, Li, Halupka, & Evans, 2017), a lack of opportunity rather than apathy (McDowell, Rootham, & Hardgrove, 2014) and that "a majority of young people are critical rather than apathetic; that is, they are unhappy with the political offer rather than bored with politics" (Cammaerts, Bruter, Banaji, Harrison, & Anstead, 2014, p. 661; Henn & Foard, 2014). As indicated by the proliferation of terms to describe engagement above, many others have turned from conventional to unconventional measures of political engagement, thus arguing that our measurement apparatus is faulty rather than our citizenry. Based as it is in voter turnout and alternatives to this marker of engagement, most studies focus on the 18+ age group eligible to vote in Canada; a few key voices, however, call attention to the powerful socializing and predictive effects of adolescent

years (Anderson & Goodyear-Grant, 2008). To better understand the state of youth attitudes towards traditional politics and beliefs about conventional or unconventional engagement, we need empirical data probing the language and behaviours Canadian youth use to describe their citizenship.

A second area of current debate is the potential impact of globalization on the individual's construction of self and on the relevance of the nation, specifically. Studies in Canada point to the power of national identity (Berdahl & Raney, 2010) despite proposals that Canada is more powerfully described as regional (de B'beri & Middlebrook, 2009) or post-national (Hildebrand, 2007). Regarding the salience of various group identities, the question is open as to whether Canadians are regional, glocal, national, post-national, or trans-national, or rooted cosmopolitans in their constructions of self. Before this conversation can progress, it is important to establish exactly how students do characterize their civic selves and whether these ‘vocabularies’ they use to define themselves are most salient at local, national, or global levels of affiliation. This mirrors studies abroad that indicate intense discourses of nationalism amid overlapping national and global subjectivities, but also a general "'depoliticalization' over the past three decades" that focuses this intense energy on the character of the citizen rather than the quality or relevance of governance (Liu, 2012, p. 56, 64; Moes, 2008).

In debate over the latter complexity, many researchers highlight and challenge a trend towards characterizing citizenship as a set of personal responsibilities to 'be good', which places the onus on the individual to act in sanctioned ways rather than as a citizen with the right to challenge the authority of this narrative (Osborne, 2000; Harris, Wyn, & Younes, 2010; Manning, 2013; McDowell, Rootham, & Hardgrove, 2014; Pashby, 2015). Against this backdrop, the distinction between conventional and alternative modes of understanding or expressing citizenship becomes politically significant: as noted briefly above, some researchers suggest that youth are fully engaged but in less traditional modes (Martin, 2012; Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Dalton, 2008a, 2008b), while others argue for the persisting and inherent value of traditional norms of political participation that youth supposedly ignore (Milner, 2010). Each has implications for the reinforcement or reframing of the sanctioned 'good citizen' narrative. Still others critique the dichotomy where youth are "chastised as the apolitical harbingers of an incipient 'crisis of

democracy' while simultaneously heralded as the authors of sophisticated new forms of politics, most notably within electronic realms" reframing them as "radically unpolitical" (Farthing, 2010, p. 181).

These three complexities in current narratives of citizenship -- youth apathy, the potential for conflict in multi-level civic subjectivities, and the effects of a possible depoliticization of citizenship -- are particularly interesting in the Canadian context, and the current project strives to provide new empirical data in order to bring Canada's unique voice into the global conversation. If modern citizenship is to be global, so too should the research base that explores it, and Canada must contribute.

Understanding best practices: Focusing on the student voice and context

The student voice and experience should be the starting place of education and research. However, much of the research into Canadian group identity and its implications for behaviour or policy focuses on adult populations, while inquiries into citizenship education lean heavily on curriculum documents rather than student experiences, and these are rarely "evidentially informed" (Tonge, Mycock, & Jeffery, 2012, p. 586). Teachers in Canadian classrooms have a complex task: they must strive to meet curricular goals regarding active citizenship in Canada while avoiding indoctrinating students according to a particular view of what citizenship is, but at the same time must respond to the critique that modern youth know little and are apathetic about politics. While it is important to examine the biases that teachers bring to their civics classrooms (Molina-Giron, 2013) or biases textbooks introduce to the framework for citizenship (Davies & Issitt, 2005; Pashby, Ingram, & Joshee, 2014; Pashby, 2015), it is most imperative that we place the student at the center of our studies -- they are the interpretive agent bringing meaning to every other factor we might consider in delivering the best citizenship curriculum. Best practices in finding the balance between standardized educational goals and personalized educational experiences must be informed by current student understandings of their citizenship, their world, and themselves.

Similar to terminology issues in the research community, different curricular documents may use the same phrase, such as 'active citizenship', but interpret it according to specific national politics or cultural leanings. Probing the meaning of 'active',

Kennedy's (2007) secondary analysis of multi-national CIVED data distinguished between 'obligations' (like voting and seeking information on candidates) and 'rights' (like joining a political party or writing letters to newspapers), finding that students were more likely to endorse obligations than rights as a meaningful part of active citizenship. Because of this more nuanced distinction being made by students, Kennedy suggests that educational policy makers must decide where the focus of courses is in relation to the nation's own cultural interpretation of political obligations, political rights, voluntary activities, and protest activities (p. 321 - 322). Furthermore, Fahmy (2006) emphasizes that "it is necessary to explore how young people perceive themselves as political actors, and how they respond to the political environment that they face" (p. 69), placing students as key contributors to the meaning of citizenship. Thus, in addition to the need empirical research on vocabularies of citizenship, this work must situate itself in relation to curricular documents and national political environments.

1.3 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this study is: to outline the history and multiplicity of terms as a means of gaining clarity on current usage; to provide empirical data on students' self perceptions as citizens; to probe the relationships between local, national, and global feelings of attachment and responsibility; and to investigate student educational experiences and the role current programs play. To understand most broadly the Canadian youth perspective on the meaning of citizenship, this study aimed to sample average Canadian classrooms; this indicated a focus on program offerings in the public rather than private system, and inclusion of the domestic and international student diversity that is found in Canadian schools.

To begin, terminology is clarified in the literature review through an examination of the contested meaning and history of 'citizenship' in Canada and the world. The key theoretical lens of rooted cosmopolitanism is introduced in this section by contextualizing both 'rootedness' and 'cosmopolitanism' in a long history of ideas about the permeability of the sovereign nation and the subjective construction of self. Rooted cosmopolitanism offers a framework for examining particular and global duties and how they may support or conflict with particular and global values systems in a modern multi-level civic subjectivity.

In order to address the question of what the concept of 'citizen' means to young adults, especially in how that conceptual understanding relates to conventional or unconventional behaviours and responsibilities at different levels of geography or governance, this study asks: *What vocabularies do youth use to construct their civic subjectivities,* and *what does it mean to be a good citizen in a particular context?* As this study is interested in how the modern young person constructs a sense of self in an increasingly complex and interconnected world, this paper assumes the individual's ability to balance multiple *identities* rather than requiring one unified and unchanging identity; the term "subjectivity" will indicate this flexible and multi-faceted conception of self. The data from qualitative and quantitative questions will be combined to map 'vocabularies of citizenship': a language of citizenship that reveals values and beliefs, which can be examined for tendencies of apathy, conflict, or depoliticization.

In order to sketch an outline of how students experience their mandated citizenship education, and how students themselves view an ideal citizenship education curriculum, this study asks: *What role might the school play in shaping citizenship ideals*? As noted in the discussion of the problem above, other studies have addressed the biases that teachers and textbooks can bring from the top down, but this project will focus on the student voice in describing how real experiences are interpreted as useful according to student-set or student understandings of citizenship learning objectives.

By asking students how they conceptualize citizenship at different levels of affiliation, how salient these local, national, and global associations are to their sense of self, and what role the school can most effectively play in opening spaces for students to explore a multi-faceted self, this study seeks to inform teachers and policymakers of students' lived experiences and thus equip the adult community to better serve the shifting needs of modern youth. Recommendations for how to approach citizenship education at school and classroom levels are made in the conclusion based on students' open-ended responses. This grounds possibilities for future in youth voices today.

Thus this study addresses the following core research questions and sub-questions:

1. **What vocabularies do youth use to construct their civic subjectivities?**
    i. What models of citizenship best characterize youth descriptions of their current civic selves and future civic ideals ('good' citizenship)?

ii. Do youth feel engaged and empowered as citizens?

2. **What does it mean to be a 'good' citizen in a particular context?**
    i. How do youth describe 'being Canadian'?
    ii. How do youth describe 'being a global citizen'?
    iii. Do youth feel their Canadian citizenship is more conceptually distinct from or intertwined with a global subjectivity?
    iv. Is there conflict or confluence between youth concepts of national and global citizenship?
    v. Do youth feel attachment to, belonging in, and power in Canada?
    vi. Do subnational, national, or global group identities play a role in youth feelings of attachment, belonging, or empowerment?

3. **What role might the school play in shaping citizenship ideals?**
    i. What sources do youth feel have shaped their understanding of citizenship?
    ii. What school-based experiences do youth feel have been most positive?
    iii. By what means do youth feel citizenship is best taught?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Citizenship itself: Defining a problematic term

Citizenship itself is a contested term (Knight Abowitz, & Harnish, 2006), but most definitions are accommodated by Gagnon & Page's (1999) conceptual framework of four basic components: national identity; cultural, social, and transnational belonging; an effective system of rights; and political and civic participation. Often the term is used to signify only a selection of these components as though they are the whole, according to the author's focus on the individual's relationship to the state (e.g. UNESCO, 2017; Butler & Benoit, 2015), the individual's self-perceptions (e.g. Baker, 2012), or social relationships in communities of varying scales (e.g. Rembold & Carrier, 2011). These can overlap and interact, as can be imagined when an individual's self-perceptions or values structure actions in social communities, and are further complicated by modern theorizing about the breakdown of the nation-state. Complexities will be discussed in this chapter, however, to begin gaining a broad picture of the state of youth citizenship today, in addition to Gagnon & Page's four components it is helpful to think even more simply of doing and being/believing.

The concept of 'doing', or of behaviours that define citizenship, might first to come to mind because of pop-culture discussions about youth apathy and millennial culture under provocative titles such as "Apathetic and disaffected: the generation who may never vote" or "This is why today's youth is apathetic", where editorialists discuss how: "The apathy of young voters has caused politicians to tune out. Politicians tuning them out has made young voters more apathetic. The vicious circle goes round and round (Globe Editorial, 2015; Martin, 2014; Mason, 2013). Indeed, studies of youth in Canada and abroad frequently point to high levels of support for democratic processes and ideals in principle, but extreme cynicism and disengagement in practice (Anderson & Goodyear-Grant, 2008; Sears, Peck, & Herriot, 2014). However, the apathy narrative is a site of frequent debate. Although acknowledging the importance of the electoral process, some suggest that youth are simply engaged in less traditional means than voting and party membership (Dalton, 2008a, 2008b; Martin, 2012), while others argue vehemently that for the health of democracy we must guard against inattentiveness to the political world and instead

orient students toward traditional norms of political participation (Milner, 2010). Section 2.2 summarizes current literature on the politics of defining and maintaining the civic behavioural norms that bestow 'good' citizenship upon the individual.

Turning to the concepts of 'being' and 'believing', social psychology underscores the relevance of subjective constructions of self, and social identity theory in particular emphasizes the role of salience in mediating the impact of group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). 'Being' is inextricably linked to aspects of 'believing' in that values often underpin the individual's interpretation of themselves and others in a social context: for example, large-scale research on in-group criteria reveals complex links between the salience of different models of national membership (applied both to others and to the self) and an individual's social and political attitudes, liberal practices, or acceptance of citizenship norms (Ariely, 2011; Raney & Berdahl, 2009). Salience can also help us understand the flexibility and contextualized nature of self-perception and self-expression. For those who intend to remain living in a particular place, national satisfaction (a measure of national pride) or the collective self more significantly predicts personal well-being than for frequent movers (Morrison, 2011; Oishi, Lun, & Sherman, 2007). In Canada and other multinational states such as Britain and Spain, careful devolution of political power and resources has promoted dual identities of regional and national, which co-exist and can be invoked at different times (Guibernau, 2006). Thus, within the realm of their civic 'identity', both youth and adults may define themselves according to multiple subjectivities; Canadians in particular are said to have “multiple or limited or regional identities” or “to shun even the idea of identity itself…implying a faceless commonality in a postmodernist age of radical variation and pluralism” (Bliss, 2005, p 4). Section 2.3 presents a brief history of the evolution of 'nation' as a concept relevant to subjective concepts of self, then examines current theories that strive to explain the subjectively constructed modern citizen, especially in the Canadian context.

While Gagnon & Page’s (1999) conceptual framework handily subsumes and summarizes the components of most other working definitions, successfully balancing the purposes and biases of the many fields that use the term citizenship, in practice it is useful to hold in mind simply 'doing' and 'being/believing' as key aspects of citizenship as we investigate student experiences in education. As this paper describes specifics of

national (or group) identities, feelings of attachment or belonging, perceived rights and responsibilities, and ideals and realities of civic action, it will organize the discussion around these more simple categories of behaviour and being/beliefs.

2.2 Citizenship as behaviour: Youth apathy or a shift in practices?

Because citizenship is a contested term, the behaviours that constitute good citizenship are also in need of clarification: some describe competencies which enable young people to perform social tasks such as dealing with conflict in everyday life (Ten Dam & Volman, 2007) while others focus on political participation, or "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action -- either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p. 48). Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz (2001) present an even more nuanced approach to political participation, noting distinctions between conventional political citizenship activities (voting, volunteering for campaign work, becoming members of political parties or other politically active organizations, running for office), and new social movements growing out of the 1970s and 1980s which encouraged protest activities -- both legal and illegal -- as an alternative for of participation (p. 137). Both conventional and social-movement-related activities are oriented toward the sphere of politics and have the intent of influencing government, but attention has also been given to community-based volunteering and social engagement as a form of citizen participation (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Each of these conceptions is supported by a burgeoning field of research worldwide seeking to legitimize and measure the particular competencies dictated by the perspective's conception of citizenship.

Traditional political action

Those who espouse a traditional political view of citizenship tend to emphasize the importance of participation in state-based government (e.g. Milner, 2010) and skills that allow the individual to contribute to traditional political arenas; these may include voting, debating, running for councils or political parties, methods of impacting policy (such as writing letters or drafting bills), researching political parties and modes of government, and learning history in order to gain a cultural and political context for current

participation. The perspective thus includes both active markers, such as running for office, and more passive ways of being a citizen, such as having civic knowledge.

Research on traditional, politically-oriented modes of citizenship show mixed results. In particular, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), a cooperative of national research agencies, has conducted three large-scale collaborations on citizenship education (1971, 1999, and 2008-09), the most recent of which -- the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) of 38 countries -- is the largest international study of civic and citizenship education ever conducted (Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 15). The earlier studies recruited lower-secondary (14-year-olds in 1971's pioneering study) and then lower- and upper-secondary students (both 14 and 17-18-year-olds in 1999's Civic Education Study, or CIVED), before being honed and applied to a larger population of lower-secondary students in 2009's ICCS.

Regarding civic knowledge (on civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities), this latest study found considerable variation at individual student-, school-, and country-levels of analysis, but overall a general decline in civic content knowledge from 1999 to 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 17). Establishing three proficiency levels through an 80-item test, on average researchers found 42% of students were at or below a basic level of engagement with fundamental principles and mechanistic working knowledge of civic, civil and political institutions (Proficiency level 1), while 31% had knowledge of the main civic and citizenship institutions, systems, and concepts as well as their interconnections (Proficiency level 2) and a final 28% could apply their knowledge to evaluate or justify policies, practices, and behaviours (Proficiency level 3; Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 16-17). As a picture of diversity: the top four nations at the top of the scale (Finland, Denmark, Republic of Korea, and Chinese Taipei) could boast 50 - 58% of the student population at Proficiency level 3, while England occupied a middle space with 34% at Proficiency level 3, and the bottom 8 nations (Cyprus, Columbia, Mexico, Thailand, Paraguay, Guatemala, Indonesia, and the Dominican Republic) saw 60% of students at or below Proficiency level 1 (Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 79). Female students had statistically significantly higher scores than male students in

almost all countries (Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 85). However, we might also question the validity of knowledge as a marker of good citizenship, or even a signpost on the path: knowledge has been found to be only marginally correlated with the constructs of attitudes, skills, and reflection related to citizenship, as well as significant social tasks such as acting democratically, acting in a socially responsible manner, dealing with conflicts, and dealing with differences (ten Dam, Geijsel, Reumerman, & Ledoux, 2011). Although a visible and easily measured competency, knowledge itself may not be a useful way of recognizing good citizens.

This does not discount the role of affective attachments that grow out of a sense of rootedness. Whereas the studies mentioned above look for influence running from knowledge to action, Durrant, Peterson, Hoult, & Leith (2012) investigated the relationship in the opposite direction during school-initiated community service: they did not find that having pro-social attitudes and behaviours motivated community awareness and involvement, but did draw a connection between knowing about local neighbourhoods and feeling an attachment that generates greater levels of concern for what happens to these communities. Thus, the relationship between knowledge, especially rooted, local knowledge, and the motivation to take action on behalf of a community is complex and deserving of further investigation.

Turning to active modes of traditional participation, the 1999 IEA CIVED survey of 28 countries found large majorities of students expect to vote in the future, but did not intend to participate in other conventional political activities (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). In England, Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, and Lopes (2005) also found that students intended to vote, but felt much less strongly about other conventional participation in political structures (p. iv). In their study, when asked to describe good adult citizenship, older students deemphasized organization-linked types of participation -- be they football clubs or political parties -- but at the same time valued taking an interest in local issues and participating in the community, and were more inclined to vote and more likely to show an interest in politics than younger students (p. 32).

Due to a perceived decline in traditional political engagement, much research in this arena has focused on the factors that underlie the disposition towards traditional actions. According to Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, (1995), three factors have been found to

predict political participation: resources enabling individuals to participate (e.g. time, knowledge), psychological engagement (interest, efficacy), and recruitment networks that help to bring individuals into politics (e.g. social movements, church, groups, and political parties). There is evidence that students are gaining time for experiences and efficacy through both old and new structures. A large part of their experiences are traditional: students across the IEA's survey of 38 countries were far more likely to report school-based civic involvement than participation in out-of-school activities or organizations, with 76% on average having voted in school elections and 40% having been actively involved in debates, taken part in decision-making about how their school was run, taken part in school assembly discussions, or run for school-based elections (p. 135). However, technology and social media are implicated in possibly changing norms and competencies in social interaction (Pea et al., 2012; Montoya-Weiss, Massey, & Song, 2001; Drolet & Morris, 2000) and are a site for researching new forms of political communication (Ross & Burger, 2014; Barnidge, 2017), civic engagement (Kruikemeier & Shehata, 2017; Boulianne, 2015; Ross, Fountaine, Comrie, 2015), although results remain mixed. In Canada, the government has experimented with online modes of engaging the public, where civic publications through online media have shown promise in increasing desire to address social issues through civic action (Warren, Sulaiman, Jaafar, 2014).

Another aspect mediating traditional civic participation is trust, since it can impede government functionality (Weymouth & Hartz- Karp, 2015) and impact behaviours such as voting in multi-party states: distrust is an alienating factor which negatively affects 'old line' parties, but can encourage voting for third-party alternatives (in America Hetherington, 1999; in Canada Belanger & Nadeua, 2002). Worldwide, nations have nervously noted a gradual decline in the public's trust in government, from the reflections of Commonwealth politicians in the late 1990s (Commonwealth Secretariat and Government of Canada, 1998), to surveys of nearly all Western democracies that document a steady erosion of public trust since the 1960s (see Dalton, 2004), to empirical studies of Asia-Pacific, where trust in political leaders had lower scores than all other institutions including newspapers and television, banks, the legal system, and religious organizations (Ward, Miller, Pearce, Meyer, 2016). In the adult Canadian population,

Student trust in politicians is low: in Britain 18% trust politicians compared with 90% for family, and 61% for police (Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, and Lopes, 2005, p. 28).

It might easily be imagined that either cynicism or mistrust could be influencing young peoples' intentions to vote, but voting statistics do not fully support fears. In Canada's 2015 federal election, 77% of Canadians voted (a 7% increase from the 2011 election) and within this 67% of young adults voted (ages 18 - 24), representing an increase of 12% from the last election and the largest increase of any voter age group (Statistics Canada, 2016a). At the provincial level, young adult turnout rates at 48% were actually higher than or equal to the next ages' categories (25-34 at 40% and 35-44 at 49%) while at the municipal level an average of 33% turnout in 2014 across BC was a generally improved participation (Elections BC, 2017a; CivicInfoBC, 2017; McElroy, 2014). However, from qualitative studies it is easy to see how narratives of youth apathy and disengagement have continued in Canada. According to Statistics Canada (2016b), across ages 18 to 64 "the single largest reason provided for not voting was 'not being interested in politics'," followed by 'being too busy' (23%), though the latter most commonly in ages 25 to 44 (30%). Notably, young adults were "most likely to report reasons related to the electoral process": where 8% of all voters cited reasons such as not being able to prove identity or not being on the voters list, 11% of young adults said the same (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Table 1 *Percent of citizens who voted in last election*

	Federal	Provincial	Municipal
Canada	77	--	--
BC	79	62*	33***
Age 18 - 24	67	48**	-- ****
Canadian-born citizens	70	--	--

Note. Last federal election data from 2015, last provincial election data from 2017,
*Elections BC data from provincial election to be confirmed in late August 2017, and is based on percent of registered voters who voted rather than percent of eligible voters who voted, as the latter is not yet available. (Elections BC, 2017b)
**Based on most recent data available, from 2013
***Based on average data from all of British Columbia's 2014 municipal elections (CivicInfoBC, 2017).
**** As noted by Gludovatz, "little information is available regarding youth voter turnout in municipal elections" (2014, p. 17).

Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz (2001) note that "among [conventional citizenship activities], voting is clearly the least intensive and demanding" (p. 137),

which raises the question: why is it so frequently held up as the ultimate marker of a generation's -- and especially youth -- engagement? One project used qualitative analysis of Facebook to capture the variety in youth thoughts on political engagement, and concluded that voting behaviours are a function of changing norms, where youth no longer see voting as necessary and meaningful, or if they do, are “not prepared to censure or express disapproval of those who come to the opposite conclusion” (Goodman, Bastedo, LeDuc, Pammett, 2011, p. 879). The community, in other words, is not enforcing the norms valued by adult conceptions of ‘good citizenship’. This aligns with researchers who argue "it is no longer sufficient to focus on 'traditional politics' such as membership of political parties and voting in elections....[in] gaining an understanding of the emerging political identities among young people" both in neo-liberal democracies and non-democratic societies (Liu, 2012, p. 56).

Alternative action: Protest, activism, and everyday choices

Potentially, what concerns adult observers most is that they do not easily recognize what they see when faced with new modes of youth citizenship. Alternative views of civic action consider the validity of legal and illegal protests, human rights advocacy, online spaces as new arenas for negotiating citizenship, globally-competitive intercultural skill sets, and everyday life skills or life choices all as ways of expressing or enacting citizenship. These growing proposals for new citizenship competencies run the gamut of political and public to highly personal.

Legal protest activities of writing a letter to a newspaper, wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing an opinion, taking part in a peaceful march or rally, collecting signatures for a petition, and choosing not to buy certain products garner support of between 51 to 57% of students (responding they would probably or definitely do this in future), while contacting an elected representative are positively ranked by only 38% of students across 36 countries meeting sampling requirements of the IEA's 2009 ICCS study (Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010) . On the other hand, on average most youth did not expect to participate in illegal protest activities (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001).

Perhaps, as suggested by de Koning, Jaffe, & Koster (2015), we can also locate citizenship in non-state political communities – those mediated by non-state actors but

nonetheless political in their aims and achievements. In contrast with those who argue for the priority of participating in state-based politics specifically (e.g. Miller 2000; Milner 2010), many other practices are now considered adequate civic participation, such as engaging in digital civic spaces (e.g. Sadoway, 2013; Rusciano, 2014; Ognyanova et al., 2013) or political purchasing (e.g. Atkinson, 2015; Schulz, Ainley, Faillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p.137). Even more appealing might be a global civil society in which one may be a 'citizen' by participating indirectly in politics with a global impact, although not a citizen in the highly traditional sense of a tax-paying voter with rights (Lough & McBride, 2014).

Barriers to young people's civic action and the impact of school experiences

Mistrust of systems and of politicians is discussed above as a mediating factor in youth participation, and other such external factors have been found to impact youth participation, including practicalities -- like financial costs, transportation to community service opportunities, the pressure of examinations, age minimums, time constraints, a lack of information about how to get engaged -- and also more emotional concerns about student safety and peer pressure (Durrant, Peterson, Hoult, & Leith, 2012, p. 277-278). Factors outside of the education system such as socio-economic status and parents' political interest impact student engagement and predicted action, although the relationships between various factors and the ability of schools to equalize effects is still mixed in their research results (Keating & Janmaat, 2016; Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascopé, 2015; Stadelmann-Steffen & Sulzer, 2017). Studies do tend to point to youth political interest or attentiveness as a promising mediating factor in explaining short-term classroom successes (Stadelmann-Steffen & Sulzer, 2017), differences in student levels of activism or processing of news (Soler-i-Marti, 2014; Boulianne, 2016), and long-term differences in political efficacy (Pasek, Feldman, Romer & Jamieson, 2008). Applying this distinction between acting and being to the classroom, Peterson & Bentley (2017) assert that "[active] learning methods may be necessary for active citizenship, but they are not constitutive of it" (p. 51). Further research will be required to understand the role of the school in mediating external barriers to youth civic engagement and political participation.

Internal factors also shape types and extent of engagement. Confidence itself plays a role: if young people estimate their citizenship skills as relatively high, they also report more positive attitudes toward citizenship generally (ten Dam, Geijsel, Reumerman, & Ledoux, 2011) and a greater likelihood of future civic participation (Schultz, 2005; Manganelli, Lucidi, Alivernini, 2014). Follow-up analysis by Schultz (2005) of 28 nations in the 1999 CIVED study compared lower- to upper-secondary students, finding the latter to have lower external efficacy but higher internal efficacy, suggesting that students may feel competent and yet still mistrust their ability to impact their world. In Australia, Beresford & Phillips (1997) described youth efficacy in terms of "a strong sense of powerlessness, a conviction that they either lacked the skills to understand the relevance of the system and/or that they lacked faith in its ability to produce tangible outcomes" (p. 15). Taking a specific example, Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, and Lopes (2005) found that almost all British schools and colleges had student councils, but students felt only a moderate (M = 42 on a scale of 0-100) level of efficacy (p. 21). Similarly, these students' personal efficacy as measured by their opinions being taken seriously by their family (48%) and feeling they could have a real influence on government if they got involved (19%) were generally lower than could be hoped (p. 24). Reminiscent of Peterson & Bentley's (2017) warning about conflating classroom engagement with independent success in active citizenship, Kahne & Westheimer (2006) affirm the relationship between student efficacy and a desire to participate but also draw our attention to the need for dealing with controversial social topics in discussion, and for encountering frustration as part of the learning process. In particular, like others concerned with the depoliticization of citizenship, they point to the danger of equating positive experiences of volunteerism with good citizenship:

> "Shining the spotlight exclusively on efforts to promote efficacy may lead educators to emphasize non-controversial charitable activities. When charity and voluntary direct-service activities become the primary way in which educators teach about citizenship in a democracy, such curricula can reinforce the assumption that if individual citizens would just help out where help is needed, that these acts of kindness and charity (multiplied across a citizenry)

> will transform society and offer redress for complex social problems. [...] Indeed, emphasizing efficacy may promote a false victory by obscuring the need to understand how various governmental policies and market structures can both create and respond to different social problems" (p. 290).

Taken together these worldwide results suggest that efficacy will be a lynchpin component in understanding youth political engagement, but the role of overcoming challenges in building efficacy and a general lack of empirical studies into Canadian youth specifically shows that more inquiry will be necessary before schools can design evidence-based programs.

In curriculum documents, the term 'active citizenship' has become central to professed goals but a thematic study of 15 nations including Canada demonstrated that the term is not yet clearly understood or defined, is related to shifting notions of citizenship and citizenship education, and suffers from limited exploration of the conceptual underpinnings (Norman & Kerr, 2006, p. iv). This lack of consensus and understanding might understandably result in a lack of clarity in implementing citizenship education programs and measuring outcomes for both planners and participants: indeed, teacher and student perceptions of the very same community-based citizenship activities have been found to differ (Durrant, Peterson, Hoult, & Leith, 2012, p. 276-277), and different activities have been shown to develop different focal points for engagement (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013). With reference to youth below the age of 18, many conceptions of 'good' citizenship are problematic to the extent that they seem to emphasize electoral voting, a behaviour in which these youth cannot engage. Although voting's significance is low when Canadians are asked for an impromptu definition of good citizenship (8% mention), when prompted with a list of possibilities, 82% consider it 'very important' (Environics, 2012). The shift demonstrates the ambiguity of the construct in adult conversation, while the rank priority places voting at or above such cultural touchstones as: accepting others who are different (82%), protecting the environment (80%), knowing something about Canadian history (62%) and participating actively in one's community (51%) (Environics, 2012). The most visible demonstration of citizenship that is accessible to students – participating in one's community – is valued less frequently as a

defining trait of a good citizen; one of the most valued aspects, voting, is ostensibly studied but not legally allowed.

Similarly, in this line of considering the implicit barriers to youth engagement, Taft & Gordon (2013) critique two "unspoken assumptions about citizenship" inherent in the student council as a mainstay of experiential learning: that "youth participation is fundamentally a form of practice for future 'real' participation" and that "voice *is* influence" (p. 97). They observed that while students were much more open to discussing controversy than their adult counterparts, they rejected mere 'representative voice' positions; instead they look for places to "[make] a difference" in ways beyond voicing a different perspective to a potentially indifferent group (p. 97). Their research powerfully demonstrates that students seek real and meaningful influence in the present, and feel stymied by the subtle powerlessness of substitutes offered. This led Taft & Gordon to argue that "youth activists engaged in youth-led social justice efforts often experience adults' attempts to channel or repress their organizing and political expression providing a powerful rationale for distrusting and rejecting adult-organized youth councils and similar efforts" (p. 96). The evidence of the value society places on voting in conjunction with Taft & Gordon's research illustrating student attempts to break into spaces of meaningful political action should prompt us to question the true purpose of citizenship experiences offered to young adults: are they practicing for the future in a false arena, or engaged in authentic opportunities now?

2.3 Citizenship as 'being': Defining a theoretical understanding of the modern citizen

"The dirge that one hears for the passing of the nation-state is premature."

(Jusdanis, 2001, p. 207)

That humans tend to favour in-group members over out-group members has been empirically documented in a variety of settings (Fowler & Kam, 2007; Goette et al., 2006; Bernhard et al. 2006; Efferson et al. 2008). Given the significance of in-group mentalities, it is important to face and examine the power of group identities and the constructed (and therefore malleable) nature of individual subjectivities, as summarized

in the concluding remarks of Ahlerup & Hansson's (2011) study of nation-building across 79 countries:

> "A policy designed to create, strengthen, or sustain a sense of national unity must be one of the most dramatic policies conceivable: It has the potential to affect not only how people view themselves and others, but their actual identities, political views, and, in the end, actions. The fact that there have been so few attempts to systematically investigate the potential effects of such policies has by no means deterred policy makers from pursuing them. This neglect by empirical social scientists has, however, contributed to a situation where important decisions have been made by policy makers who have lacked systematic knowledge of whether the likely outcome is good or bad" (p. 446).

Broadening Ahlerup & Hansson's focus, it is imperative that we understand how local and global narratives as well as national ones contribute to subjectivities and influence actions or attitudes. The site and salience of affective attachment is a key aspect of identity construction in general, and civic subjectivity in particular. Despite the sensitive territory of identity politics, exclusive and inclusive group identities have nonetheless been examined because of their powerful potential to impact human behaviour and social preferences (Benjamin, Carter, 2013; Charnysh, Lucas, & Singh, 2015; Chen & Li, 2009; Choi, & Strickland, 2010; Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013), especially as they relate to political identities, opinions, and actions (Ashizawa, 2008; Berdahl & Raney, 2010; Caron, 2012; Nimijean, 2005; Raney & Berdahl, 2011; Raney & Berdahl, 2009). With specific reference to traditional politics in adult populations, the implications of group membership can be observed in: the way group identities influence citizenship norms such as duty to vote or volunteer (Raney, 2009), the priming effects of social or ethnic group identification on issue attentiveness and vote choice (Hutchings, 2001; Jackson, 2011), how affinity toward other partisans shapes voting behaviour (Loewen, 2010), and the interaction between conflicting notions of group membership and political engagement (Brader, Tucker, & Therriault, 2014). The latter represents a growing trend in recent scholarship – especially in pluralist societies such as Canada – which critiques broad strokes explanations of the past and calls for more nuanced analyses of interactions

between group membership, attitudes, feelings of belonging and engagement patterns at the individual level and with reference to globalization and transnational subjectivities (Bittner, 2007; Hardwick, 2010; Paragg, 2015). Such trends in the discussion of group identity are best understood in the context of a historical conversation regarding the relevance of nation-states and the evolving construct of national identity as one feature of civic subjectivity.

A brief history of nationalism and cosmopolitanism to post-nationalism and the global citizen

The role of the nation in framing the individual has long been under investigation, and its early incarnations are summarized as evolving in five stages in Carlton Hayes' 1931 work, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (see Hayes, chapters 2 - 6 for original text; Ozkirimli, for a summary; and Chennells, 2001 for discussion within a Canadian context). Hayes begins with the Enlightenment's eighteenth-century humanitarian nationalism -- assuming a world of equal and distinctive nationalities. Also at this time, the Enlightenment ideals -- especially in the writings of Immanuel Kant -- fostered the early development of cosmopolitanism as someone "not subservient to a particular religious or political authority, someone who was not biased by particular loyalties or cultural prejudice" and someone who enjoyed international travel, "[feeling] at home everywhere" (Kleingeld & Brown, 2013; Osler, 2011). Contemporary critic Rousseau complained that cosmopolitans "boast that they love everyone [*tout le monde*, which also means ‘the whole world’], to have the right to love no one", establishing early the concern that a global conception of citizenship is an essentially empty or disingenuous commitment (Geneva Manuscript version of *The Social Contract*, p. 158 quoted in Kleingeld & Brown, 2013). Returning to Hayes, the three streams of thought or main proponents of humanitarian nationalism birthed the next phase of evolution: Bolingbroke's aristocratic nationalism became 'traditional' nationalism, Rousseau's democratic nationalism birthed 'Jacobin' nationalism, and Herder's preference for cultural conceptions over political formed 'liberal' nationalism. With the French Revolution, idealist Jacobin nationalism fought vehemently on behalf of principles -- leaving the next generation with ideas of 'the nation in arms' and 'the nation in public schools' as core developments in nationalistic thought -- while traditional nationalists reacted against the

revolution with an emphasis on history. After a brief victory at the 1815 Battle of Waterloo, this traditional nationalism was overwhelmed by the rise of the third sibling, liberal nationalism.

According to Hayes' (1931) analysis, liberal nationalism strove to limit the scope of government power and enjoyed predominance through the First World War in England and continental Europe under different guises, all united by the assumption that "each nationality should be a political unit under an independent constitutional government which would put an end to despotism, aristocracy and ecclesiastical influence, and assure to every citizen the broadest practicable exercise of personal liberty" (p. 159). Race, nation, and the ensuing emergence of empires became intimately connected: in a series of 1883 lectures, imperialist thinker J. R. Seeley warned that the English would lose their empire if they did not recognize themselves as an imperial race; nation and empire were one and the same, and expansion “was necessary to the national life” (cited in Hall, 2000). Thus, from its beginnings as an Enlightenment discussion of belonging, either with one of many equal and distinctive nationalities or with a common humanity, 'nation' and nationality had taken on a heavy yoke of ideology and the impetus to spread it through the French Revolution and rise of an age of empires.

At this point, Hayes outlines his final evolutionary stage, defining the extreme tone of Mussolini’s Italy and Hitler's Germany, but also laying a foundation for twenty-first century concerns regarding the nation-state: integral nationalism looked inward, defined first by Charles Maurras as "the exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity and the steady increase of national power -- for a nation declines when it loses its might" (cited in Hayes, p. 165). In contrast to *laissez-faire* liberal nationalism, integral nationalism strove to control citizens for the sake of the nation-state's own power, and so was in opposition to possibly border-crossing ideals of brotherhood or humanitarianism. Alongside a continuing Enlightenment cosmopolitan debate over whether we should identify with our close communities or humanity as a whole, this concern for the well-being of the nation-state itself is apparent in a present-day lament for the supposed break-down of nations due to globalization.

Hayes' summary has been both influential and criticized since its publication; the more contemporary Kohn (1944), for example, rejected Hayes and crafted his own typology

having viewed nationalism as inherently political and "a state of mind, an act of consciousness", something that therefore could not have existed in the sixteenth to eighteenth century before the emergence of the modern state (Ozkirimli, p. 36). Typologies such as Hayes' or Kohn's may be flawed in their generalized approaches (Chennells, 2001), but in attempting to describe shifts in nationalism's goals and temperaments they provide a rich historical backdrop against which to consider present attempts to define the modern citizen's mindset. Their accounts crystalize key issues by explaining their contextualized emergence: the debate regarding belonging and the range of our ethical obligations to fellow humans; the purpose of the construct 'nation' and the role of the state, otherwise seen as the nation's association with principles and so also the development of national values as part of a personal subjectivity; and nationalism as a state of mind that is inherently wilful and personal and thus flexible.

Carrying on from where Hayes leaves off, neo-Marxist scholars of the 1970s focused attention on the role of economic factors in shaping nationalism (Ozkirimli, p. 46) which continues into today's conversations of transnational corporations and global economies, while the gradual build-up of international alliances and technological advances since the end of the Second World War have cleared the way for new incarnations of cosmopolitanism in an age of globalization (Giddens, 2002; Spiro, 2007). Formalizing a long history of commitment to open-mindedness, advocates of cosmopolitanism have forged a slightly more political sense of the philosophy: those who identify with transnational commonalities, and emphasize inalienable human rights and global solidarity (Osler, 2011). Here Canada becomes an interesting case study of the modern condition of many nations: given the presence of aboriginal and settler communities, overlaid with a political history that has created strong regional ties (e.g. Quebec, Newfoundland), plus historical and modern waves of immigration bringing with them many cultural beliefs, and an increasingly globally-oriented economy and information network, can we still speak of the relevance and role of the nation?

Studies in Canada point to a weak federal culture, and a strong attachment to regions over provinces (Fafard, Rocher, & Cote, 2010; McGrane & Berdahl, 2013). Adding to this, in an ethnically diverse mosaic Canadians, it is said, unite not via shared ancestry but rather under values such as human rights, multiculturalism or interculturalism,

universal healthcare, a global worldview and commitment to global institutions, and a foreign policy focused on international policing and peacekeeping (Bliss, 2005; Caron, 2012; Dittmer & Larsen, 2007; Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003). In consequence, many define Canada's as a civic – focused on shared values, institutions, and processes – rather than ethnic nationalism, which would be predicated on shared ethnicity (Davidov, 2009; Raney, 2010).

The distinction between ethnic and civic nationalism lends useful nuance to those researching contemporary national sentiments, especially in increasingly diverse societies (e.g. Koch, 2016), nations within nation-states (e.g. Hepburn, 2011), and reactive communities where out-groups are perceived as threats. For example, Reeskens & Wright (2011) deconstruct the complexity of national group identity by demonstrating how national pride -- shown to improve feelings of well-being (Morrison, Tay, & Diener, 2011) -- is filtered through normative models of ethnic and civic nationalism: the more insular ethnic nationalism is negatively associated with subjective well-being whereas inclusive civic nationalism is positively associated with subjective well-being. Civic nationalism, depending as it does on agreement with values rather than tracing bloodlines, aligns with the inclusivity of cosmopolitanism or globally-oriented modes of constructing the self. Such concepts suggest that societies can move 'past' the boundaries of the nation or past the very concept, becoming 'post-national'. As an example, similar to civic nationalism, Habermas (2002) proposes a 'constitutional patriotism' as a post-national identity: political union based on a shared commitment to a constitution or common political project. These conceptions of values-based civic nationalism and post-national societies as a replacement for the unifying concept of a nation form the sharp edge of the modern conversation, but are consistently complicated by the realities of 'divided societies' (e.g. Freake, 2011; Smits, 2011; Hepburn, 2011) or the choppy development of trans-national subjectivities such as European citizenship (Enslin & White, 2003).

As this brief summary has demonstrated, theorists seek a model to describe the truth of the present moment, but as with every incarnation of nationalism or cosmopolitanism, also to frame an ethical ideal for humans living in community. As such, each theory may be judged for its explanatory power, but is also a proposal for how we ought to live and

thus will impact citizenship education if accepted by policy makers and the general public. In Canada and the world, the debate today picks up the threads of the past, weaving them in ways that account for unchanging tenants of the human condition in a radically changing world.

Rootedness: The case for nationalism

On the side of liberal nationalism, Miller (2000) argues for the enduring personal and political importance of national identity (and thereby the nation) based on the concept's ability to unite individuals into a cohesive moral community, capable of identifying with an abstract group and therefore motivating redistributive politics. Miller (2000) defines nationality according to three broad propositions, and national identity with five essential characteristics. In order to speak of a nationality, he proposes that it may (but does not have to be) part of personal identity, that it is an ethical community where bonded duties "[owed] to our fellow-nationals are different from, and more extensive than, the duties we owe to humans" on the whole (p. 27), and that it justifies political self-determination in that "people who form a national community in a particular territory have a good claim to political self-determination", though not necessarily through a sovereign state (p. 27). The related concept of national identity, as laid out by Miller, is defined according to the following five essential characteristics:

i) the group believes it exists, and therefore it exists

ii) historical continuity of the community into past and future so that the present generation cannot renounce it. This is based especially on shared historical sorrows (more so than shared historical triumphs) bonding us because of an inherited obligation due to ancestral sacrifice, which we then pass to future.

iii) an active identity, which becomes what it is through decisions it makes (though these may be through proxy representation)

iv) connects a group of people to a particular geographic area or territory: a homeland.

v) the people of a nation are believed to share certain traits that set them apart from other peoples. (Miller does not see this as a problem regarding immigration since cultural values, tastes, or sensibilities may play the role.) Members may not be able to articulate these traits explicitly, but feel them

> intuitively when in the company of foreigners; “national identities can remain unarticulated, and yet still exercise a pervasive influence on people’s behaviour” (p. 30).

There is intuitive logic in Miller's presentation of nationalism, and in support many studies worldwide lend credence to the idea that national attachments still organize individuals' thinking about the world (e.g. Meyer et al., 2011; Cirakman, 2011), that young and old feel positively about the nation (Hew & Cheung, 2011), that dis-unity (specifically ethnic fragmentation) can negatively impact economic growth or governmental effectiveness (Easterly & Levine, 1997; Alesina , Baqir, & Easterly, 1999; La Porta et al. 1999), and that a sense of national unity can have some mitigating impact on the negative effects of ethnic diversity on economic development and public goods provision (Miguel, 2004; Ahlerup & Hansson, 2011). Proposed positive effects of nationalism are that it can increase in-group altruism, trustworthiness, and state authority, although negative effects are that nationalism can breed prejudice, out-group animosity, and scepticism for new ideas or techniques not of national origin (Ahlerup & Hansson, 2011). Individuals may believe it is worth risking the negative for the possibility of the positive: for example, Meyer et al.'s (2011) *Citizenship and World-mindedness Survey* conducted with young adults at the beginning of their degrees categorized over 40% of United Kingdom as nationalistic or ethnocentric, via their relative willingness to agree with statements like 'Some degree of inequality is necessary in a society that wants to be the best in the world' alongside other inevitable prices to pay for the prioritization of their own nation (Meyer et al., 2011; Enslin & White, 2003).

Viewed in a long historical context, humans are naturally social animals and so our desire to associate ourselves with an in-group is not a recent, urbanized or nation-based aberration, nor are boundaries in our ability to do so an unfounded proposal. Investigating primates' social groupings, Robin Dunbar developed a theory of the limitations of our ability to know and feel associated with other individuals: "there is a species-specific upper limit to group size that is set by purely cognitive constraints [...defined by] the maximum number of individuals with whom an animal can maintain social relationships by personal contact" (Dunbar, 1993, p. 681). This upper limit on number of individuals a person can feel associated with can be expanded from intimate social bonds, based on

direct social bonding and observation, to larger groups via language (social gossip as a way of knowing others), and tethering groups together into a hierarchy (Dunbar, 1993; Zhou, Sornetter, & Dunbar, 2005). Popularly known as 'Dunbar's number', research in the area places a community's threshold at 150 people (see Dunbar, 1993), but hierarchal associations such as national identity -- and here Miller picks up the term in his line of argument -- allow individuals to feel emotional attachment to and particular obligations for the good of a much larger and more anonymous group. Thus, posits Miller, the nation performs a valuable social function in that republican citizenship depends on the ability to "call on the ethical resources of a national community", necessitating a cohesive sense of national citizenship (Miller, 2000, p. 1).

The problem with any form of nationalism, is essentially, history. As seen from the brief review above, it has roots in revolutionary ideals – where a proletariat lays claim to its own ruling and identity above the dictates of an elite (see also Miller, 2000) – but it became heavily wrapped up in the civilizing project of nation- and then empire-building (see Hall, 2000) and has since continued to be implicated in the insular thinking that underlies aggressive and even violent forms of 'othering' (e.g. ethnocentrism; racism; ethnic genocide; chauvinism e.g. Smith & Kim, 2006; willingness to restrict out-group rights e.g. McFarland & Mathews, 2005; xenophobia e.g. de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003 or Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). Empirical patterns observed in modern democracies speak strongly against Millar's argument that national unity can motivate global altruism: national identification tends to reduce support for income equalization (redistribution), and there is a strong negative relationship between the prevalence of national identification and the level of redistribution (Shayo, 2009). Specifically, Shayo's (2009) multi-national analysis (including Canada) demonstrated that those who are "very proud" to be members of their nation support redistribution significantly less than those "not" or "not at all proud", where results controlled for income and education (p 160). Interestingly, poverty and class also interact with the effects of national pride or nationalism (the former being frequently used as a proxy for the latter); national identification is more common among the poor than among the rich (Shayo, 2009) and nationalism more strongly predicts life satisfaction among the impoverished than the well-off (Morrison, Tay, Diener, 2011). To further the point, despite finding that some

post-colonial, ethnically fragmented nations might experience positive outcomes from some policies of nation-building, after surveying large-scale data from 79 countries Ahlerup & Hansson (2011) conclude that overall "most countries already have too nationalistic populations...[and] in all but perhaps a few countries, an active encouragement of nationalistic sentiments is likely to have negative effects on aggregate performance and individual welfare" (p. 446).

In addition, many could take issue with the homogenizing and unified conception of self apparently proposed by Miller's approach. Miller addresses this by framing national origin myths as both fluid and necessary to the imagined community: they are reimagined in light of reinterpretations of history and help newcomers to integrate by becoming part of the cohesive narrative. In fact, this aligns philosophically with the shift in Quebec from 1980s neoliberal multiculturalism – which Québécois felt reduced Québec's status as one of the founding nations and "[discouraged] new arrivals from integrating into the host community" – to interculturalism, which sees "shared dialogue" as a way "diverse peoples and perspectives can work to enrich and jointly build a common societal culture" (Gereluk & Scott, 2014, p. 139 – 140, 142).

In contrast with the push for a fluid but unified shared myth, others advocate for a 'subjectivities' approach, wherein the individualistic civic self is produced through a process of making sense of social, historical, and cultural discourses or practices that mediate agency (McGregor, 2007). This views the subjective identity as multi-faceted rather than unified, and differentiated rather than shared, giving greater weight to contexts and experiences. Although Miller's arguments for the importance of national identity do reserve a space for the nation in a multifaceted subjectivity, the complexity of our world calls for equal acknowledgement of local, regional, global, and other community affiliations in an overlapping continuum of the self (Bashir, 2015; Horschelmann & Refaie, 2013; Staeheli in Lough & McBride, 2014, p. 459). Each personal affiliation gains political importance in the concept of citizenship, which has become "a mechanism for making claims on different political communities, of which the state is just one" (Lazar in de Koning, Jaffe, & Koster, 2015, p. 2). This debate around identity versus subjectivity and the location of moral claims-making leads naturally to a consideration of more globally-oriented visions of citizenship.

Cosmopolitanism: The case for globalized conceptions

"All countries are the same to me", writes Fougeret de Montrbon in his 1753 autobiography where he claims the label cosmopolitan and anchors the term's long history in a rejection of the nation's central position in organizing the individual self or worldview (qtd. in Kleingeld, & Brown, 2013). Today, Juergensmeyer (2002) states confidently that "globalization is redefining virtually everything on the planet" (p. 4), and points out eight aspects of the complex and ongoing process, from markets, finances, and law, to media, culture, and citizenship and identity (p. 6). As with early 18th century Enlightenment thinkers and travellers, today's cosmopolitans feel that our societies are turning eyes outwards and considering the commonalities of humankind rather than the boundaries that divide us.

Once again, any modern study in the field begins with a profusion of terms especially as they begin to cross disciplinary borders -- from cosmopolitanism to global citizenship, world-mindedness, transnational mentality, and global literacy -- followed by calls from the research community to deconstruct, collapse, and clarify operationalized language (Buker & Poutsma, 2010; Meyer et al., 2011, p. 180). As an example of its ambiguity, in the field of marketing it has been defined simply as meaning "a globally-oriented...disposition" (Cleveland, Papadopoulos, & Laroche, 2011), or "a natural interest in and curiosity about different countries and cultures, as well as the degree of interest in world and international events" (Bird, Mendenhall, Stevens, & Oddou, 2010). It is thus best understood when pinned to a purpose, as Kleingeld & Brown (2013) outline in their Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy taxonomy: *moral cosmopolitanism* considers the scope of human responsibility to provide aid and is especially relevant to debates on global distributive justice; *political cosmopolitanism* advocates for some level of a centralized world state or international political institutions with limited scope; *cultural cosmopolitanism* encourages cultural diversity but at the same time challenges claims to 'rights to culture'; and finally *economic cosmopolitanism* pursues a single global economic market with free trade and minimal political involvement. It can be interchangeable with 'global citizenship' (Niens & Reilly, 2012), itself a term that can mean a commitment to criticizing global power or resource distribution differentials or simply the intercultural competencies relevant to succeeding in a global marketplace

(Sklad, Friedman, Park, & Oomen, 2016, p. 324). While use in educational contexts tend to couch cosmopolitanism in terms of global human rights and critiques of the world order, economists tend to favor definitions such as Levy, Beechler, Taylor, and Boyacigiller's (2007) which posit that cosmopolitanism "represents a state of mind that is manifested as an orientation toward the outside, the Other [. . .] a willingness to explore and learn from alternative systems of meaning held by others", an openness which would prove useful to global executives (p. 240). On the whole, cosmopolitanism is essentially a global orientation appropriate to the field in which the term is applied, but the characteristics are generally vague.

Given the flexibility of the term, approaches to cosmopolitanism philosophies are most usefully considered through dichotomous features that cross the different types: *institutional and moral*, implying the concept of a world state or the ideal that all persons are given equal respect; as *a personal identity versus a responsibility*, which propose the irrelevance of culture for identity or the irrelevance of national boundaries for the scope of justice; *extreme and moderate*, where all values are to be derived from cosmopolitan principles, or where special obligations may also justify values; and finally *weak versus strong*, which dictate either a moral commitment to a minimally or exceeding adequate level of life for all humans (Tan, 2012). In addition to the mere difficulty of using the term with confidence, these categorizations point to some of the complexity in defining a political or moral theory of global humanity (as relevant to any purported global citizenship education program) that receives people as they are, with actual experiences and affinities, rather than the theorist's abstract ideal.

Thus, the first place a global conception of the citizen runs into trouble is in its rejection of the political state: "it is theoretically inappropriate to apply concepts such as 'citizen' or 'civil society' at the global level unless there is space and place for global civic engagement to challenge elite powers and systemic injustices" (Lough & McBride, 2014, p. 459). Secondly, there is an undeniable human connection to a sense of place that is difficult to accommodate in a pure cosmopolitan position (Lough & McBride, 2014).

Thirdly, many definitions of cosmopolitanism are so broad as to be practically useless: "In some ways, [the ability of liberal nationalists to embrace the basic tenants of universalism] just reveals that the definition of moral cosmopolitanism trumpeted by its

defenders is so inclusive as to fail to leave anyone outside its ambit" (Lenard & Moore, 2012, p 65). In an attempt to be radically emancipatory and inclusive, cosmopolitan justice theorists ignore links to territory and the special duties they entail as stemming from unfairness or ignorance, becoming "a theory for people not as they are but as the theorist would prefer them to be" (p. 63). Finally, the rejection of the state seems problematic in the subsequent argument for expanded 'European citizenship' or a 'global citizenship' that requires adherence to particular values (such as agreement about human rights issues). This raises the question, Is modern cosmopolitanism simply a reinvention of the values-based project of Western empire-building, and to what extent can we impose values or policies on other societies without their democratic participation and possible dissent in shaping the narrative?

Meeting midway: Rooted cosmopolitanism and the concept of 'glocal'

In explaining the modern civic subject, both extremes on the scale from nationalism to cosmopolitanism face complications: liberal nationalism and arguments for the preservation of strident national borders are challenged by pluralism and the reality of a globalizing world; the concept of cosmopolitan is still redefining itself in the modern era and can feel overly idealistic or incomplete in the face of anecdotal evidence of patriotism and more extreme xenophobia.

Rooted cosmopolitanism – alternatively termed anchored cosmopolitanism, situated cosmopolitanism, embedded cosmopolitanism, vernacular cosmopolitanism, or republican cosmopolitanism – "attempts to maintain the commitment to moral cosmopolitanism" while at the same time "affirming…the enduring reality and value of cultural diversity and local or national self-government" (Kymlicka & Walker, 2012, p. 3). In other words, it strives to strike a balance between the moral imperatives of cosmopolitanism or global citizenship and the acknowledgement of particularist attachments to people and places as observed in lived experience. The new moniker of "rooted cosmopolitanism" was first advanced by Kwame Anthony Appiah (1996, 2006) and further developed by the likes of Will Kymlicka and Kathryn Walker (2012), and has since carved out a space for researchers in pluralist societies as they study the construction and tensions of multi-faceted modern subjectivities. Theorists taking up rooted cosmopolitanism are the first to point out the need to "beware that our attraction to

the notion does not trade on its abstraction", and the problematic multiplicity of meanings tied to both 'cosmopolitanism' and to 'rootedness' (Weinstock, 2012). While it may not immediately resolve the complexities of a modern subjectivity, rooted cosmopolitanism gives theorists a useful framework by moving away from arguing in absolutes, and instead highlighting the relevance of both particular and global affiliations, thus making central the problem of prioritization where these duties or values are in conflict. The language of particular (or situated) and global (signifying sometimes universal and sometimes international) plus the concepts of values (or morality) and duties (or responsibilities) helps us to understand the crux of the current conversation in pluralistic societies, especially in the context of Canada.

In general terms, the suggested problem with the modern global-local subjectivity is that tensions arise when duties of global or particular attachments appear to be in conflict and requiring prioritization (see Sears, Clarke, & Hughes's 1999 review of the historical context of Canadian citizenship), or in the radical prospect of global affiliations supplanting national loyalties entirely and thus doing away with the governance of the state (a more post-nationalistic argument). Especially in the context of early English Canada, the latter fear took the form of the question: "What mere Canadian citizenship could compare with the claims of an empire that spanned the known universe?" (Morton, 1993, p. 55, quoted in Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1999, p. 113). In an attempt to describe the psychological and ethical situation of the twenty-first century citizen, rooted cosmopolitanism draws together the various national and global strands of modern attachments, suggesting that “identities that bind people deeply to their own particular national community and territory can also mobilize moral commitment to distant others” (Kymlicka & Walker, 2012, p. 6). In other words, citizens may feel situated in their particular context and attached or responsible to those in their context, but at the same time ascribe to a global morality, which itself may be motivated by the local or national identifications. This connection is considered by Brysk (2009), who argues that national citizens acting as global good Samaritans are “not just trying to be better human beings - they take national pride in expressing their [national] identity [...] through these global contributions, and acting globally builds national identities” (p. 221). Thus, rootedness

(values adopted on the basis of national community membership) may facilitate cosmopolitan duties (moral responsibility to the global community).

Conversely, a global values system might block the enactment of a particular duty. For example, an individual's cultural or moral code of behaviour may run up against the particular duties of the national context. In this we can see the utility of the language of global, particular, values, and duties in describing the types of subjectivity conflicts possible in societies such as Canada's with aboriginal and settler populations, distinct historical waves of immigration, strong regionalism, a commitment to multiculturalism, and an orientation toward global engagement rather than insularity. When Elsayed (2009) took up the question of 'being Canadian' in the context of Muslims as a minority Canadian population, she focused on the distinction between rights-based and sense-of-belonging as objective and subjective dimensions of Canadian citizenship. She found that participants "blended" their sense of Canadianness with their perception of Canadian values and ideals, but that they also drew clear boundaries between their own senses of Canadian citizenship and belonging in Canada. This tension between marking out and blending boundaries impacts the individual's political engagement: some of Elsayed's participants described refraining from voting because their religious views may not be shared by political representatives, or feeling increased political mistrust because as conservative or moderate Muslims they strongly opposed the separation of church and state (p. 114). They viewed Canadian politics through a particular cultural lens and so, as Elsayed points out, any action as a citizen "[necessitated] negotiating one's particularities, values, and biases" in relation to the values represented by the dominant culture and state-based agents or parties (p. 40). In this case, the moral code shared by a community that transcends national boundaries impacted the citizens' ability to engage in the civic behaviours or duties in the context of Canada. These two examples -- first of a identification with a particular context and its values facilitating global duties, and second of identification with a global set of values impeding a set of particular duties -- are just two combinations of the language provided by rooted cosmopolitanism. In recognizing the relevance of attachment on a scale from local to global, this theory provides a framework for describing complex modern subjectivities. However, rooted

cosmopolitanism, itself a refinement of the universal demands of a cosmopolitan position, is a concept still in flux.

The current task of scholars is to define the priority relations between the conflicting aspects of “rootedness” and cosmopolitan universalities. Lenard and Moore (2012) summarize three key streams of current discussion: the instrumental strategy, where particular duties are justified because they “specify who is responsible for discharging general duties with respect to specific others” (p. 51); the constraining strategy, where special duties are acceptable as long as they do not conflict with prioritized cosmopolitan obligations (p. 53); and finally, particularism constrained by deontic duties, where the need for human relationships is itself inherently valuable and, therefore, allowable in a hierarchy of obligations to the extent that it does not conflict with egalitarianism (p. 57). As is evident from a brief summary and indeed as Lenard and Moore conclude, each attempt to reconcile specific and general attachments or duties is highly problematic; however, as pointed out by Kymlicka and Walker (2012): “we will continue to live in a world where powerful local loyalties and solidarities coexist with the increasingly urgent moral claims of distinct and distant others” (p. 23).

While those viewing the modern subjectivity through the lens of rooted cosmopolitanism might see a nested or complex hierarchy of specific and general duties, others argue for a sense of these duties as parallel and interconnected due to the nature of our societies, and therefore a natural expression of a global world. In this vein, Pryke (2009) provides working definitions for nationalism -- "an ideology that insists that different groups of people...inhabit the world as defined by their common culture and historical inhabitation of discrete patches of land" -- and for globalization: "a historical process that links people together through ties of trade, finance, travel, culture, media and communication" (17). Although, as Pryke points out, these two have often been depicted as warring poles of a dichotomy, one can see from their definitions that they are not exactly parallel and so are more usefully thought of as coexisting forces that may sometimes overpower one another's influence. The proclaimed radical decline of the nation-state in this view is simply a matter of the gradual structural evolution, and one that could just as easily reverse: since the nation-state does not play the central economic and political role it once did and the eye of capitalism is focused on the global rather than

being restricted within national boundaries, what follows naturally is that societies will become culturally more similar and national differences will fade (Pryke, 2009, 42). The latter might be slowed by emotional attachments to shared myths; the former might be reversed any time a national means of exercising economic or political power proves more useful to those who wield it. In either balance of power, by this definition the process of reshaping structures is made less a revolutionary moral imperative based in human equality, and more a shift in economic practices that has social implications based on the dynamic ways cultures develop over time. The rising use of the term 'glocal' points to the integration of particularities of everyday life and awareness of global events and their impact: "reflecting or characterized by both local and global considerations" (Oxford Living Dictionary, 2017). Studies at universities have demonstrated that specialized programming can have a positive impact on qualities such as a global perspective, global competence, a sense of social responsibility, and intercultural communication competencies (Sklad, Friedman, Park, & Oomen, 2016, p. 336). As we have seen in recent years, when perceived as threats to culture or economic nationalism, awareness of gradual global shifts toward integrated systems can inspire reactionary populist movements that pointedly strive to reverse the 'tide of globalism'. This brings the discussion back to the roles of emotion and the individual, focusing once more on the way individual understandings of citizenship may be increasingly shaping the geo-political world with as much force as traditional governmental seats of power.

2.4 Vocabularies of citizenship: Student-centered research

Around the world, researchers are using interviews, art, and essays to map student 'vocabularies of citizenship'. These thematic approaches to student understandings strive to organize the ways students describe their sense of self, especially contextualized within a national or global sense of citizenship, in order to better understand the underlying framework that might motivate their civic attitudes, approach to learning civic skills, and possible future actions. The term 'vocabularies' is used to imply the working language that structures youth understandings, but also the limitations this language imposes on their definitions. These vocabularies also often emphasize positive aspects of the nation; for example, Australian youth characterized their sense of 'being Australian' in

terms of traditional understandings of lifestyle and personality characteristics, especially when viewed in comparison with other countries (Purdie & Wilss, 2007). Their responses emphasized a sense of well-being, and also documented a recent historical shift toward pluralist and inclusive views of Australian national identity dominated by the value of a safe and prosperous environment (Purdie & Wilss, 2007, p. 79).

Many studies highlight the intense importance of belonging, though the tone can take on different slants given the national context. In countries as diverse as Turkey and Italy, youth understandings of citizenship generally were phrased according to a voluntary or inevitable legal status conferring membership in the state or an ethnic- or socially constructed identity (Senay, 2008; Marzana, Pozzi, Fasanelli, Mercuri, & Fattori, 2016). However, in Turkey, "the legal status aspect of citizenship was mostly emphasized by liberal and republican young people; nationalist, Islamist, and Kurdish youth were more concerned for its identity aspects; and the civic virtue aspect was mostly stressed by leftist and republican respondents" (Senay, 2008, p. 972-975). In Italy, those youth not engaged in volunteerism were more likely to define citizenship in terms of belonging to the state, bonding with the nation and enjoying rights, while those who were highly engaged spoke in terms of belonging, participation, and producing and safeguarding rights (Marzana, Pozzi, Fasanelli, Mercuri, & Fattori, 2016, p. 1166). The politics of the nation and the practices of the individual impacted the youth conceptions of citizenship. When asking British students to rank definitions of citizenship gleaned from an open-ended response of a previous study, Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, and Lopes (2005) found a similar emphasis on belonging (to local, national, or international communities) as the top-ranked item, followed by people's responsibilities and obeying the law, making sure everyone is treated fairly, working together to make things better, people's rights, and being a good citizen (p. 15). This highlights a final point of importance in both youth conceptions and many curricula: the active citizen. Citizenship as conceived by youth worldwide, it seems, is a sense of belonging first, and is secondarily connected with values and behaviours when considered in the abstract. This, however, must always be considered in the socio-political context in which youth find themselves.

Turning to the nation at hand, knowing how students are using the term 'citizenship' in the context of their Canadian education can provide insight into how current curricular

goals are being enacted in classrooms and received or processed by students; this should inform debate regarding trends toward 'character building' rather than activism, or an economically and globally competitive individual at the expense of an active, inquiring citizen (see for example: Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011; Lewis, 2011, p 169; Mitchell, 2003, p. 399; Evans, 2003; Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1999). Hildebrand's (2007) study of Albertan youth resulted in nine core themes for being Canadian: means nothing much, means multiculturalism, means being un-American, means being peaceful and safe, means being proud, involves symbolism, means being free, means having democratic rights, means being fortunate. These themes align generally with the 'proud and prosperous' narratives found in Australian youth, but with the significant difference of the most frequently articulated theme: nothing much. In fact, 60% of these students expressed an undefinability to being Canadian, along with expressions of apathy, ambivalence, and unsentimentality; the lack of attachment to any national identity coupled with a set of values led Hildebrand to conclude that "Canada is already poised to embrace a more cosmopolitan ethic of citizenship" (p. 1 & 72). On the other hand, using image-based analysis and focus groups in Saskatchewan, Tupper & Cappello (2012) found 4 themes in student understandings of good citizenship: displaying a sense of nationalism and national pride, respecting relationships and displaying a communal ethos, embracing a socially sanctioned concern for the environment, and embracing official multiculturalism. Noting nationalism and multiculturalism's mutual constitution in student descriptions of citizenship, Tupper & Cappello (2012) concluded that for students "good citizenship is inseparable from celebrating our diversity as a nation and being proud of our country for recognizing diversity in official policy" but cautioned against the trend toward "inclusion of ‘other’ cultures with little imperative to understand or engage in meaningful ways" (p. 51-52).

In summary, interpretation of youths’ sense of belonging is mixed, with some seeming to take it for granted (Schmitt, 2010), others disregarding it as “nothing much” (Hildebrand, 2007), and still others feeling strongly attached to multicultural and transnational but very Canadian identities (Lee & Hebert, 2006). In fact, youth as a population who may imagine the scope of their community to be larger than the nation is not new to this generation; as early as the 1960s, young Canadians were expressing

transnationalism as an integral part of Canadian identity through Miles for Millions walkathon fundraisers (Myers, 2014). It is clear that Canadian citizenship and Canadian group identity are topics up for debate in the study of youth conceptions.

2.5 Educating the 'good' citizen: Best practices in citizenship education

After going "out of fashion among political thinkers" in the 1970s, the study of citizenship and citizenship education boomed in the 1990s and into the new millennium (van Gunsteren, 1978, p. 9; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1999). The full range of research on teacher understandings of civics and social studies curricula, as well as their experiences implementing such static documents in dynamic and contextualized classrooms worldwide, is unfortunately beyond the scope of the current project. Instead, with this study's focus on student experiences and understandings, where possible this review will focus on evaluations of best practices that highlight student rather than teacher voices, albeit in a world where frameworks are often negotiated and imposed from the top-down view of adult citizenship priorities.

The scope and structure of citizenship education: Curriculum, programs, and objectives

In the face of low political engagement and shifting notions of national identity, many countries have opted to develop nationally-mandated citizenship education programs, especially in nations with high immigration such as Singapore (Ho & Baildon, 2013), aboriginal and settler populations such as Australia (Macintyre & Simpson, 2009; Smits, 2011), and regionalism such as Scotland within the United Kingdom or Catalonia within Spain (Hepburn, 2011). Canada -- with historically high immigration, distinct aboriginal and settler populations, and strong regionalism -- has opted instead to prioritize diversity in its curricular approach. Although there have been calls for a national curriculum to pool resources or ensure students receive a similar understanding of Canada and the problems it faces (Lewis, 2009), others argue that cross-pollination in resources provides enough similarities and yet leaves room for regional concerns (Broom, 2015).

Curriculum documents represent a vision for education, which is inevitably mediated by teacher interpretations, student backgrounds, and classroom practicalities before we might consider measuring outcomes. However, curriculum documents are useful in examining the proposed values of a current government and cultural understandings of

large terms such as 'citizenship' or 'active', so many have taken this top-down policy approach to understanding citizenship education documents as a frame for current and historical narratives (see for example Sears & Hughes, 1996; Lewis, 2011; Broom 2012; Broom, 2015). Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, (2010) found that, worldwide, citizenship education is offered primarily via integration into several subjects (84% of countries surveyed), slightly less frequently as a cross-curricular theme across all programs (71%), and in some cases as a stand-alone subject either compulsory or optional (47%), though many countries also report using a mixed approach (p. 46 - 47). In Canada, the core year of delivery and structure of the program for citizenship education differs by province, offered from once and three times between grades 9 through 11 as at least one option in a range of compulsory subjects (Lewis, 2011, p. 170). For example, Ontario introduced a compulsory half-year dedicated civics course to the grade 10 curriculum in 2000 (Lewis, 2009; Broom, 2015). On the other hand, Social Studies 11 is the key year for citizenship education delivery in British Columbia, and since 2005 the mandatory course's curriculum has prioritized themes over disciplines (Lewis, 2009; Broom, 2015). Its curriculum document includes the words 'citizen' or 'citizenship' fifteen times (though with some repetitive language), from the course's overall goal -- where the "aim of social studies is to develop thoughtful, responsible, active citizens who are able to acquire the requisite information to consider multiple perspectives and to make reasoned judgments" (Province of British Columbia, 2005, p. 11) -- through a content-specific introduction to the constitution and a definition of the word 'civic' (Province of British Columbia, 2005, p. 55, 151), and finally as a particular prescribed learning outcome: "demonstrate skills and attitudes of active citizenship, including ethical behaviour, open-mindedness, respect for diversity, and collaboration" (Province of British Columbia, 2005, p. 20). There is a focus on the word active, used eight times, as well as a clear connection between the national and global, evident in the curriculum overview's statement of the "goal of preparing students for their lives as Canadian citizens and members of the international community" (Province of British Columbia, 2005, p. 11). Students can also opt for a more focused Civics 11 course alternative (with a three pronged approach: informed citizenship, civic deliberation, and civic action; KnowBC, 2017) or Native Studies 11 to fulfil the grade 11 compulsory

credit (Lewis, 2011). Finally, students can also enrol in locally developed Board/Authority Authorized Courses, where available (British Columbia, 2017).

Every province revised its citizenship education policy in the boom of the late 1990s and mid-2000s, reflecting various policy pendulum swings between conservative traditional and active-citizenry objectives (Lewis, 2011, p.169) and British Columbia is in the process of once again rewriting its entire curriculum to reflect a more cross-curricular, critical-thinking approach. At the time of this project, the 2005 curriculum was still in place for all standard-stream Social Studies 11 courses. As outlined above, citizenship is a key goal of this curriculum, with a focus on being 'active' and one statement which seems to parallel preparation for Canadian and globalized citizenship. Diluting disciplines by subsuming them under themes or providing citizenship education in optional upper-level courses raises concern that, since enrolment demonstrably declines in these optional courses, all students graduating from the secondary system will not have had equal opportunity to gain a basic understanding of Canada's governing structures (McKenzie, 1993). These broad concerns are challenged by more nuanced research such as Kahne, Crow, & Lee's (2013), where the types of civic learning opportunities rather than the types of courses that house them makes the difference in learning outcomes (p. 432).

In addition to the diversity created by pure civics courses versus citizenship as a theme within Social Studies, the growth of education for global citizenship has offered yet another choice to educators and students. According to Davies, Evans, & Reid (2005), citizenship education focuses more on national perspectives and emphasizes either community-based involvement or classroom-based cognitive reflection, whereas global education tends toward affective realms and in its post-national focus deals with issues that "require immediate and perhaps radical attention" (p. 84). Such courses take up more cosmopolitan concerns aligned with a belief in the importance of increasing global interdependence, as outlined in section 2.4 above, and are particularly popular at tertiary levels of schooling despite the difficulty of defining the term itself and a relative lack of empirical research on the impacts of such programs (see Sklad, Friedman, Park, & Oomen, 2016; Richarson, De Fabrizio, Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2011).

Finally, the desired outcomes of education for citizenship are subject to myriad interpretations, depending upon stakeholder perspectives: Elections Canada attends to voter turnout, organizations like UNICEF require donations, and society looks for passionate voices and volunteers to fuel cohesive communities and critical, democratic processes (Gidengil et al, 2003; Khazan, 2013; Hudon, 2003; Phillips, 2014). In the same way, a student's conceptualization of good citizenship can influence their expectations of citizenship education programs, and thereby impact those programs' success (Nugent, 2006). A clear definition of what citizenship means and what programs aim to achieve has been found to underlie successful citizenship education implementations (Craig, Kerr, Wade, Taylor, 2004) and is also recommended for clear policy making (Checkoway, 2011). Regardless of the difficulty in defining the term and its outcomes, citizenship education has long been a ubiquitous feature of public school education worldwide, and is now integrated into nearly all European schools (Eurydice, 2005; Eurydice, 2012), Australia (Print & Gray, 2000), and England (Keating, Kerr, Lopes, Featherstone, & Benton, 2009), alongside Canada's provincially-mandated approach. An overview of specifically Canadian citizenship education, including critiques and calls for research, is presented at the end of this section following a general summary of global approaches to citizenship education programming and competencies.

Citizenship as doing: Experiential learning and special programs

The importance of understanding terminology and goals in curriculum development is underscored by scholarship demonstrating the link between pedagogies and outcomes in citizenship education. Generally, an open classroom climate and the facilitation of respectful discussion stand apart as key aspects of successful citizenship education (Pasek, Feldman, Romer & Jamieson, 2008; Alivernini & Manganelli, 2011; Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & ten Dam, 2013), alongside explicitly teaching about voting and elections and a school culture that values real democratic student participation (Torney-Purta, 2002; Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascope, 2014). In a more detailed study of effects, Kahne, Crow, & Lee (2013) found that open discussion of societal issues resulted in greater interest in diverse perspectives and commitment to formal and electoral forms of engagement, while service learning promoted expressive, youth-centered, and community-based forms of action (p. 435); conversely, open discussion of

societal issues did not promote community volunteerism, and service learning did not increase interest in politics and diverse opinions (p. 432). Other studies have pointed to a need for combining active and traditional modes of teaching (Martens & Gainous, 2013), the long-term impact of peer-groups (Ajilore & Alberda, 2017), and the underlying impact of student-based factors -- such as socioeconomic status and gender -- on perceptions of even the most empirically-supported classroom initiatives (Claes, Maurissen, & Havermans, 2017). Finally, the level of impact of schools themselves -- on civic attitudes, skills, and intentions alike -- has been brought into question by large scale studies (Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & van der Werf, 2014), while at the same time, the measurable impact of out-of-school and extracurricular activities is mixed or contradictory, dependent on the ability of leaders to facilitate student reflection (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & Ten Dam, 2012). Thus, while the structure and now the approaches of curriculum have been discussed here, we must always keep in mind the individual characteristics that mediate classroom experiences and demand that we keep student voices at the core of research practices.

Checkoway (2011) notes that the current conceptualization of youth citizen participation has various objectives, outcomes, and assessment criteria and in the face of this divergence he argues that any true form of participation ought to invite young people to have real impact on the institutions and decisions that affect their lives (p. 341). Supporting this, a summary of research from 20 case study organizations emphasized the success of experiential learning approaches "including project work, drama, role play, art, photography, and exhibition work" as well as "active participation in large-scale assemblies" and "links with the wider community through site visits… and giving young people responsibility for working and negotiating with external partners" (Craig, Kerr, Wade, Taylor, 2004, p. vii). Experiential learning means learning through concrete experiences, generally also implying active participation and hands-on opportunities that connect to real life (Coffey, n.d.). In the realm of citizenship education, this could refer to any of the practices listed from the case studies above, or a wide range of other activities, depending on the stakeholder perspective. In other words, if a program's stated aim were to teach students to vote in an electoral system, experiential learning in that program would give students real opportunities to engage conceptually and practically with that

desired outcome; if awareness, volunteerism, or open-mindedness were conceived as the key citizenship goals of a program, concrete experiences shown to enhance those qualities would be employed (see for example: Levintova, Johnson, Scheberle, & Vonck, 2011; Clyde, 2010; Cheung, 2006; Costandius & Bitzer, 2014). Significantly, Taft & Gordon's (2013) work demonstrated that even politically engaged youth will disengage where they do not feel that they are being given meaningful influence. This emphasizes the importance of the 'real' in experiential learning.

This may not yet be fully reflected in classrooms worldwide. In questioning priorities of educators in 38 countries, the IEA's ICCS found that teachers and school principals valued development of knowledge and skills as the aim of civic and citizenship education programs (including "promoting knowledge of social, political and civic institutions," "developing students' skills and competencies in conflict resolution," "promoting knowledge of citizenships' rights and responsibilities," and "promoting students' critical and independent thinking"), but did not feature the development of active participation among their primary objectives (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillonm Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 15). However, in terms of framing progressive and open-minded classrooms, the shift may simply be in progress: notably, teacher education students have scored significantly higher than other disciplines on measures of global-mindedness (for discussions of pre-service teacher attributes related to global-mindedness see Meyer et al. 2011).

With regard to apathy, attention to the evolving nature of community attachments and shifting civic norms provides an interesting counter-narrative to the 'youth as problematic' story. Research indicates that having diverse social networks promote youth's political participation (Quintelier, Stolle, & Harell, 2012), and that peer-generated political content and peer-led political initiatives increase youth engagement (Vromen, 2008; Gordon & Taft, 2011). These results position students as the solution, rather than the problem. Snow's (2013) study of at-risk youth running their own transitioning program from secondary to post-secondary academics emphasizes "development and maintenance of social supports, community connections and interpersonal relationships", and especially "peer-based opportunities for network bridging" (p. 26). Most significantly, this points to the importance of community continuity – especially that of familiar peers – in successfully bridging the gap between

secondary and post-secondary contexts. Similarly, research in other contexts has proposed authentic program involvement as improving political behavioural outcomes – from AmeriCorps (Finlay, Flanagan, & Wray-Lake, 2011) to youth participatory research that built skills and empowered self-perceptions (Coser et al, 2014). Not only do students prefer to work on meaningful and impactful projects, they can turn these desires into supporting each other in maintaining long-term political and academic approaches and practices.

Other issues in implementing experiential or specially focused programming for citizenship education include, ironically, inclusion. Beyond the simple matter of cost in implementing new and hands-on curricula, educators must carefully consider how all students will be able to engage in goals. Deliberative democracy is one such approach that promises real practice but must be carefully implemented: striving to mimic Greek forms of representation it calls for citizens to speak directly to one another in a critically engaged assembly, making arguments and judging based on reason. This style of democracy and thus education requires the skills of presenting and evaluating arguments, and an attitude of openness to reciprocity (Enslin & White, 2003). This could exclude those less competent and confident in a public speaking mode, but a 'communicative model of deliberation' could supplement argumentation with emotional and embodied talk such as storytelling (Enslin & White, 2003). In this way, educators can adapt theories of good citizenship in order to give students real practice with the skills that they can immediately apply to their everyday world. Similarly, in order to overcome the problem of bringing all citizens together in one assembly -- often not possible in a modern polity -- deliberative theorists propose a plurality of contexts for deliberation and look to ways that digital technologies can increase the breadth of the deliberative community (Enslin & White, 2003). This tenant of careful implementation applies across all types of citizenship education as theorists and educators work together to frame 21st century classrooms based on evolving understandings of citizenship and civic skills. Reviewing the overlap and differences in the aims of citizenship and global education programs, Davies, Evans, & Reid (2005) point out that we must "resist simplistic notions that may suggest that educational responses to globalisation can be achieved merely by adding international content or token global education type activities to citizenship education programmes" (p.

85). Again creativity on the part of educational policy planners and teachers is required to bring real experiential learning, rather than rote focus on knowledge, into the realm of the classroom.

Citizenship as being/believing: Tensions in civic subjectivities

Studies of young people's social contexts and civic/political engagement tend to focus on explaining low or hybrid senses of belonging in Canada (Kitchen, Williams, Chowhan, 2012; Kobayashi & Preston, 2014), political apathy (Milner, 2010), and the changing attitudes or norms that may underlie these effects. With young peoples' sense of belonging in a nation trending toward transnationalism as early as the 1960s (Myers, 2014), yet yielding highly mixed results in recent studies (e.g. Schmitt, 2010; Hildebrand, 2007; Lee & Hebert, 2006) it is understandable that the topic has both fascinated and frustrated researchers for decades. These notions of belonging are and have long been strategically negotiated by individuals in situated contexts (Schmitt, 2010; Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009), but this does not negate the role that social contexts play in shaping the civic/political subject. One study found that community attachment had differential predictive effects on civic outcomes: subjective attachment (e.g. caring for others in the city or feeling like a member of the community) was related to both volunteering and voting, while objective attachment (e.g. years living in a community) affected voting but not volunteering (Boulianne & Brailey, 2014). The authors suggest that civic engagement and political engagement are related but separate processes. Similarly, while a study in South Korea indicated that aggregated civic participation pushes individuals to become more politically active, the same results also demonstrated a difference in types: not every form of civic participation translated to greater political participation, and generalized civic participation inspired some types of political action (attending demonstrations, signing petitions) but not others (voting, joining boycotts) (Jeong, 2013). Aligned, then, with both common sense and research literature, one's community, in its various and overlapping senses, is a significant factor influencing the way we think and act as citizens. In addition to suggesting the importance of community, these results have implications for secondary education programs that strive to prepare students for political engagement by practicing civic engagement alternatives.

Approaching subjectivity tensions in the education system

Youth develop specifically "political identities" around their core attributes -- such as gender and being native-born or an immigrant -- and they do not "shed their group identities at school's door" (Torney-Purta, 2002, p. 210). Modern incarnations of citizenship education must grapple with the question of tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism (see Richardson & Abbott, 2009), negotiating a sensitive milieu of identity politics and avoiding nation-building indoctrination while opening spaces for students to explore authentic civic subjectivities and practice the real-world civic skills that will help them engage with current political systems. As argued by Myers & Zaman (2009), many contemporary theories of the nation-state and the subject "oversimplify the complex, and evolving, relationship between national and global dimensions of citizenship" by conceiving of civic subjectivities as fixed rather than socially constructed and contingent (p. 2589). In addition to tensions between modern meta-narratives, any discussion of a homogenizing, pan-national 'identity' in post-colonial nations is fraught with conflict. The teaching of history in Canada, for example, has been plagued by passionately unresolved regional and ethnic stalemates (Glassford, 2010; Osborne, 2003).

Despite the sensitive territory, group identities have nonetheless been examined because of their powerful potential to impact human behaviour and social preferences (Benjamin, Carter, 2013; Charnysh, Lucas, & Singh, 2015; Chen & Li, 2009; Choi, & Strickland, 2010; Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013), especially as they relate to political identities, opinions, and actions (Ashizawa, 2008; Berdahl & Raney, 2010; Caron, 2012; ; Nimijean, 2005; Raney & Berdahl, 2011; Raney & Berdahl, 2009). Singapore, for example, directly states belonging, multiculturalism, and personal responsibility to the nation as three of their five National Education messages: "Singapore is our homeland, this is where we belong", "We must preserve racial and religious harmony", and "We must ourselves defend Singapore" (Ministry of Education, 2007). Studies of public education in the United States have taken developing patriotic citizens loyal to the nation as a key objective over the years (Tyack, 2003; Reuben, 2005). Currently, Canada's government-led national narrative is aimed primarily at newcomers and adults and has been criticized for its political agenda (Blake, 2013; Pashby, Ingram, Joshee, 2014). Provinces are left to devise regionally appropriate narratives and pedagogies for secondary students; as urged by Levesque (2003), "[t]he key challenge for Canadian

educators, then, is not to find a common myth-like grand narrative, which all Canadians can believe deeply, but to build on the inherent differences in their discipline to help 21st century students gain insight and perspectives from other social and cultural contexts" (p. 122). Success in this arena has been questioned. Kennelly (2009) argued that Canadian civics curriculum documents emphasize responsibilities over rights, thereby shifting "the burdens of citizenship onto the individual, by continually reiterating the requirement to be self-regulating and self-scrutinizing" (p. 133), and Berdahl & Raney (2010) suggest that "political actors [might] sway Canadian attitudes in specific directions by appealing to various aspects of national identity" (p. 1005). Some argue that modern narratives of multiculturalism are motivated not by ideals of national "unity in diversity" but the competitive economic imperatives of globalization (Mitchell, 2003), or even that a shift toward depoliticized citizenship norms has been encouraged or enforced by governments worldwide as a means of ensuring a docile populace to this day (Ho & Baildon, 2013).

Summary of the state of Canadian citizenship education

Since its creation through Confederation Canada too has used schools as vehicles in the education of good citizens, however, provincial control of education has resulted in a wide variety of pedagogy, goals, and outcomes. Despite over 20 years of intense federal, provincial, and scholarly interest, curriculum documents, implementations, and outcomes have garnered tepid to dismal reviews (Evans, 2003; Hughes, Print, & Sears, 2010; Howe, 2010; Leinweber, Donlevy, Gereluk, Patterson, & Brar, 2012; McKenzie, 1993). Within the confines of shared provincial guidelines, radically different types of citizenship instruction can occur, shaped by teacher conceptions of good citizenship and resulting in differing student orientations to politics and civic participation (Giron, 2012). In British Columbia, fewer than half of teachers, parents, and students feel the grade 8-12 program serves students' needs and suggest that strong revisions need to be made in content-heavy Social Studies 11 where, incidentally, the majority of civics-related material is mandated (BC Ministry of Education, 2007).

With regard to civic subjectivities, researchers characterize Canada's approach to education through the 20th century as elitist and passive at best – providing a narrow view of national culture in order to produce a particular type of easily-governed citizen – and "a vehicle of assimilationist nation-building" at worst (Sears, Clarke, & Hughes,

1999, p. 125; Hodgetts, 1968; Osborne, 1995; Osborne, 1996). Over the course of the century, however, conceptions of citizenship became slowly depoliticized, with an increasing emphasis on personal responsibilities and "character building;" by the mid-2000s every province had reformed its policy and curricula, all moving toward more activist and pluralist orientations (Lewis, 2011; p 169; Evans, 2003; Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1999). More recent critiques of Canadian citizenship curricula argue that neoliberal trends overemphasize the citizen as an economically and globally competitive individual, and the resultant construction of "the active citizen" as a failure (Mitchell, 2003, p. 399; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011).

2.4 Summary and definitions of key terms

Canada's increasing role in international conflicts, global climate initiatives, and trade and security agreements should demand the attention and participation of a new generation of citizens; these citizens must feel motivated and able to impact decisions made at each level of government as well as in global institutions. As is suggested by the research questions, this paper explores the aspects of citizenship outlined above in the repeated order of doing, being/believing, and educational programming. After explaining methodological choices and design in Chapter 3, the findings in Chapter 4 present demographics, student vocabularies of citizenship, student constructions of Canadian and global subjectivities, and student experiences of citizenship education. Chapter 5 reviews these results in light of similar studies and the theory of rooted cosmopolitanism, and in conclusion, Chapter 6 offers a summary of key findings alongside a discussion of study limitations and future directions for research.

Nation: a group of people who feel bonded to one another based on shared ethnicity, culture, values, or territorial claims.

Nation-state: a form of political organization under which a relatively homogeneous people inhabits a sovereign state; especially: a state containing one as opposed to several nationalities (Merriam-Webster, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nation-state)

Nationalism / Patriotism: Feelings of attachment and allegiance to the political unit 'nation'; measures of national pride are often used as a proxy for the less appealing

language of 'nationalism'. May take the form of ethnic (based on shared ancestry or ethnicity) or civic (based on commitment to values, inclusivity, liberalism, or political principles, institutions, and processes) (Reeskens & Wright, 2011; Smits, 2011, p. 89). Note that some make a distinction between nationalism as a political and patriotism as a social-emotional expression, but they will be compressed for the purposes of the current study (see Baker, 2012).

Nation-building: 1. "a process of unifying the population in a country by constructing a national unity where people feel bounded together by a sense of community and cohesion, and where people talk to, understand, and trust one another" (Ahlerup & Hansson, 2011, p. 1); or 2. "the creation of a common national identity, as opposed to a tribal or regional identity, and has been proposed as a possible remedy against problems associated with ethnic fractionalization" (Miguel, 2004)

Interculturalism: “shared dialogue” is a way “diverse peoples and perspectives can work to enrich and jointly build a common societal culture” (Gereluk & Scott, 2014, p. 139 – 140, 142).

Post-nationalism: a externally-focused model of society where the notion of citizenship is tied to transnational personhood, universal human rights, regional and global level political structures, extra-national perspectives, and the inclusion of historically excluded groups (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005, p. 75).

Cosmopolitanism / Global Kinship: "Empathy with the circumstances of others and desire to respond actively to global challenges" (Meyer et al., 2011, p. 185)

Global-mindedness: "the capacity and the inclination to place our self and the people, objects, and situations with which we come into contact within the broader matrix of our contemporary world" (Mansilla & Gardner, 2007, p. 58).

Global citizen: one who "identifies with being part of an emerging world community and whose actions contribute to building this community's values and practices" (Israel, 2012).

Glocalization: "the observation that all global change starts with local action, and the recognition that there is always an underlining connection between local and global processes" (Sklad, Friedman, Park, & Oomen, 2016).

Rooted cosmopolitanism: a meeting-place of local and global senses of attachment, belonging, and responsibility, where "identities that bind people deeply to their own particular national community and territory can also mobilize moral commitment to distant others" (Kymlicka & Walker, 2012, p. 6). The interaction between local and global senses of self may be instrumental (gives the individual framework for applying cosmopolitan duties to specific people), constraining (where cosmopolitan duties are prioritized, and particular duties are allowable if not conflicting), or particularism (where the inherent value of human relationships justifies the place of particular duties in a larger cosmopolitan hierarchy of obligations) (Lenard & Moore, 2012, p. 51 - 57).

Political and Democratic: The terms 'political' and 'democratic' are sometimes used loosely, but for this paper political will refer specifically to actions and policy related to government, while democratic more generally describes any system or situation where all are treated equally and have equal rights ("Politics", 2015; "Democracy", 2015). Therefore, young people may be involved in democratic contexts without necessarily gaining political knowledge or passions.

Experiential learning: learning through concrete experiences, generally also implying active participation and hands-on opportunities that connect to real life (Coffey, n.d.).

Chapter 3: Method and Procedures

3.1 Design

This project is an exploratory study -- with respondents purposefully selected to represent both standard stream and specialty programming in one British Columbian school district -- using a mixed-methods approach to analysis. Mixed methods was chosen to balance the need for open exploratory spaces for students to express authentic understandings with the specific concerns of current scholarship on Canadian group identity and youth apathy. The study's aim is thus best served by an exploratory approach: to provide clarification on the existing topics of citizenship and citizenship education from the perspective of current students, with the goal of gaining insight and making recommendations rather than drawing definitive conclusions (University of Southern California, 2017).

An irresistible enigma as much as it is sensitive territory, group identity generally and individual civic subjectivity particularly in Canada has inspired a myriad of creative research approaches, from quantitative public opinion surveys of adult political stances (e.g. Berdahl & Raney, 2010) to qualitative analysis of the canonical theme of wilderness in contemporary art or of online reactions to reality television (Gilbert, 2008; de B'beri & Middlebrook, 2009). The need for more empirical studies of student experiences was covered in chapter 1, but in terms of design what is seen less frequently in the field is a mixed methods approach, where a balance between generalizability and sensitivity to detail combine to offer a particularly "promising approach to the study of collective identities" (Moes, 2008). Similar studies into developing youth subjectivities have primarily opted for qualitative interviews (e.g. Botterill, Hopkins, Sanghera, & Arshad, 2016; Butler & Benoit, 2015; Baker, 2012; Tupper & Cappello, 2012; Myers, 2010; Purdie & Wilss, 2007; Hildebrand, 2007). Moes (2008) argues for mixed methods because quantitative analyses offer an excellent way to understand *which* people identify with a given nationality, while a qualitative approach enable us to gain insight into *what it means* to associate with a certain national identity (p. 12). In response to his and other "[pleas] for a mixed-method approach" along with more rigorous data in order to "achieve more evidence-based citizenship education" (see Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, &

ten Dam, 2013, p. 170), this study takes up mixed methods in order to demonstrate the extent to which these purposefully sampled youth feel associated with a given aspect or version of civic subjectivity, as well as what these associations mean to them.

The work makes use of a convergent parallel design: two independent strands of qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed in a single phase before being merged and examined for convergence, divergence, contradictions, or relationships between the two databases (Cresswell & Clark, 2001, p. 116). Both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study were completed with the same population through the same survey, and the data were reported in Findings sections according to theme rather than design in order to better address the research questions.

3.2 Recruitment

Participants were recruited through their Social Studies 11 credit courses at two mid-sized public secondary schools, one which ran standard course credits in addition to special programming incorporating the required credits, and the other which ran only standard course offerings. The standard stream Social Studies 11 courses were each taught by one teacher, and followed the standard Social Studies 11 curriculum within one year of instruction in classrooms of average size with on average 20 - 25 students per class at each school. The special program aimed to "transcend traditional disciplines" and so was team-taught by "an interdisciplinary team of teachers" in a larger classroom during a daily double-block of classes with approximately 40 students enrolled in a class (School District 63, 2017; Institute for Global Solultions, 2017). The curriculum of this special program "[combined] the prescribed learning outcomes of two Grade 11 courses, Social Studies and Sustainability, and two Grade 12 courses, Geography and Global Studies, over a two-year period" (School District 63, 2017). This special program thus combined multiple course credits into a "one 8-credit supercourse [sic]" with the goal of facilitating student-driven action projects and project-based learning experiences in the local community, bi-weekly visiting lecturers, and field studies, through which grade 11 and 12 students "can expect to leave the [...] campus at least one time each week [...] culminating [in a] Grade 11 trip across Canada and an [sic] Grade 12 trip abroad" (Institute for Global Studies, 2017). The students in this study were sampled at the

beginning and end of their grade 11 year, and thus before and after their major project-based, lecture, and travel experiences as dictated by the aims of the special program.

Both schools were situated in demographic areas where families earned above the median Canadian annual family income, though the school running special programming was larger (with a graduating class of almost double), relatively more wealthy (average family income in surrounding area 24% higher compared to the smaller school), and with smaller ESL and Special Needs designated student populations (each half the percentage of the smaller school) (Cain, 2013; Fraser Institute).

Purposeful sampling aimed to survey the range of student voices present in the British Columbian secondary schools at the grade level they are meant to experience major lessons in citizenship through the provincially-mandated curriculum. With this purposeful sampling, the study aimed to include both standard stream students (Social Studies 11 courses) and those taking special citizenship-focused programming; furthermore, it was important to include students taking a Social Studies 11 course at a school also offering special programming as well as those taking the standard stream at a school not offering any additional program options since the presence of a flagship program might be expected to influence the student body on the whole. Finally, in order to gain a true picture of West Coast British Columbian schools, it was important to sample the diversity that makes up a typical classroom and so public rather than private schools were targeted and both long-term international and visiting international students were invited to participate. In the demographics analysis below, much attention is paid to how well this sample represents British Columbian schools on the whole, and subsequent analyses are sensitive to when survey language excluded portions of the population with nation-specific terms or was more appropriate to a domestically-enrolled Canadian student.

On the cusp of reaching the legal voting age in Canada, all of these students are at a critical point in their educational careers: still ensconced in the mandatory education program with the last required Social Studies course credit for graduation, but almost at the point of being expected to take adult responsibility for their political opinions and democratic rights.

3.3 Survey construction

The survey was developed in reaction to current debates in the literature and a general lack of empirical data to support theoretical assumptions about youth populations.

Based on much of the research in the field, a survey design was chosen as an effective mode of gathering student perspectives on citizenship, and mixed methods was employed to give students both rich and efficient ways of expressing and exploring their sense of civic self. As a starting point, the well-established items from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) large scale International Civic and Citizenship Education study (ICCS) provided the basis of core categories of thought on citizenship conceptions (conventional versus social-movement related) and current or predicted modes of participation of 'good' citizens (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004), to which prompts specific to the Canadian context and to the potential conflict between national and global citizenships were added based on current scholarship. The resulting 30-minute survey was comprised of 72 open-ended, binary-response, and Likert-scale prompts in five categories of inquiry: demographics, models of citizenship, global and national citizenship, the school's role in citizenship education, and youth citizenship in action. All ordinal items were ranked on either 5-point Likert scales or 3-point ratings of relative importance. Open-ended responses were consistently placed at the beginning of relevant sections in order to minimize the influence of language in the ranked items. The prompts were designed to gather student perceptions near the beginning of the critical year of citizenship education, and the same survey was administered in a shortened form at the end of the course.

Demographics inquired after basic statements related to subjectivity, with a focus on cultural associations and experiences. Items in the next section used scales developed by the IEA's ICCS to categorize vocabularies according to two models of citizenship: Conventional Citizenship and Social-movement-related Citizenship. These scales provided a starting place for understanding the values and behaviours associated with the general concept of citizenship, established categories for considering later questions on the types of action already being taken by students, and helped to provide Canadian data for comparison to the international standards set by the ICCS large-scale inquiries. Three further prompts clarified the participant's level of differentiation between 'being

Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen', especially as a legal or moral category, and offered an opportunity to discuss the concept of citizenship in a short answer response.

A series of short answer and ranked-response items next sought to describe student understandings of Canadian national citizenship specifically. During survey instructions, international students were directed to answer questions describing Canadian citizens from their own unique perspectives, and in analyses these responses were dealt with separately and as part of the group since the international community forms an important part of Canada's mosaic in adult life as well as youth communities. As noted by Ahlerup & Hansson (2011), "asking people whether they are nationalistic, and if so about the intensity of their nationalism, is unlikely to provide a reliable measurement of these sentiments, since the term nationalist is often considered to be pejorative" (p. 437) and thus item language was developed to measure positive attachment to the nation both indirectly and directly but from a variety of angles. Through this section, students were asked to define Canadian national citizenship (boundaries, symbols, values, and responsibilities), as well as consider the international aspect of a 'Canadian identity'. Having described a type of national citizen, a further eight prompts addressed the individual's pride in Canada. Comparable questions asked students to define global citizenship (boundaries, responsibilities) and the extent to which military, legal, and moral obligations are felt at national and international levels. Finally, this section addressed the supposed conflict between levels of association (local, provincial, national, and global) directly by asking participants to rate statements of each level's relevance to their sense of self, and by asking directly about the relevance of nations in relation to the global community.

Questions regarding the school's role in citizenship education offered students open-ended opportunities to describe their preferred and most meaningful modes of learning, and assessed confidence levels in basic political knowledge and behaviours as a marker of efficacy in teachable areas. As noted above, the survey ended with an inquiry into the types of action already being taken by students, and the level of responsibility they feel in addressing local, national, and international concerns.

The follow-up study delivered at the end of the course (either January or May/June for each semester) represented the same categories in a shortened format (Appendix B,

Figure 3). In this survey, however, open-ended questions regarding the school used language intended to invite evaluation and creative thinking about citizenship education in order to facilitate student suggestions for the future of the field.

3.4 Data collection and data screening

Student participants were recruited based on their enrolment in a grade 11 class where their teacher had responded to an invitation to participate in the study. Teachers were provided with a script to introduce the project in the weeks leading up to the survey date (Appendix B, Figure 1) and a letter to parents was provided for each student, explaining the project's purpose, methods, and possible risks. On the day of the survey, students gathered in at-school computer facilities, listened to a researcher-led introduction to the process of ethics for educational research, and reviewed the informed consent sheet as part of their choice to participate. It was made clear at each point that students had the option not to participate (and indeed some chose to work on other projects during the survey time), and that they could withdraw their participation and data at any point. After the survey, the group was engaged in a debrief covering the background of the current project and inviting discussion of the research questions in relation to their current course content. The debrief document was also available online and the researcher's email address was provided to students for any follow-up questions or concerns. A similar process was followed for the follow-up survey, however, the debrief presentation was updated to include a sampling of the ways information would be shared with the research community in order to engage students more closely in the process of educational research.

The data collection for this study took place over the course of one year in a school district (n = 6,948 full-time across all grades) served by three secondary schools, though the total number of students enrolled in grade 11 is not available at the district level and so confidence levels below will use provincial totals to approximate (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2017). Three classroom teachers across two of the these potential participant schools generously agreed to give time to the survey and debriefing session, but not all could participate in the pre- and post-course iterations.

Wave 1 data collection included two classes from each of the two schools providing 106 survey respondents: School Groups 1A and 1B, and School Groups 2A and *2B* (the

last being an alternative stream offering). Three responses were excluded from all analyses because they were incomplete (only demographics and three questions were answered), resulting in a total sample of n=104. Wave 2 data collection at the end of the course included Groups 1A and B collapsed into one survey response form, and group 2B for a total of 55 survey respondents. Group 2A did not have time in their curriculum to participate. Four responses were excluded from this group for taking less than 5 minutes and having completed only the demographics.

Assuming a confidence level of 95% and taking the total number of 2015/16 British Columbian grade 11 students across all districts as a population (n = 48, 319), the ideal sample size would have been 381 participants (BC Ministry of Education, 2016; Creative Research Systems, 2012). With the sample size of 104 the margin of error is 9.6%; in the follow-up survey where n=51, the margin of error is 13.72%. These numbers, however, assume random selection, while in this study grade 11 classes were purposefully sampled to include both standard stream and alternative stream curricula.

To most fully protect student anonymity, no codes were associated with participants, and thus this study is limited in its ability to compare specific participant responses from pre- and post-course surveys. Instead, scores will be compared at the group level for those that completed both surveys.

3.5 Analysis design

Microsoft Excel was used to determine correlations between items, and then to calculate the proportions of responses in Likert scale items and significance of proportion change between Wave 1 and Wave 2 data.

For analysis of data from Wave 1 prompts referencing Canada as a home nation on this survey, only responses from students who were enrolled as domestic students (removing 17 participants) and claimed Canadian citizenship in their demographics (removing a further 6 participants, including a vague 'dual' and one 'permanent resident'); the respondent born in Victoria, BC but claiming ‘person’ as their citizenship was left in the domestic enrolment group. This reduced group thus contained 81 participants who might be expected to comment on issues of local, national, and global subjectivity from a specifically Canadian perspective. For analysis of data from Wave 2 prompts referencing Canada as a home nation, 11 were excluded as non-domestic students and a further four

as claiming citizenships other than Canadian, leaving 36 students as the domestic Canadian group.

3.6 Scale validation

Data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel, and resulting statistics were used to describe student conceptions of citizenship and the self. Using SPSS, each scale's reliability was tested for this study using Cronbach's alpha with the larger Wave 1 group data (Table 2).

Table 2 *Summary of reliability statistics for scales*

	N items	α	α on St. items
Ideal Conventional Citizenship	6	.738	.741
Ideal Social-movement Related (SmR) Citizenship	4	.823	.823
Predicted Conventional Citizenship	4	.839	.839
Predicted SmR Citizenship	8	.822	.818
Connectedness (all respondents, n=104)	3	.272	.313
Connectedness (domestic Canadian, n=81)	3	.381	.416
Local Interdependence	3	.223	.222
National Interdependence	3	.489	.490
Global Interdependence	3	.274	.282
Canadian Internationalism (all respondents, n=104)	5	-.157*	-.146
Canadian Internationalism (domestic Canadian, n=81)	5	-.224*	-.222
Pride in Canada (all respondents, n=104)	8	.766	.773
Pride in Canada (domestic Canadian, n=81)	8	.794	-
Efficacy in Impact	7	.774	.772

Note. Reported in chart: Cronbach's α and Cronbach's α based on Standardized Items

* The negative value violates reliability model assumptions and the scale is considered invalid.

Ideal Conventional Citizenship items grouped together with medium reliability (α =.738, one case excluded listwise). Although deleting 'joins a political party' would increase the α score to .739 the item was retained because it presents a point of interest in the discussion of student perceptions of achievable and desirable actions.

Ideal Social-movement Related (SmR) Citizenship items grouped together with strong reliability (α =.823, one case excluded listwise), where no item's deletion would improve reliability of the scale.

Predicted Conventional Citizenship items grouped together strongly (α = .839, one case excluded listwise), but would increase to α = .866 if "write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns" were deleted.

Predicted SmR Citizenship items grouped together strongly (α = .822, four cases excluded listwise). The α for this scale would increase to .842 if the item "volunteer time to help people in my local community" were removed.

Local Interdependence, National Interdependence, Global Interdependence: Students were asked whether members of local, national, and global communities needed to act according to shared values, needed be politically active, or if the participant felt dependent on the community for economic opportunities. They could rate these feelings of interdependence at each community level from 1 to 3, where a high score indicated a strong sense of interdependence. At a local level α = .223 (one case excluded listwise, no item's deletion improves), at a national level α = .489 (one case excluded listwise, no item's deletion improves), and at a global level α = .274 (two cases excluded listwise, deletion of economic dependence item improves α to .330), thus none of these were considered scales for testing. Rather they will be reported individually.

Connectedness: In measuring respondents' feelings of connectedness a small scale of three items, one being reverse coded was proposed, but with an α = .272 (no cases excluded) this scale was not reliable. With the removal of the reverse coded "Canadian youth today don't care about politics", the two items "Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about" and "Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life" grouped well with an α = .640 (no cases excluded). Similar results were found when considering the sub-population of only domestic Canadian students, where the removal of the reverse coded item would increase the scale's reliability to α = .691 (no cases excluded). This scale was too small and weak to be considered useful.

Canadian Internationalism: A set of 5 items (2 reverse coded) were considered in order to measure students' sense of the international quality of being Canadian (versus

the distinctiveness of Canadian culture as a construct compared to a global culture), but with a negative value of α = -.157 and α = -.224 for all respondents and Canadian domestic respondents respectively, the scale violated reliability model assumptions and is reported only as individual item histograms for the rest of this paper.

Pride in Canada: With all respondents' data included, the 8 item (two reverse-coded) Pride in Canada scale's α = .766 (no cases excluded), where excluding "In my experience, Canadians are well liked around the world" would increase the α to .771. Run with only Domestic Canadian sample data (excluding long-term international and visiting students, plus those not claiming Canadian citizenship in demographics), the Pride in Canada scale (8 items, 2 reverse-coded) is reliable at Cronbach's α = .794, where only the removal of "In my experience, Canadians are well liked around the world" would marginally increase the Cronbach's α to .795.

Efficacy in Impact: Items related to youth's projections and feelings of empowerment (including two reverse-coded items: "It is difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada" and "It is difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental global issues") grouped strongly together with an α = .774 (one case excluded listwise). The issue of national subjectivity may have played a role since removing the reverse-coded item "It is difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada" would improve the α to .793.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Chapter outline

Following demographics (section 4.2), the first findings section of this chapter (section 4.3) deals with research questions 1 and 2, and will present the data of all students as one group near the beginning of their course (Wave 1 data collection). The second results section of this chapter (section 4.4) addresses research question 3 and will report shifts between first and second waves collection points for key constructs, as well as narrative responses reflecting on course experiences (Wave 2 data collection).

4.2 Demographics

Wave 1 demographics

In a study concerned with the construction of subjectivity, demographics related to place and experiences were of particular note. According to statistics compiled by the BC Ministry of Education (2016), in the 2015/2016 school year (when this study's data was collected) BC public schools hosted 553, 378 students of whom 11.4% were English Language Learners (ELL), and 2.6% were non-residents. Within this population, 48, 319 students were enrolled as grade 11, where the ELL population was lower (4.1%) and the non-resident population was slightly larger than the BC average (7.8%). The balance of genders was about the same in the province and in the grade 11 population (females representing 48.9% and 48.7% respectively). The study's population as described below is similar, then, to the British Columbian grade 11 population in its gender balance (Appendix A, Table 58), primarily English and non-English language speakers, and proportion of non-resident enrollment.

In the first wave of data collection (n= 104) participants were domestic (83.7%), long-term international (8.7%) and visiting international (7.7%) upper secondary students aged 14-18 in Victoria, British Columbia. A majority of Wave 1 participants were in the target range of age 15 (16.3%), 16 (69.2%), and 17 (9.6%) (Appendix A, Table 58). Because of the inclusion of a multi-grade alternative stream course, there were 9 respondents representing grade 10 enrolment (8.7%) and 4 representing grade 12 enrolment (3.9%), which explains the lower and upper range of ages present in the sample, but a majority of

91 students (87.5%) were in the primary target grade 11 year of their education (Appendix A, Table 58). All respondents were included in analyses as they experienced the same course content relevant to this study. As indicated by course enrolment, 64.4% of the group received this content through the standard stream offering, while 35.6% experienced the alternative stream course. There was a balance of those who identified as male (50.0%) compared to female (48.1%) while one student identified as 'other' and one skipped the question (Appendix A, Table 58).

A majority of participants spoke one language only (50.96%) while some spoke two (34.62%) and three or more (14.42%) languages (Appendix A, Table 59). English was by far the most common primary language spoken at home (73.07%), with smaller proportions speaking German, Mandarin, Spanish, and Chinese (3.85% each); the proportional representation of languages generally matched with British Columbian high school averages (Appendix A, Table 60).

The majority of participants were themselves born in Canada (70.19%), and of those who were born outside of Canada another 6 (or nearly 20% of the foreign-born students) had at least one parent or primary caregiver born in Canada (Table 3). Although not accounting for all possibilities (including naturalization of parents or by parents, etc.) this suggests that a total of 76% of this sample could claim legal Canadian citizenship by birth (see legal qualifications at Government of Canada, 2017). Only one of the long-term international or visiting students had a parent or guardian born in Canada, thus the rest of the diversity comes from domestic students indicating Canada's own ancestral variety.

Table 3 *Frequencies of participants born in or out of Canada whose parents were also born in or out of Canada of Wave 1 data collection: Participant country of birth by Primary caregivers' birthplaces*

		Were primary caregivers born in Canada?			
		both / all born in Canada	one parent or primary caregiver born in Canada	both / all born outside of Canada	*Total*
Participant Country of Birth	Participants born in Canada	54.80 *(57)*	11.54 *(12)*	3.85 *(4)*	*70.19 (73)*
	Participants born out of Canada	2.88 *(3)*	2.88 *(3)*	24.04 *(25)*	*29.81 (31)*
Total		*57.69 (60)*	*14.42 (15)*	*27.88 (29)*	*100 (104)*

Note. Data reported as percent of total (Wave 1 n = 104) then as frequency in brackets.

With 76% theoretically able to claim citizenship, a full 76.92% of participants did claim either Canadian or Canadian Dual citizenship in a later prompt, while only 1.92% of young people rejected the concept with answers of ‘none’ or ‘person’ (Table 4). In comparison, the cultural associations described by students were even more varied, though Canadian again showed predominance in the sample (Appendix A, Table 61). This demographic data on students’ stated national ancestry is considered alongside both participants’ claimed national citizenship(s) and cultural heritage(s) in the findings section, where the meaning of 'Canadian' is considered (Section 4.3, Research Question 2).

Table 4 *Participants’ claimed citizenships in Wave 1 data collection*

Claimed Citizenship(s)		Frequency	Percent
Canada	Canadian	68	65.38
	Canadian Dual *	12	11.54
Other Nation	American	1	0.96
	Austrian	1	0.96
	Brazilian	3	2.88
	Chinese	7	6.73
	Filipino	1	0.96
	German	3	2.88
	Mexican	1	0.96
	South African	1	0.96
	UK	1	0.96
	Dual **	2	1.92
N/A			
	None	1	0.96
	Permanent Resident	1	0.96
	Person	1	0.96
	Total	104	100.0

Note. * Canadian ‘dual’ respondents indicated that they were also holders of American (2), Australian (1), Bermudian British (5), German (1), Mexican (1), and New Zealand (1) citizenships in addition to Canadian. **One respondent simply wrote ‘dual’, while the other specified Mexican and Spanish citizenships.

Finally, in terms of travel and residences experiences, as a group these students had explored local (91.34%) and national (82.69%) territory to a large degree, as well as destinations further abroad primarily for pleasure but also in their places of residence (Table 5).

Table 5 *Frequency table for places traveled and purpose of travel or immigration in Wave 1*

Prompt	Sub-category	Frequency	Percent
Travel	On Vancouver Island (outside of Victoria)	95	91.34
	Within Canada (other than Vancouver Island)	86	82.69
	North America (other than Canada)	80	76.92
	Asia	26	25.00
	Africa	5	4.80
	Australia & Oceania	11	10.58
	Central America and the Caribbean	20	19.23
	Europe	37	35.58
	South America	9	8.65
Purpose	Residence in two or more countries	24	23.07
	Mostly for business / career (student or parent)	15	14.42
	Mostly for education	17	16.34
	Mostly for pleasure	56	53.84

Overall the demographic information in Wave 1 paints a picture of diverse but representative slice of British Columbian student population in the targeted grade group.

Wave 2 demographics

In comparison, the group in Wave 2 collection (n = 51) was composed of the alternative stream programming group at one school (n = 30, 58.8%) and respondents from two standard stream classes at the other school collapsed into one group (n = 21, 41.2%), representing a reversal of the proportional representation of the two course streams from Wave 1. A total of 40 were enrolled as domestic students while 5 were long-term international students and 6 were visiting international students, meaning that international representation was stronger in Wave 2 data (21.5%) than in Wave 1 (16.4%), though still in the minority overall. The large majority of students remained in the target age group (88% of Wave 2 sample age 16-17) and in the target grade 11 (86%), with balance between male and female participants (Appendix A, Table 58).

As with Wave 1, a majority of participants (49.0%) spoke one language only (Appendix A, Table 59), though the percentage who spoke three or more languages was slightly more (from 14.4% in Wave 1 to 19.6% in Wave 2). English continued to be the most common primary language spoken at home at 66.7% (Appendix A, Table 60).

Participants were more frequently born outside of Canada in Wave 2 data (an increase of 10%), and more frequently had parents born outside of Canada as well (Table 6). However, overall a majority were still born in Canada with at least one parent also born in Canada (58.8%).

Table 6 *Comparative frequency table of participants born in or out of Canada whose parents were also born in or out of Canada in Wave 1 and Wave 2*

		Were primary caregivers born in Canada?			Total
		both / all born in Canada	one parent or primary caregiver born in Canada	both / all born outside of Canada	
Participants born in Canada	Wave 1	54.8 *(57)*	11.5 *(12)*	3.8 *(4)*	70.2 *(73)*
	Wave 2	49.0 *(25)*	9.8 *(5)*	2.0 *(1)*	60.8 *(31)*
Participants born out of Canada	Wave 1	2.9 *(3)*	2.9 *(3)*	24.0 *(25)*	29.8 *(31)*
	Wave 2	*0*	5.9 *(3)*	33.3 *(17)*	39.2 *(20)*

Note. Data reported as percent of total (Wave 1 n = 104, Wave 2 n = 51) then as frequency in brackets.

Finally, participants' claimed citizenships generally retained the same proportional representation from Wave 1 to Wave 2, though with a slight decrease in Canadian (65.4% in Wave 1 to 58.8% in Wave 2) and Canadian dual (11.5% in Wave 1 to 9.8% in Wave 2), and an increase in German (2.9% in Wave 1 to 5.9% in Wave 2) and Chinese (6.7% in Wave 1 to 7.8% in Wave 2) (Appendix A, Table 61).

4.3 Student vocabularies of citizenship in Wave 1 data

Q1: What vocabularies do young Canadians use to construct their civic subjectivities?

i. What models of citizenship best characterize youth descriptions of their current civic selves and future civic ideals (‘good’ citizenship)?

ii. Do youth feel engaged and empowered as citizens?

i) What models of citizenship best characterize youth descriptions of their current civic selves and future civic ideals ('good' citizenship)?

This study first aimed to better understand student perceptions of citizenship by asking students to describe the concept freely, and then to rank various behaviours related to models of citizenship. Within the latter, well-established scales from the IEA's ICCS -- as described in Literature Review and Methods sections above -- provided three types of citizenship: a Conventional citizenship scale, a Social-movement Related citizenship scale, and three Illegal Protest items for comparison.

Nine themes emerged from open-ended descriptions of citizenship (Summary of themes Table 7; Full core themes and contributing codes in Appendix A, Table 62), which can be understood in four categories: *personal belonging* (to belong, a legal categorization, a sense of attachment to the nation), *personal behaviours* (making an active contribution, a set of responsibilities, being a good person), *shared community traits* (values and culture, privileges and rights), and finally a small minority who felt citizenship was either *not distinct from national citizenship or not important*.

The category of *personal belonging* includes those who used subjective terms of belonging itself (51%), objective language of legal categorization (22%), and emotive sense of attachment to the nation (6.7%). Breaking the idea of 'belonging' itself down further, a full 30% of the total responses described citizenship as meaning a sense of belonging to the nation, with a more generalized idea of community (12%), or a state of feeling associated or 'from' a particular place in the world (10%). Both directly and indirectly, youth used the concept of citizenship to express their sense of personally belonging to 'something bigger'. Similarly, youth described citizenship as a sense of attachment specifically to the nation (6.7%) both in terms of pride or respect for the nation, and in loyalty to the nation.

Youth also spoke of citizenship in terms of *personal behaviours*, describing citizenship as: making an active contribution to one's community (22%) whether it be local, national, or global; having a set of responsibilities (8.7%) including obeying laws, being informed, and integrating into society; and being a good person (6.7%) with a focus on tolerance and kindness.

Tied to the sense of personal belonging or connectedness, was the category of *shared community traits*, in which youth characterized citizenship as having shared national values or a shared culture (12.5%) and having privileges and associated with the nation (12.5%). Within the latter, students described privileges and freedoms afforded by the nation generally, but also with a focus on the right to 'have a say' and the right to vote.

A small minority of 1.9% of respondents felt that citizenship meant nothing, or at least nothing distinct from their understanding of national citizenship, and another 4.8% were non-responses excluded from analysis. Looking across all responses, 10.6% of participants made use of explicitly trans-national or mutli-level language in referring to 'nations' as well as 'regions' to describe their understanding of the generalized word 'citizenship'. There were who explicitly expressed ambiguity or flexibility in the geographical site of values or culture (1.9%), demonstrating a very small number of students who felt challenged to think critically about or express the affiliation of their citizenship.

Table 7 *Summary of citizenship themes: "To me, citizenship means..." (n = 104)*

Category	Core theme	Theme % of total
Personal Belonging		
	To belong	51.0
	A legal categorization	22.1
	A sense of attachment to the nation (pride, respect, loyalty)	6.7
Personal Behaviours		
	Making an active contribution	21.2
	A set of responsibilities	12.5
	Being a good person	6.7
Shared community traits		
	Values and culture	12.5
	Privileges and rights	12.5
Not distinct or not important		1.9

Inquiring into youth conceptions of ideals for adult citizenship through quantitative means, two scales demonstrated that students felt moderately positively about both Ideal Conventional Citizenship and Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship (Table 8; see Appendix A, Tables 63 - 64 for histograms). At the top of the Ideal Conventional Citizenship scale, 76% of students felt voting in every election was either somewhat or

very important (M = 4.0, SD = 1.052), while joining a political party was viewed as the least important, with only 20% feeling it was somewhat or very important and 40% feeling 'not sure' about its value (M = 2.6, SD = 1.065). Between these scale extremes fell items with moderately positive responses: knowing about the country's history (M = 3.8, SD = .892), following political issues (in the newspaper, on the radio, or on television; M = 3.6, SD = 1.0), showing respect for government representatives (M = 3.6, SD = .995), and engaging in political discussion (M = 3.3, SD = .960). Similarly, Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship items were ranked as fairly important. Taking part in activities to support the environment was ranked most highly with 66% feeling it was somewhat or very important to good adult citizenship (M = 3.7, SD = .912), while taking part in peaceful protests against unjust laws was ranked as least important (M = 3.4, SD = 1.04), although still with 53% feeling it was somewhat or very important. Between these, participating in activities to benefit people in the community or society (M = 3.7, SD .921) and taking part in activities promoting human rights (M = 3.4, SD = .991) were also ranked fairly positively. Looking at the two scales together (Table 8), it is interesting to note that neither scale dominated the top end of the rankings, but rather their items were interwoven, suggesting that youth rely on both traditional and alternative behaviours in defining ideal citizenship. Comparing the percentage of respondents who ranked items as either 'somewhat/quite' or 'very' important to good adult citizenship across the current study and the IEA's global data from ICCS, three items stand out as having fared less well than the global averages: taking part in activities promoting human rights is 33 percentage points below, and showing respect for government representatives and taking part in activities to protect the environment each were 19 percentage points lower than global trends. Thus, while generally valued by a majority of students surveyed, these items were not as universally ranked as important in Canadian data compared with global populations. Possible reasons for these gaps are discussed in the limitations section.

Table 8 *Item statistics and comparison of Ideal Conventional Citizenship (Conv) and Social-movement Related (SmR) scale items in current study and ICCS: "An adult who is a good citizen…"*

	M	SD	Scale	% Pos.*	ICCS % Pos.**
Votes in every election	4.00	1.052	Conv	73	81
Knows about the country's history	3.78	.892	Conv	70	77
Takes part in activities to protect the environment	3.71	.910	SmR	64	83

Participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]	3.65	.922	SmR	66	80
Follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV	3.61	1.000	Conv	62	73
Shows respect for government representatives [leaders, officials]	3.58	.995	Conv	58	77
Takes part in activities promoting human rights	3.41	.991	SmR	50	83
Would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust	3.39	1.041	SmR	51	63
Engages in political discussions	3.33	.960	Conv	43	42
"Not Sure" = 3.0					
Joins a political party	2.59	1.065	Conv	19	33

Note.
* Percent of 'somewhat important' and 'very important' responses combined for comparison of the 5-point Likert scale from this study, which included a middle category of 'not sure', to the 4-point scale used in ICCS, where respondents had to choose a positive or negative response using labels 'very' and 'quite'. Numbers have been rounded to the nearest full percent.
** International item frequencies based on average percentages for 36 countries from Schulz et. al, 2010, p. 271-272.
N = 104 for all items except 'shows respect for government representatives' and 'would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust' where n = 103.

A related set of items also from the IEA's ICCS personalized these ideal conceptions of adult citizenship by asking youth what actions they intend to take when they reach adulthood. Predicted Conventional Citizenship items (Table 11; see Appendix A, Table 65 for histograms) were generally ranked as unlikely, decreasing from writing letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns (M = 2.68, SD = 1.182), to volunteering for a political party (M = 2.40, SD = 1.183), to running in a federal election (M = 2.10, SD = 1.225), to running in a municipal or provincial election (M = 2.05, SD = 1.158). However, when asked separately about the typically conventional action of voting, a large majority of students predicted that they would vote in at least one of the three levels of government, from municipal through provincial and federal, with only two students of those who plan not to vote explaining reasons of uncertainty or cynicism (Table 9). This intention was even stronger when only domestic Canadian students were considered (Table 10).

Table 9 *Voting intentions of all students: "When I am eligible, I intend to vote in…"* (n=103)

Election level	#	%
Municipal elections	72	69.2
Provincial elections	82	78.8
Federal elections	90	86.5

I do not intend to vote in any of these elections	7	6.7

Note. Given the opportunity to explain their choice not to vote in elections, youth cited the following: a different national citizenship (3), age (1), religious reasons (1), being unsure which one (1), and "If I want something done I will do it myself. Politicians lie and I couldn't care less for them keeping their high wages" (1).

Table 10 *Voting intentions of domestic Canadian students: "When I am eligible, I intend to vote in…"* (n=81)

Election level	#	%
Municipal elections	59	72.8
Provincial elections	69	85.2
Federal elections	76	93.8
I do not intend to vote in any of these elections	4	4.9

In contrast to the Predicted Conventional Citizenship items where means all began below 'Not Sure', Predicted Social-movement Related Citizenship actions (Table 11) covered a wider range of likelihood, including very strongly or minimally positively ranked behaviours (volunteering time to help people in local community, M = 3.88, SD = 1.011; participating in a non-violent protest, M = 3.01, SD = 1.182), and other items ranked with the same mild unlikelihood of conventional citizenship items. On the whole, social-movement citizenship items were ranked more positively than conventional citizenship items. Students felt most negatively about Illegal Protest forms of expression, with two falling into the extreme of 'very unlikely' on average (occupy public buildings as a form of protest, M = 1.89, SD = 1.125; spray-paint protest slogans on walls, M = 1.85, SD = 1.194). Viewed together (Table 11), behaviours associated with awareness, non-violence and legal pro-social community action topped the list, while personally running in an election and behaviours of questionable legality were found towards the bottom.

Table 11 *Item statistics and comparison of Predicted Conventional Citizenship (Conv), Predicted Social-movement Related (SmR), and Illegal Protest (I-P) items: "When I am an adult I might..."*

	M	SD	Type	% Pos.*
Volunteer time to help people in my local community	3.88	1.011	SmR	68.3
Participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally	3.01	1.182	SmR	37.5
"Not Sure" = 3.0				

Collect signatures for a petition	2.80	1.271	SmR	30.8
Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns	2.68	1.182	Conv	26.0
Run an awareness campaign online about social or political issues	2.68	1.195	SmR	25.0
Volunteer for a political party	2.40	1.183	Conv	15.3
Collect money for a social cause	2.32	1.050	SmR	46.2
Block traffic as a form of protest	2.17	1.164	I-P	13.5
Run in a federal election	2.10	1.225	Conv	17.3
Run in a municipal or provincial election	2.05	1.158	Conv	12.5
Occupy public buildings as a form of protest	1.89	1.125	I-P	10.6
Spray-paint protest slogans on walls	1.85	1.194	I-P	13.5

Note. *Those who answered this action is "somewhat" or "very" likely when they are adults.

ii) Do youth feel engaged and empowered as citizens?

A first set of questions inquired into how youth feel engaged as citizens through levels of current engagement. Further prompts explored youth efficacy and connectedness, both in politics and in communities. Prompts addressing connectedness examined youth perceptions of the group's responsibility collectively, as well as the student's individual sense of responsibility at various scales of community.

Current engagement: Youth engaged in a variety of activities, with researching political parties and candidates the most frequent conventional citizenship item and community volunteerism the most common of the social-movement related citizenship items. In the opportunity to add items, one specified that “We are forced to do so” and one pointed to other activities such as “learned to ride a bike [and] read”.

Table 12 *Item statistics for level of current engagement: "In my life I have already..." (n = 102)*

CONVENTIONAL CITIZENSHIP ITEMS	#	%
Researched political parties and candidates	70	67.3
Participated face-to-face in discussion or debate about political topics	46	44.2
Voted in an election of any kind	42	40.4
Participated online in discussion or debate about political topics	24	23.1
Run in an election of any kind	22	21.2
Attended town council meetings or other local government events	22	21.2
Participated in political party events (e.g. rally, fundraiser)	21	20.2
SOCIAL-MOVEMENT RELATED CITIZENSHIP ITEMS	#	%
Volunteered in my local community	88	84.6
Used social media to gain awareness for a cause	49	47.1
Signed a petition	43	41.3
Attended a protest	15	14.4

OTHER	2	1.9

Political connectedness: Although students do feel that decisions being made through political systems are affecting their lives and that participating in such systems can make a difference to issues they care about (albeit with only slightly positive means), when asked the critical question of whether Canadian youth care about politics, the student sample is split: about a third feel neutral, with about a third on either side (Table 13; Appendix A, Table 66 for histograms).

Table 13 *Item statistics for sense of political connectedness (n = 104)*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Canadian youth today care about politics *	3.11	1.096	.0120	-.640	35.5
Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about	3.45	.869	-.031	-.218	46.1
Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	3.65	.973	-.284	-.590	57.7

Note. *Reverse coded from negative wording. Std. Error of Skewness = .237, Std. Error of Kurtosis = .469.

Community connectedness and individual responsibility: The next set of questions inquired into youth sense of connectedness at different levels of community (Table 14, Appendix A, Table 66 for histograms). The idea of being politically active as a community garnered the most support generally, followed by acting according to shared values, then economic independence and all items scored above 'somewhat' indicating that youth generally feel interconnected with larger communities. Youth felt that acting according to shared values was most important at the global level, while being politically active was most important at the national level. As a comparison point, economic dependence rather than social change was included and here students also felt that national communities made the largest impact, though only slightly more than local and less than the leading scores overall in either values or politics.

Table 14 *Item statistics for sense of community connectedness: "People in this group need to…" (n = 104)*

Connection	Community	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Act according to shared values in order to create positive change (e.g. human rights,	LOCAL	2.39	.565	-.231	-.811	96.2
	NATIONAL	2.42	.552	-.218	-.957	97.1

ethical shopping, environmental action)	GLOBAL*	2.50	.608	-.818	-.297	94.2
Acting on shared values average		2.44				
Be politically involved in order to create positive change (e.g. elections, debate, or protests)	LOCAL	2.43	.650	-.718	-.499	91.3
	NATIONAL	2.65	.536	-1.225	.533	97.1
	GLOBAL	2.47	.653	-.852	-.343	91.3
Political involvement average		2.52				
I depend on people in this group for career or economic opportunities	LOCAL*	2.38	.659	-.589	-.639	90.4
	NATIONAL*	2.42	.551	-.201	-.953	97.1
	GLOBAL*	2.18	.697	-.267	-.907	83.7
Economic dependency average		2.33				

Note. Prompt asked "how important" each item is for that community, with 1 = not at all, 2 = somewhat, and 3 = very.
*marks where item's n = 103, Std. Error of Skewness = .238, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .472. For all other items, n = 104, Std. Error of Skewness = .237, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .469.

Students felt the most individually responsible for action in their local communities (M = 3.55, SD = 1.144), followed by national (M = 3.52, SD = 1.182) and international (M = 3.48, SD = 1.170) (Table 15). In each they hover between 'neutral' and 'agree', not demonstrating an incredibly strong sense of responsibility overall in addressing political, social, or environmental issues as a group. Given space to expand, four students clarified their responses with the following: "I want to address environmental issues in my local community for sure because I feel it is very important.", "Most people address them somewhat every day by using the compost or recycling bin, and that's generally the minimum that people do daily. Aside from that, it's important, but it's something that needs to be done by a lot of people.", and "Personally speaking, if the world is going to Hell, so be it. If I want something changed I will do it myself." One student also clarified the particular community experienced as local: " In this case, I see 'my local community' as Brazil."

Table 15 *Item Statistics for sense of responsibility items: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X___ community"*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Local	3.55	1.144	-.735	-.116	60.5
National (Canadian)	3.52	1.182	-.568	-.453	56.7

International	3.48	1.170	-.371	-.711	51.9

Note. n=103, Skewness standard error = .238, and Kurtosis standard error = .472 for local and international responses; n=104, Skewness standard error = .237, and Kurtosis standard error = .469 for national responses.

Feelings of efficacy: Finally, a set of ranked-response questions inquired after their levels of confidence in engaging with political systems and then probed the level of efficacy youth feel in addressing issues and politics at local, national, and global levels.

When asked to report their confidence in their understanding how political systems work in a yes-no format, 76.9% of students felt confident in understanding the municipal system, 77.9% in the provincial system, and 90.4% in the federal system. A further 4.8% responded that they did not know how any of these systems work.

In gauging their feelings of personal and group efficacy at three scales of community, youth felt only a small amount of personal efficacy at all levels (Table 16; Appendix A, Table 66 for histograms) and despite a slight feeling that there are 'many ways' for young people to address national and global politics (M = 3.21 and M = 3.42, respectively) they felt negatively about the level of difficulty young people face in making a difference to social or environmental issues nationally and globally (Table 17; Appendix A, Table 66 for histograms).

Table 16 *Item statistics for personal efficacy in Wave 1*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
I feel able to address important issues in my local community	3.35	0.947	-.333	-.256	47.5
I feel able to address important issues across Canada	3.08	1.002	-.080	-.374	31.8
I feel able to address important international issues	3.10	1.075	-.147	-.589	37.5

Note. n=103, Skewness standard error = .238, and Kurtosis standard error = .472 for local responses; n=104, Skewness standard error = .237, and Kurtosis standard error = .469 for national and international responses.

Table 17 *Item statistics for group efficacy in Wave 1 (n = 104)*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada*	2.93	1.60	.133	-.786	31.8
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to global social or environmental issues*	2.88	1.055	.235	-.499	26.9
Young people today have many ways of influencing national politics	3.21	1.259	-.201	-1.018	46.1

Young people today have many ways of influencing global politics	3.42	1.155	-.310	-.852	52.9

Note. *Reverse-coded to align with positive language of similar prompts. Skewness standard error = .237, and Kurtosis standard error = .469.

Q2: What does it mean to be a 'good' citizen in a particular context?

i. How do youth describe 'being Canadian'?
ii. How do youth describe 'being a global citizen'?
iii. Do youth feel their Canadian citizenship is more conceptually distinct from or intertwined with a global subjectivity?
iv. Is there conflict or confluence between youth concepts of national and global citizenship?
v. Do youth feel attachment to, belonging in, and power in Canada?
vi. Do subnational, national, or global group identities play a role in youth feelings of attachment, belonging, or empowerment?

After describing students' self-perceptions as citizenship generally, this study aimed to understand how youth characterize the concept of 'Canadian', through youth descriptions of symbols, values, and 'what it means to be Canadian' in open-ended responses. In order to explore the relationships and boundaries between local, national, and global feelings of attachment and responsibility, both open-ended and ranked-response questions asked students to consider their definitions and the limitations of each community.

i) How do youth describe 'being Canadian'?

Two Likert items explored the definition of the word 'Canadian', probing the extent to which students use it for cultural or state-based definitions. Students felt a lukewarm sense of agreement with the idea that there is a difference between 'being Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen' (M = 3.38, SD = .928), and a slight sense of disagreement with the idea that being Canadian is a legal status only, which does not impact a person's actions or values (M = 2.94, SD = 1.131) indicating through the weak response either a sense of indifference or ambiguity in their distinction between 'Canadian' as a legal code versus a moral or cultural system (Table 18; Appendix A, Table 67 for histograms). These results were only slightly stronger if only the domestic Canadian respondents were considered (M = 3.46, SD = 0.895 for being Canadian versus Canadian citizen; M = 2.88, SD = 1.133 for legal status only) suggesting that identifying as Canadian did not

profoundly affect youth opinions on the status of Canadian nationality as 'being' or 'legal status' (Appendix A, Table 67 for histograms). In both cases the proportion of those agreeing or strongly agreeing was below half the sample (all = 44.2% and domestic = 46.9% for being Canadian versus being Canadian citizen; all = 31.8% and domestic = 29.7% for legal status only).

Table 18 *Item statistics for distinguishing concept – all respondents (n=104)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
There is a difference between 'being Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen'	3.38	.928	-.101	-.258	44.2
Being Canadian is a legal status only, which does not impact a person's actions or values	2.94	1.131	.238	-.788	31.8

Note. For both items, Skewness standard error = .237 and Kurtosis standard error = .469.

In the first wave of data collection, students were asked with an open-ended prompt to explain their understanding of 'being Canadian' and their vocabulary outlined 7 core themes, including a minute but theoretically significant 'Means nothing', which can be understood in 4 broad categories (Table 19). *Personal qualities* covers the qualities and behaviours of the individual, from being kind or tolerant to acting morally for the good of the community. *Shared traits* includes explicitly stated values, a set of cultural symbols that often stand in as shorthand for values or a distinct cultural identity, and expressions of the rights, freedoms and privileged lifestyle associated with citizenship; these ideas are all seen as defining features of 'being Canadian' as a lived experience. In contrast, *state-based symbols and legal legitimacy* included a set of institutional symbols related to state governance and definitions of Canadian-ness according to legal categorization or the political state and the individual's loyalty to it. *Group membership and positive attachment* encompassed expressions of pride in being Canadian, as well as a sense of community association or received identity. Finally, within *Other*, it is important to note 'Means nothing', which included two well-developed responses considering the cosmopolitan view of human subjectivity and rejecting a state-based definition.

Table 19 *Summary of Canadian theme categories: "To me, being Canadian means..." (n=104)*

Category	Core theme	Theme % of total
Personal qualities and behaviours		
	Personal qualities and behaviours	72.1
Shared traits: rights, lifestyle, culture, values		

	Privileges (rights, freedoms, lifestyle, safety)	50.0
	Shared culture and values	48.1
State-based symbols and legal legitimacy		
	State-based understandings	37.5
Group membership and positive attachment		
	Pride	17.3
	Belonging and identity	15.4
Other		
	Means nothing / We are human	1.9
	I don't know	1.0
	Non-response / Other culture	3.8

Note. Theme percentages do not add to 100% because one response could mention multiple themes. See Table 20 for full codes.

Going into further depth (Table 20), to students 'being Canadian' primarily brought to mind behaviours or 'personal ways of being' (72.1%), most prominently acting with kindness (including the Canadian trope of 'being polite'), being tolerant and welcoming, and acting morally (especially as it benefitted a larger group). In addition to this set of personal ways of being, students described a shared set of privileges, including rights and freedoms, a desirable lifestyle, and safety. Democracy was described specifically in terms of the right to vote or have a voice in the democratic system (representing 2.8% of the total responses or 11.5% of the rights-based responses). About 35% of those discussing freedom (9 responses) wove together the right to free speech with a sense of cultural tolerance and underlying safety, ranging in expression from the personal and simplistic -- "freedom to express myself" and "I have a lot of freedom to speak my mind and be treated fairly" -- to feelings bordering on a moral imperative: "Being a Canadian means standing up for what you believe in and expressing how you feel without fear of prosecution or discrimination." The other 54% of this code spoke in general about "Having choices and freedom" or "[being] able to focus on the things I am passionate for", though some couched such conversations in terms of responsibility ("Someone who is trusted to have the rights of freedom") or gender:

> "Being Canadian means that i am free to pursue anything and everything that may interest me. I can live anywhere, I can be anything and I can accomplish. As a woman in a first world country, I feel lucky to not be

> AS oppressed as women else where. In short, Being Canadian means to me that I can be me without setbacks or difficulties of a major scale."

Closely related in defining the group were the shared traits of the community, using language of culture and values (48.1%). The three largest contributors to this theme were stereotypes generally (including standbys like maple syrup, hockey, 'saying sorry', and beer drinking), as well as a commitment to multiculturalism and to peacekeeping. As one student expressed, "Canada has developed into a huge multicultural society resulting in diversity in all aspects." In discussing peacekeeping, most stated its status strongly while two students expressed concern for the value as they affirmed its importance: "...being canadian [sic] means being a peacekeeper in the world, lately we havent [sic] been doing a very good job of it." Valuing democracy was again mentioned, this time phrased as an ideological appreciation for democratic society, and so was included in this theme of 'values', coming from the people, rather than rights or state-based understandings coming from the state.

Following after personal and shared traits, student attention focused on the state using symbols, such as health care or the prime minister, plus legal citizenship markers alongside a felt duty to the nation. For these students, 'being Canadian' was viewed at least in part as a narrowly defined legal categorization, often based on birth. It gives a space of legal belonging in the world, but without the emotional qualities of being associated with a community that defined the theme 'Belonging and identity'.

The emotive responses were grouped in 'Belonging and identity' for their strong sense of association with community rather than state-based boundaries, and a sense of deriving part of personal identity from the group. A loud nationalism ran through responses in 'Belonging and identity' and 'Pride', where students compared Canadians to Americans and stated the importance of having pride in their sense of being Canadian. Largely overshadowed by these positive assertions of a distinct and proud Canadian-ness, the small but notable feeling that being Canadian means 'nothing' because Canadians are global is significant in light of the scholarly debate over Canada as a post-national state.

Table 20 *Full table of Canadian themes: "To me, being Canadian means..." (n=104)*

Core theme	Contributing Code	Code Freq.	Theme Freq.	% of total
Personal Qualities and Behaviours			75	72.1

Being kind, friendly, or generally respectful, and polite	26		
Being tolerant, welcoming, respectful of difference in culture or beliefs	24		
Having a desire to help others, being community-oriented	11		
Acting morally or for the good of the community / world	8		
Being law-abiding	3		
Being hardworking and honest	2		
Being fun-loving	1		
Privileges		52	50.0
Rights and freedoms, especially freedom of speech	26		
Lifestyle, living in a nice environment, having many opportunities	16		
Safety and peace	10		
Shared culture and values		50	48.1
Stereotypes	11		
Multiculturalism: a 'multiple culture' community	10		
Peacekeeping	9		
Having a shared set of values or political stance	5		
Environmentalism	4		
Democratic society	2		
Knowing history and economy of the nation	3		
Symbols of the natural world	2		
Valuing family	2		
Global awareness	2		
State-based understandings		39	37.5
Institutional symbols: healthcare, education, slogans, prime minister	16		
Legal residency or being born	11		
Legal status	10		
A sense of duty to the country	2		
Pride		18	17.3
The importance of having pride	10		
Statements of pride	5		
Canada's positive reputation	3		
Belonging and identity		16	15.4
Sense of community association	8		
Sense of identity	4		
Comparison to Americans	4		
Means nothing			1.9
We are human	2		
Other			5.8
I don't know	1		
Non-response	1		
Other culture	4		

Note. Theme percentages do not add to 100% because one response could mention multiple themes. See Table 19 for summary categories.

A further prompt approached the same issue more figuratively, asking for the three most important symbols of Canada (Appendix A, Table 69); these were noted in 8 core themes: culture and lifestyle (80%), official natural (70%), unofficial natural (40%), official political (30%), value or conceptual (28%), institutional (23%), British references (6%), and Indigenous Peoples references (4%). Cultural and lifestyle references were dominated by sports including hockey, the NHL, general sports, and lacrosse. A significant number of respondents also thought of mannerisms -- such as being nice, polite, and saying 'eh' or sorry -- and food or drink items like maple syrup, poutine, and beer. Brands like Tim Horton's and landmarks played a minor role. The official natural theme was large but uncomplicated, comprised of just references to the maple leaf (but not maple trees, which was coded as unofficial natural) and the beaver.

These two themes led the way significantly, while the next were middling and then very small proportions of the symbols generated. Unofficial natural symbols of Canada included animals (moose, bears, salmon, geese, polar bears, and general wildlife) and environmental markers (the land, snow, nature, mountains, ice, maple trees, and leaves). Next, official political symbols and value-based or conceptual symbols each were mentioned in about a third of responses and were comprised of one heavyweight and a variety of minor symbols. The official political theme was dominated by the Canadian flag (also including the coat of arms) while to a lesser extent the values theme was grounded by the combined concept of freedom, rights, safety, and opportunity in Canada. The final middle-ground theme of institutional symbols included healthcare, education, immigration, democracy, and the RCMP, making it closely related to the language of the values theme but more concrete in its terms.

Finally, mention was made of symbols specific to particular groups in Canada. British imagery (6%) was referenced in the British flag and the queen, while igloos and totem poles made up the Indigenous Peoples theme (4%). References to Francophone culture were not expressly French (poutine, fleur-de-lis) but collectively can be seen as equal in frequency to Indigenous Peoples references. Whether international students had undue effect on the group's themes is addressed in the comparative findings section, where no

significant difference was discovered between themes of domestic and international responses.

As with descriptions of 'being Canadian', these symbolic understandings might be further summarized in categories (Table 21): relating to the state (official natural, official political, institutional), relating to the Canadian people and lifestyle (cultural, British reference, Indigenous reference). Viewed this way, those official symbols relating to the state were the images that first came to students' minds. However, the main category of thought considered independently were symbols relating to everyday lived experiences.

Table 21 *Summary of Canadian symbols themes: "The three best or most important symbols of Canada are..." (Wave 1, n=104)*

Category	Core theme	Theme % of total
Relating to the state		
	Official natural	70
	Official political	30
	Institutional	23
Relating to Canadian people and lifestyles		
	Culture and lifestyle	80
	British reference	6
	Indigenous reference	4
Relating to the land		
	Unofficial natural	26
Relating to community values and freedoms		
	Value / conceptual	28

Note. One student who responded that Canadians are too different to tell represented approximately a further 1.0% of the total.

Tolerance was often a key quality mentioned in conceptions of being Canadian, however, only 3.8% of responses to the values prompt mentioned multiculturalism, and 9.6% in open-ended discussions of what it means to be Canadian. This is in contrast to the demographics section, where students claimed a wide variety of cultural associations including and beyond Canadian (Table 22; Appendix A, Table 61). National cultural associations predominated at 61% of responses, with 'Canadian' making up 20.2% of the total. Following this, ethnicity or regional associations such as 'Asian' or 'European', 'Punjabi', and 'Latin' made up a total of 9.6% together. First Nations associations included one response for each of 'the Metis People', and 'Cherokee', and one response including

'First Nations' generally, the totalled 3 responses comprising 2.8% of the whole. Responses referencing a religion (3.8%) were most likely to also reference a national association. Only one response mentioned language specifically (Francophone), although four more pointed to 'French' associations and one response of 'English' could have been either a reference to language or the nation of England (it was categorized as Ethnicity/Regional as the most broad and thus fitting category). Four students noted other associations: any culture, life, nature, and student. Thirteen of the responses included more than one association, and 3 of these had more than three distinct cultural associations listed. In contrast, a full 18.3% took advantage of the opportunity to skip the question, and 17.3% wrote 'none' or 'n/a' to indicate they felt nothing strongly or nothing beyond their stated citizenship, according to the researcher's intent for openness in the prompt.

Table 22 *Summary of claimed cultural associations in Wave 1 data (n = 104)*

Category and responses	Frequency	Percent
Nation	64	61.5
Ethnicity / Regional	10	9.6
Religion	4	3.8
Language	1	1.0
Mixed	9	8.7
Other	41	39.4

Note. Some categories, such as nation and mixed, include data from a dual response also recorded elsewhere in the table.

Following the qualitative opportunities for description, a series of quantitative prompts attempted to clarify the parameters Canadian citizenship (Table 23), with the same set of questions offered in terms of global citizenship for comparison below (Table 24). With regard to Canadian citizenship, youth hovered around a neutral zone for most prompts (M between 2.72 - 3.36) with the exception of the idea that 'we should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to Canada's political independence', which elicited a stronger reaction (M = 3.71, SD = .720). In the case of these questions, the individual histograms are interesting in that they demonstrate the strong crowding toward the central 'Neutral' position.

Table 23 *Parameters of Canadian citizenship and Canadian values histogram (n = 104)*

Prompt	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
Increased immigration makes Canada stronger	4.8 *(5)*	13.5 *(14)*	45.2 *(47)*	30.8 *(32)*	5.8 *(6)*	3.19	.915
Canada should not limit the number of new immigrants*	7.7 *(8)*	17.3 *(18)*	25.0 *(26)*	31.7 *(33)*	18.3 *(19)*	3.36	1.190
Being Canadian involves sharing the same values as other Canadians	6.7 *(7)*	35.6 *(37)*	35.6 *(37)*	19.2 *(20)*	2.9 *(3)*	2.76	.940
Being Canadian involves actively participating in the national governance system (e.g. federal politics)	6.7 *(7)*	18.3 *(19)*	29.8 *(31)*	35.6 *(37)*	9.6 *(10)*	3.23	1.072
Being Canadian involves living/behaving according to a particular value system	4.8 *(5)*	18.3 *(19)*	38.5 *(40)*	30.8 *(32)*	7.7 *(8)*	3.18	.983
To be Canadian a person must agree with a particular set of values	7.7 *(8)*	36.5 *(38)*	33.7 *(35)*	20.2 *(21)*	1.9 *(2)*	2.72	.940
We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to Canada's political independence	0 *(0)*	2.9 *(3)*	35.6 *(37)*	49.0 *(51)*	12.5 *(13)*	3.71	.720

Note. Data is presented first as percentages, then as frequency counts (in italicized brackets).
*Reverse-coded from "Canada should limit" to reflect positive direction

ii) How do youth conceptualize 'being a global citizen'?

As noted, following from the data above a set of similar questions were asked regarding the parameters of global citizenship (Table 24; Appendix A, Table 70). Again, the individual item histograms demonstrate a strong tendency toward center, although here with more willingness to edge into some disagreement or agreement. The two sets of questions are compared in the next section.

Table 24 *Parameters of global citizenship histograms (n = 104)*

Prompt	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
People should be able to emigrate anywhere they want in the world, and nations should not be able to limit this	6.7 *(7)*	23.1 *(24)*	22.1 *(23)*	28.8 *(30)*	16.3 *(17)*	3.16	1.301
Being a global citizen involves sharing the same values as the global community	7.7 *(8)*	14.4 *(15)*	40.4 *(42)*	27.9 *(29)*	7.7 *(8)*	3.08	1.103

Being a global citizen involves actively participating in international governance systems (e.g. United Nations	3.8 *(4)*	21.2 *(22)*	26.0 *(27)*	35.6 *(37)*	7.7 *(8)*	3.05	1.249
Being a global citizen involves living according to a particular value system	5.8 *(6)*	35.6 *(37)*	26.0 *(27)*	29.8 *(31)*	1.0 *(1)*	2.79	1.030
We have a responsibility to stop threats to any and all nations' political independence	2.9 *(3)*	10.6 *(11)*	32.7 *(34)*	38.5 *(40)*	13.5 *(14)*	3.23	1.068

Note. For "Being a global citizen involves actively participating in international governance systems", 5.8% (*6)* students replied N/A to indicate they did not know. The same is true of "Being a global citizen involves living according to a particular value system" and Being a global citizen involves sharing the same values as the global community" and "We have a responsibility to stop threats to any and all nations' political independence" with 1.9% *(2)* responding N/A in each, and finally 2.9% *(3)* responding N/A to "People should be able to emigrate anywhere they want in the world, and nations should not be able to limit this".

In addition to these comparative quantitative questions, students were asked to describe their understandings of global citizenship freely in response to the prompt, "To me, being a global citizen means...". Their reflections fall into four categories (Table 25) that seek to illuminate the relationship between the individual and the global community by referencing how an individual should react to the globalized community -- *personal action and mindset; personal openness* -- as well as how the individual fits in the global community and what rights or responsibilities this entails -- *group membership; rights, privileges, and responsibilities.* A small proportion of the population was not able to frame an answer, writing "I don't know", repeating the prompt language, or noting that global citizenship means 'nothing in particular'.

Table 25 *Summary of global citizenship theme categories: "To me, being a global citizen means..." (n=104)*

Category	Core theme	Theme % of total
Personal action and mindset: Active contribution and shared ethics		
	Moral imperatives	41.3
	Active participation in global community	32.7
Personal openness: Global awareness and cultural understanding		
	Awareness of global events, issues, and diversity	20.2
Group membership		
	State of being or set of traits	22.1
	Passive belonging and connection in global community	13.5

Rights, privileges, and responsibilities		
	Individual rights, privileges, and responsibilities	14.4
Other		
	I don't know	4.8
	Prompt language repeated	1.9
	Nothing in particular	1.0

Note. The 4 non-responses are not summarized here but are shown in full table.

Looking more closely at response codes (Table 26), each theme was generally dominated by one core thought -- for example, tolerance and acceptance as a moral imperative of the global citizen -- supported by a few more specific or related concepts. The language used was generally straightforward and many responses were short, however, a few elaborated on their thoughts and both trans-national and situated language is evident.

Table 26 *Full table of Wave 1 global citizenship themes: Written responses to "To me, being a global citizen means..." (n= 104)*

Core theme	Contributing Code	#	*total*	%
Moral imperatives			43	41.3
	Tolerance and acceptance	14		
	Earth and environmentalism	7		
	Shared morality or 'being good'	6		
	Compassion	3		
	World peace or sharing the world as equals	3		
Active participation in global community			34	32.7
	Focus on active involvement in issues and events to make the world a better place	23		
	Focus on people helping people	5		
	Focus on nations helping nations	5		
	Participating in international government systems	1		
Awareness of global events, issues, and diversity: open worldview			21	20.2
	Global awareness of events and issues	14		
	Cultural awareness and exchange	7		
State of being or set of traits			23	22.1
	Automatic membership: living on Earth or being human	12		
	Ability to adjust to local contexts (especially laws)	3		
	Being grounded in a community despite diversity	2		
	Having multiple citizenships	2		
	Being international	1		
	Working and living in multiple countries	1		
	Being multicultural	1		

A valued reputation	1		
Passive belonging and connection in global community		14	13.5
Individual rights, privileges, and responsibilities		15	14.4
Having a voice	4		
Welcome to travel or reside worldwide	3		
A responsibility to the nation	3		
Representing the nation with pride on the global stage	2		
Individual freedom	2		
Right to protect own culture	1		
*Situated understandings**		*7*	*6.7*
A responsibility to the nation	*3*		
Representing the nation with pride on the global stage	*2*		
Being grounded in a community despite diversity	*2*		
*Transnational understandings**		*5*	*4.8*
Having multiple citizenships	*2*		
Being international	*1*		
Working and living in multiple countries	*1*		
Participating in international government systems	*1*		
Other		12	11.5
I don't know	5		
Prompt language repeated	2		
Nothing in particular	1		
Non-response	4		

Note. Some responses referenced multiple codes and thus the final percentages do not add up to 100. *The themes 'Situated understandings' and 'Transnational understandings' make use of the same data already included in themes above, but sorted again to demonstrate where students used language of note to theories discussed in this paper.

iii) Do youth feel their Canadian citizenship is more conceptually distinct from or intertwined with a global subjectivity?

In order to discern the extent to which youth describe their Canadian and global subjectivities as intertwined, parameters of each were compared and new prompts were posed to directly address internationalism as a feature of Canadian group identity. Relevant responses from open-ended prompts will also be considered in discussion.

When students consider the values, behaviours, commitment to sovereignty, and freedom of movement ascribed to Canadian and global conceptions of citizenship, on average each item had lower means - or garnered less agreement - for global communities (Table 27). The exception to this rule is where "community shares values", which was felt more strongly for the global community than for the national community.

Table 27 *Comparative table of the parameters Canadian and global citizenship (n = 104)*

	Canada	Global

	M	SD	% pos*	M	SD	% pos*
Immigration is positive	3.36	1.190	50	3.16	1.301	45
Community shares values	2.76	.940	22	3.08	1.103	36
Community must actively participate in governance	3.23	1.072	45	3.05	1.249	43
Community lives according to the same values	3.18	.983	39	2.79	1.030	31
Importance of sovereignty: community demands active protection from component members	3.7115	.720	62	3.23	1.068	52

Note. *Reports the percent of students who responded either "agree" or "strongly agree". *Immigration is positive* compares data from “Canada should not limit the number of new immigrants” and "People should be able to emigrate anywhere they want in the world, and nations should not be able to limit this". *Community shares values* compares data from " Being Canadian involves sharing the same values as other Canadians" and "Being a global citizen involves sharing the same values as the global community". C*ommunity must actively participate* compares "Being Canadian involves actively participating in the national governance system" with "Being a global citizen involves actively participating in international governance systems".
Community lives according to the same values compares "Being Canadian involves living/behaving according to a particular value system" with "Being a global citizen involves living according to a particular value system". *Importance of sovereignty* compares " We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to Canada's political independence" with "We have a responsibility to stop threats to any and all nations’ political independence."

A set of 5 prompts probed the depth of internationalism as a meaningful part of Canadian group identity (Table 28; Appendix A, Table 71). While students did feel that there is something about Canadians that makes them distinct (M = 3.76, SD = .830) and that there are values uniquely Canadian (M = 3.61, SD = .864), the wording of the question did affect response strength, as checked by reverse language. Nevertheless, these prompts spoke generally to a sense that being Canadian does mean something distinct from the global community.

Table 28 *Canadian internationalism item statistics – all respondents (n = 104)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
There is something about Canadians as a group that makes them distinct (different) from other cultures	3.76	.830	-.767	.753	71.1
People living in Canada are too different from each other to all be called ‘Canadian’ as a group	2.64	1.023	.321	-.471	21.1
There are values that are uniquely Canadian	3.61	.863	-.426	-.444	62.5
Canadian values are world values	3.28	.853	-.095	-.404	41.4
A global perspective is part of being Canadian	3.60	1.153	-1.439	2.659	63.5

Note. Skewness standard error = .237 and Kurtosis standard error = .469.

iv) Do youth feel conflict or confluence between Canadian and global citizenship?

In order to address the possibility that youth feel a conflict between their multiple selves, a series of ranked-response questions addressed this explicitly (Tables 30-31; Appendix A, Tables 72-73), and a re-examination of prompts from national and global sections compared the duties felt to each community. Furthermore, new questions probed the site of moral responsibility, and proportional change from Wave 1 to Wave 2 questioned whether these were stable or changeable attachments. The responses of only domestic Canadian students are reported where the language dealt with Canadian nationality rather than a generalized 'national affiliation' for the sake of clarity, such as the report of domestic students' senses of responsibility to take social or political action in Canada. Relevant responses from open-ended prompts will also be considered in discussion.

Although wording did affect the strength of student reactions, as evident from paired questions (Table 29), it was generally felt that nations do matter in today's world (M = 3.86), and that it is possible to be a global citizen and have a national identity at the same time (reverse language M = 2.46). Furthermore that domestic Canadian students (Table 29) claim this duality (M = 3.73). Notably, domestic Canadian students did feel that they are both Canadian and global, but did not feel that they are global citizens *more* than they are nationals.

Table 29 *Feelings of national/global conflict in worldviews and subjectivities - item statistics*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
All students (n = 104)				
Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community	2.30	.954	.529	.300
Nations still matter in the global community	3.86	1.092	-2.170	5.716
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity	2.46	1.140	-.024	-.099
Domestic Canadian students (n = 81)				
Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community	2.28	.952	.645	.728
Nations still matter in the global community	3.88	1.017	-2.231	6.677
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity	2.33	1.107	-.189	-.249
I am a Canadian citizen and a global citizen at the same time	3.73	1.215	-1.732	3.348
I am a global citizen more than I am a Canadian	2.60	1.169	-.380	.365

Note. All students skewness std. error = .237, and kurtosis std. error = .469. Domestic Canadian students skewness std. error = .267, and kurtosis std. error = .529

Parallel language across global and national citizenship prompts allowed comparison of proportions at each Likert response level (Table 30; Appendix A, Table 72 - 73 for Wave 2 item statistics and histograms), demonstrating indirectly how and where students feel that national and global citizenship duties differ. In evaluating the importance of participating in governance systems, students feel somewhat negative, neutral, or somewhat positive for both nationally- and globally-based systems; despite small statistically significant differences, the response patterns are very similar. Regarding living according to a particular value system or sharing values with one's community, more distinct differences emerge between global and Canadian conceptions of citizenship: although still clustered around a strong Neutral contingent, a greater proportion of students disagreed with the idea that living according to a values system defined global citizenship compared to national citizenship, where proportions leaned more toward positive. This was affected by a language change from 'living' to 'sharing'. When they considered 'sharing the same values as the community', a greater proportion agreed for global citizenship and disagreed for national citizenship. Thus, 'living' is a more powerful term to define Canadian citizenship, while 'sharing' garnered more support in defining global citizenship, again acknowledging the strong neutral presence in both.

When students consider the responsibility to stop threats to different communities, they agree in greater proportions for defending Canada, and disagree in greater proportions for defending other countries.

Table 30 *Proportional comparison of governance, values, and population fluidity within conceptions of Canadian citizenship* (P_{CAN}) *and global citizenship* (P_{Glob}) *in Wave 1*

Item	Likert level	P_{Glob}	P_{CAN}	Z-score	Alternative hypothesis	p-value
Being a citizen involves actively participating in governance systems	Strongly Disagree	4.1%	6.7%	-8.14	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0
	Disagree	22.4%	18.3%	-6.62	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0
	Neutral	27.6%	29.8%	-3.01	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0.0013
	Agree	37.8%	35.6%	-2.57	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0.0051
	Strongly Agree	8.2%	9.6%	-3.48	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0.0003
Being a citizen involves living according to a particular value system	Strongly Disagree	5.9%	4.8%	-3.39	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0.0003
	Disagree	36.3%	18.3%	-25.14	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0
	Neutral	26.5%	38.5%	-15.35	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0
	~~Agree~~	30.4%	30.8%	-0.50	~~$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$~~	.3085
	Strongly Agree	1.0%	7.7%	-23.48	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0
Being a citizen involves sharing the same values as the community	Strongly Disagree	7.8%	6.7%	-3.00	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0.0013
	Disagree	14.7%	35.6%	-30.35	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0
	Neutral	41.2%	35.6%	-6.60	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0
	Agree	28.4%	19.2%	-13.74	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0

	Strongly Agree	7.8%	2.9%	-15.60	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0
We have a	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	0.0%	-17.66	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0
responsibility to	Disagree	10.8%	2.9%	-22.01	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0
stop threats to	Neutral	33.3%	35.6%	-2.79	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0.0026
political	Agree	39.2%	49.0%	-10.79	$P_{Glob} < P_{CAN}$	0
independence	Strongly Agree	13.7%	12.5%	-2.47	$P_{Glob} > P_{CAN}$	0.0068

Note. Alternative hypothesis was rejected where it is crossed out. For original prompt wording, see Parameters of Canadian citizenship (Table 24) and Parameters of global citizenship (Table 25).

A set of new questions asked students to consider the duties and possible points of conflict inherent to holding both rooted and cosmopolitan worldviews (Table 31; Appendix A, Table 73 for histograms). Students were prompted to think about the site of their sense of moral responsibility with reference to the ideal 'adult who is a good citizen', and reported low importance for military reaction (although higher for one's own country than for others) and ignoring a law, but high importance for obeying laws and moral imperatives, even where these statements were contradictory. In fact, willingness to value military action to defend either the nation's sovereignty or another nation's sovereignty was strongly positively correlated in Wave 1 data ($r = 0.747$), implying an underlying value interacting with the global/national aspect of the prompt (Appendix A, Table 74). No other site of moral responsibility items were as strongly correlated in Wave 1 (all $r < 0.395$; Appendix A, Table 74).

Table 31 *Site of moral responsibility, national and global (Wave 1): "An adult who is a good citizen…"*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country	2.86	1.180	-.096	-1.035	35.9
Would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence	2.75	1.172	-.088	-.950	28.8
Obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs	3.63	1.007	-.408	-.426	58.7
Lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence	3.43	0.881	.007	-.279	44.7
Would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights	2.92	1.384	.142	-1.230	35.9

Note. For 'serve in military to defend the country', lives according to global code', and 'willing to ignore a law', n = 103, std. error of skewness = .238, and std. error of kurtosis = .472. For 'serve in military to defend another country' and ' obeys the laws' n = 104, std. error of skewness = .237, and std. error of kurtosis = .469. Percent positive represents those who responded either 'somewhat' or 'very true / important'.

Looking across Wave 1 and Wave 2 data for items these same items examining the site of students' feelings of responsibility (Table 32; correlations reported in Appendix A, Table 74), it is evident that student opinions changed over the duration of their course but that a general tendency to support military or support laws seemed to guide responses more than the national or global site of relevance.

The response pattern underlying the strong positive correlation value for defensive military action became slightly more similar in proportions in Wave 2. Regarding living according to a values system in Wave 1 data, prioritizing a global code of ethics was weakly correlated with ignoring laws that violate human rights (r = 0.395), but prioritizing a global code of ethics was also, and surprisingly, as weakly correlated with prioritizing the laws of a country of residence (r = 0.381). Despite their somewhat contradictory nature, students wanted to agree both with the idea that a good citizen 'lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the law in his or her country of residence' (44.7% positive in Wave 1, 50.0% positive in Wave 2) and with 'obeys the laws of whichever country they live in regardless of personal beliefs' (58.7% positive in Wave 1, 80.0% positive in Wave 2). In each, the results became stronger in Wave 2, with the proportion of students choosing Neutral decreasing significantly. In contrast, when considering whether good citizens 'would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights', students were less sure with a third feeling neutral, a third strongly disagreeing, and just under a third feeling either some or strong agreement; the largest proportional shift from Wave 1 to Wave 2 was toward Strongly Disagree, which increased from 18.4% of the sample to 34.7%.

Table 32 *Site of moral responsibility items' statistical significance of proportion change from Wave 1 (n = 104) to Wave 2 (n = 51): "An adult who is a good citizen..."*

Item	Likert level	Wave 1 proportion	Wave 2 proportion	Z-score	Alternative hypothesis	p-value
would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country	~~Strongly Disagree~~	15.5%	16.0%	-0.60	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~*0.2776*~~
	Disagree	24.3%	18.0%	-6.93	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	~~Neutral~~	24.3%	24.0%	~~0.28~~	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~*0.6103*~~
	Agree	30.1%	28.0%	-1.98	$P_1 > P_2$	*0.0239*
	Strongly Agree	5.8%	14.0%	-13.18	$P_1 < P_2$	0
would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence	Strongly Disagree	20.2%	18.4%	-2.10	$P_1 > P_2$	*0.0179*
	Disagree	18.3%	16.3%	-2.36	$P_1 > P_2$	*0.0091*
	Neutral	32.7%	24.5%	-7.76	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Agree	24.0%	32.7%	-8.18	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	Strongly Agree	4.8%	8.2%	-6.65	$P_1 < P_2$	0

would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights	Strongly Disagree	18.4%	34.7%	-15.86	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	Disagree	25.2%	4.1%	-27.79	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Neutral	20.4%	32.7%	-11.98	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	Agree	17.5%	10.2%	-9.83	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	~~Strongly Agree~~	18.4%	18.4%	0.09	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~0.5359~~
lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence	Strongly Disagree	1.0%	6.0%	-13.67	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	~~Disagree~~	11.7%	12.0%	-0.52	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~0.3050~~
	Neutral	42.7%	32.0%	-8.92	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Agree	33.0%	30.0%	-2.73	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0032
	Strongly Agree	11.7%	20.0%	-10.66	$P_1 < P_2$	0
obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs	~~Strongly Disagree~~	1.9%	2.0%	-0.28	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~0.3897~~
	Disagree	12.5%	6.0%	-10.90	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Neutral	26.9%	12.0%	-17.27	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Agree	38.5%	36.0%	-2.06	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0197
	Strongly Agree	20.2%	44.0%	-21.47	$P_1 < P_2$	0

The prompts reported previously regarding responsibilities are also relevant here, however, in this case are presented using only the domestic Canadian student responses (Table 33); these demonstrate feelings of personal responsibility at first national (61.8% positive), then local (61.7% positive), and finally global (50.6% positive) levels of affiliation. This is similar to the results from the full population (local 60.5%, national 56.7%, and global 51.9% positive; from Table 15), demonstrating an ability to feel strongly across multiple levels of community simultaneously in youth populations.

Table 33 *Domestic students' sense of responsibility to local, national, and international communities - histograms: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X____ community"*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
Local	8.6 *(7)*	9.9 *(8)*	19.8 *(16)*	43.2 *(35)*	18.5 *(15)*	3.53	1.163
National (Canadian)	7.4 *(6)*	9.9 *(8)*	21.0 *(17)*	34.6 *(28)*	27.2 *(22)*	3.64	1.197
International	7.4 *(6)*	16.0 *(13)*	24.7 *(20)*	28.4 *(23)*	22.2 *(18)*	3.43	1.220

Note. Local and Canada prompts n = 81, International prompt n = 80. All columns report percentage then numeral frequency in parentheses. See Table 15 for whole sample results.

v) Do youth feel attachment to, belonging in, and power in Canada?

In order to respond to the research question regarding national attachment, belonging, and efficacy, analyses were limited to domestic Canadian students with full population statistics reported as comparison points where interesting.

As a baseline, responses to statements of pride in Canada demonstrated that domestic Canadian students felt a strong sense of positivity associated with the nation (Table 34;

Appendix A, Table 75). Their experiences with the Canadian reputation, as well as their own personal evaluations of the nation's value and worthiness were all very high, especially given the tendency to err on the side of neutral in many other prompts.

Table 34 *National pride in domestic Canadian student responses - item statistics (n = 81)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
In my experience, Canadians are well liked around the world	4.28	.675	-1.412	5.660	93.8
I have great love for Canada	4.12	.731	-.590	.324	84.0
There is much to be proud of in Canada's history*	4.09	.938	-.921	.510	76.5
Canada is the best country to live in	3.83	.997	-.417	-.538	68.1
Canada should be proud of its achievements through history	3.78	.775	-.251	-.216	66.6
Canada deserves respect from other countries for what it has accomplished	3.70	.679	.200	-.470	60.5
I would prefer to live permanently in Canada rather than another country*	3.65	.911	-.168	-.731	58.0
Canada is a model to the world	3.42	.960	-.418	-.325	53.1

Note. Std. Error of Skewness = .267. Std. Error of Kurtosis = .529. * Reverse coded from originals which read “I would prefer to live in a country other than Canada” and “There is little to be proud of in Canada’s history."

When asked how important various communities are to their subjective sense of self (Table 35; Appendix A, Table for histograms), domestic Canadian students prioritize their Canadian community (M = 4.23), then their generation group (M = 3.98) and local community membership (M = 3.85), followed by British Columbian residency (M = 3.78) and global citizen membership (M = 3.71), and finally cultural or ethnic groups other than Canadian (M = 3.15). All were ranked as important to their senses of self, reflecting a highly complex subjectivity with multiple points of attachment. Results were very similar when the whole population was included (Appendix A, Table 74), with inapplicable categories removed: thus generation group (M = 4.04) led the way, followed by being a member of a local community (M = 3.84), and being a global citizen (M = 3.77).

Table 35 *Communities of affiliation in domestic Canadian student subjectivities: responses to “_____ is important to who I am”*

	N	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
a member of my local community	80	3.85	1.008	-.681	-.216	69.1
a resident of British Columbia	81	3.78	1.025	-.966	.585	72.8
a citizen of Canada	81	4.23	.884	-1.484	2.466	88.9

a global citizen	80	3.71	1.046	-.484	-.369	59.2
a member of my generation [age group]	81	3.99	1.006	-1.334	1.666	82.8
a member of a particular cultural or ethnic group other than Canadian	80	3.15	1.543	-.724	-.231	42.0

Note. Standard Error of Skewness = .269 where n = 80, and .267 where n = 81. Standard Error of Kurtosis = .532 where n = 80, and .529 where n = 81.

Finally, the salience of 'being Canadian' for domestic Canadian students was examined through three prompts in addition to the open-ended responses reported above inviting students to describe what 'being Canadian' meant to them (Table 36; Appendix A, Table 76 for Wave 1 histograms; Appendix A, Table 77 for Wave 2 histograms). Together these items demonstrated a strong sense of belonging in Canada and even a moderate sense that this national community held more weight than the global community. Most powerfully, this concept of 'being Canadian' matters to students.

Table 36 *Salience of being Canada for domestic Canadian students - item statistics (n = 81)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Being Canadian doesn't matter much to me	1.93	.932	1.193	1.698	6.2
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada	3.79	1.008	-1.360	3.384	69.1
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community	3.41	1.034	-1.101	1.814	54.3

Note. Standard error of skew = .267, standard error of kurtosis = .529

vi) Do subnational, national, or global group identities play a role in youth feelings of attachment, belonging, or empowerment?

A set of correlation tests revealed three small relationships in the quantitative data (Appendix A, Table 77-78), but no support for a correlation between efficacy and a strong sense of belonging in Canada (r = -0.103) or a sense of belonging in the nation with opinions regarding the continued relevance of nations (tested with domestic Canadian students).

With constructs created by taking the means of all items in scale (see reliability report of scales in chapter 1), the Ideal Conventional Citizenship scale and the Ideal Social-movement Related scale were moderately positively correlated (all students r = 0.690, domestic Canadian students r = 0.712). The Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship scale was slightly correlated with the item, "Participating in established political systems

can make a difference in issues I care about" (all students r = 0.527, domestic Canadian students r = 0.549). It was also slightly positively correlated with the Predicted Social-movement Related scale for domestic students (r = 0.507) but not for the whole population.

The Efficacy Scale, incorporating items on both global and national senses of the student's own ability to impact politics and social issues, was not correlated with either construct of (Ideal Conventional Citizenship scale or Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship scale), with measures of feeling politically connected (Canadian youth today don't care about politics; Participating in established political systems can make a difference in issues I care about; Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life), opinion on whether 'being Canadian' should be taught in schools, a sense of belonging in Canada (I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada; I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community), or measures of the relevance of the nation and subjectivity conflict (Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community; Nations still matter in the global community; Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity).

All tests between items measuring feelings of subjectivity conflict and the relevance of the nation were not correlated, as tested with domestic Canadian students only due to the specificity of the prompts using "Canada" as a national location (Appendix A, Table 78).

4.4 Investigating change: The role of education from Wave 1 and Wave 2

Q1 - 2: Did student responses regarding models of citizenship or subjectivities shift over the course of their participation in a citizenship education class?

In estimating the role of school-based experiences in youth citizenship education, key shifts in results from Wave 1 to Wave 2 are highlighted here (Wave 2 descriptive statistics and histograms in Appendix A, Table 80-81). These shifts, however, do not demonstrate the course's direct impact but only that student opinions changed over time; see the discussion of limitations in the conclusion of this paper for an outline of how future research might better explore the links between effects observed here and the classroom experiences reported by students. All shifts reported are significant at most a

level of 5% (Table 37) and represent the shift of the whole group from Wave 1 to Wave 2 rather than individual students due to the anonymous nature of the survey.

Conventional and Social-movement Related models of citizenship

Within the *Ideal Conventional Citizenship* scale, students considered the importance of traditional actions associated with good citizenship. The alternative hypothesis was rejected in 4 instances (indicating that no statistically significant change had occurred), while in all other cases there is enough evidence to reject the null (direction of alternative hypothesis accepted is indicated in Table 37). All items saw a rise in proportions for Strongly Disagree and Strongly Agree (with the exception of 'follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV' and 'engages in political discussions', where Strongly Agree decreased in proportion), while Neutral across all items decreased in proportion. Overall, students tended to feel positively about these civic behaviours; across both waves, voting garnered strong agreement while respecting government representatives, knowing history, and following political issues garnered agreement. The shifts in two items resulted in a change of the most chosen Likert response level, interestingly in two of the lower-ranked items overall: the strongest response option of 'engages in political discussions' moved from Neutral to Agree, and 'joins a political party' moved from Neutral to Strongly Disagree.

Within the *Ideal Social-movement Related* scale, students considered alternative modes of enacting citizenship. Although proportions of students choosing Strongly Disagree increased in all four items, the majority of students still chose positive responses and no item's strongest Likert category changed due to the small but statistically significant shifts (Table 37). As with the Ideal Conventional items, all Neutral responses decreased in proportion to a statistically significant degree.

Table 37 *Statistical significance of Likert shifts by item in Ideal Conventional (Conv.) Citizenship and Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship (SmR) scales from Wave 1 and Wave 2: "An adult who is a good citizen..."*

Scale	Item	Likert level	Wave 1 proportion	Wave 2 proportion	Z-score	Alt. hypoth.	p-value
Conv.	votes in every election	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	6.0%	-7.54	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		~~Disagree~~	6.7%	6.0%	1.48	~~$P_1 > P_2$~~	0.9292
		Neutral	17.3%	14.0%	-4.27	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	33.7%	28.0%	-5.20	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	39.4%	46.0%	-5.15	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	shows respect for government	Strongly Disagree	3.9%	10.4%	-12.15	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		~~Disagree~~	8.7%	8.3%	0.69	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.7517

	representatives [leaders, officials]	Neutral	29.1%	14.6%	-15.49	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	41.8%	45.8%	-3.08	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0011
		Strongly Agree	16.5%	20.8%	-4.99	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	joins a political party	Strongly Disagree	19.2%	42.0%	-21.02	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	23.1%	14.0%	-10.76	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	38.5%	30.0%	-7.39	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	16.4%	10.0%	-8.92	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	2.9%	4.0%	-3.07	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0011
	knows about the country's history	Strongly Disagree	1.9%	8.0%	-13.92	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	6.7%	14.0%	-11.52	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	21.2%	16.0%	-6.10	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	51.9%	32.0%	-15.73	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	18.3%	30.0%	-12.19	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	6.0%	-7.54	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	12.5%	18.0%	-7.19	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	23.1%	16.0%	-8.17	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Agree~~	45.2%	46.0%	-0.61	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.2709
		Strongly Agree	16.4%	14.0%	-3.07	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0011
	engages in political discussions	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	6.0%	-7.54	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		~~Disagree~~	15.4%	16.0%	-0.79	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.2148
		Neutral	38.5%	34.0%	-3.79	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	32.7%	36.0%	-2.88	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0020
		Strongly Agree	10.6%	8.0%	-4.31	$P_1 > P_2$	0
SmR	takes part in activities to protect the environment	Strongly Disagree	1.9%	8.2%	-14.03	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	6.7%	12.2%	-9.04	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	27.9%	20.4%	-7.69	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	45.2%	42.9%	-1.78	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0375
		Strongly Agree	18.3%	16.3%	-2.36	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0091
	participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	6.0%	-7.54	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		~~Disagree~~	8.7%	8.0%	1.16	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.8749
		Neutral	22.1%	14.0%	-9.75	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	52.9%	42.0%	-8.08	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	13.5%	30.0%	-18.12	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust	Strongly Disagree	5.83%	14.0%	-13.18	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	12.62%	10.0%	-3.96	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	30.10%	22.0%	-8.06	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	39.81%	44.0%	-3.30	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0005
		Strongly Agree	11.65%	10.0%	-2.55	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0054
	takes part in activities promoting human rights	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	8.0%	-11.18	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	15.4%	2.0%	-23.16	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	31.7%	24.0%	-7.48	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	37.5%	48.0%	-8.21	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	12.5%	18.0%	-7.19	$P_1 < P_2$	0

Note. Where the alternative hypothesis is crossed out, there was not enough evidence to reject the null.

The same scales were also applied to youth predictions of their own actions when they reach adulthood and demonstrate a shift in means (Table 38; Appendix A, Table 59-60 for Wave 2 item statistics and histograms) and in proportions of each Likert choice within

items (Table 39). The means of *Predicted Conventional Citizenship* items decreased across the board, as did the percent positive responses, except for the item 'volunteer for a political party' where the percent positive increased despite a decrease in overall mean. *Predicted Social-movement Related* Citizenship items also experienced a general decrease in mean support, with the exception of 'collect money for a social cause' where the mean increased, though without a corresponding increase in the percent positive responses. The percent positive responses did increase marginally in items 'volunteer time to help people in my local community' and ' collect signatures for a petition'.

Table 38 *Comparison of Wave 1 and Wave 2 Predicted Conventional Citizenship (Conv) and Predicted Social-movement Related (SmR) items: "When I am an adult I might..."*

	Wave 1			Wave 2		
	M	SD	% Pos.*	M	SD	% Pos.*
CONVENTIONAL CITIZENSHIP						
Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns	2.68	1.182	26.0	2.44	1.236	23
Volunteer for a political party	2.40	1.183	15.3	2.26	1.367	24
Run in a federal election	2.10	1.225	17.3	1.84	1.218	14
Run in a municipal or provincial election	2.05	1.158	12.5	1.72	1.089	8
SOCIAL-MOVEMENT RELATED CITIZENSHIP						
Volunteer time to help people in my local community	3.88	1.011	68.3	3.84	1.057	72
Participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally	3.01	1.182	37.5	2.68	1.301	32
Collect signatures for a petition	2.80	1.271	30.8	2.74	1.242	32
Run an awareness campaign online about social or political issues	2.68	1.195	25.0	2.30	1.165	18
Collect money for a social cause	2.32	1.050	46.2	3.12	1.154	36
OTHER ACTIONS						
Block traffic as a form of protest	2.17	1.164	13.5	1.80	1.262	14
Occupy public buildings as a form of protest	1.89	1.125	10.6	1.70	1.129	12
Spray-paint protest slogans on walls	1.85	1.194	13.5	1.62	1.123	6

Note. *Those who answered this action is "somewhat" or "very" likely when they are adults.

Looking to the proportion change within items, *Predicted Conventional Citizenship* scale items generally saw a statistically significant rise in Strongly Disagree, a decline in Disagree and Neutral, and a mix of directional changes and no change in Agree and Strongly Agree (Table 39). Across the two waves, the strongest response category was in

the negative for Predicted Conventional Citizenship and Predicted Illegal Protest, but neutral or somewhat positive for Predicted Social-movement Related Citizenship (with the exception of running an awareness campaign, which skewed toward negative).

Table 39 *Statistical significance of Likert shifts by item in Predicted Conventional (P-Conv.) and Predicted Social-movement related (P-SmR) scales from Wave 1 to Wave 2: "When I am an adult I might..."*

Scale	Item	Likert level	Wave 1 proportion	Wave 2 proportion	Z-score	Alt. hypoth.	p-value
P-Conv.	run in a federal election	Strongly Disagree	44.7%	60.0%	-10.80	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	22.3%	14.0%	-9.93	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	15.5%	12.0%	-4.84	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	13.6%	10.0%	-5.31	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Strongly Agree~~	3.9%	4.0%	-0.30	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.3859
	run in a municipal or provincial election	Strongly Disagree	43.7%	60.0%	-11.53	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	24.3%	20.0%	-4.61	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	19.4%	12.0%	-9.51	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	8.7%	4.0%	-9.53	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Strongly Agree~~	3.9%	4.0%	-0.30	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.3859
	volunteer for a political party	Strongly Disagree	28.2%	42.0%	-11.89	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	26.2%	22.0%	-4.36	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	30.1%	12.0%	-20.04	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	8.7%	16.0%	-10.49	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	6.8%	8.0%	-2.25	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0125
	write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns	Strongly Disagree	20.4%	27.1%	-6.84	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	23.3%	31.3%	-7.58	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	30.1%	18.8%	-11.43	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	20.4%	16.7%	-4.30	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Strongly Agree~~	5.8%	6.3%	-0.86	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.1977
P-SmR	volunteer time to help people in my local community	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	4.0%	-3.07	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0011
		Disagree	5.8%	8.0%	-4.34	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	23.1%	16.0%	-8.17	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	37.5%	44.0%	-5.21	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	30.8%	28.0%	-2.61	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0045
	run an awareness campaign online about a social or political issue	Strongly Disagree	18.6%	34.0%	-15.16	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	28.4%	22.0%	-6.48	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Neutral~~	27.5%	26.0%	1.42	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.9207
		Agree	17.6%	16.0%	-2.03	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0212
		Strongly Agree	7.8%	2.0%	13.30	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	collect money for a social cause	Strongly Disagree	7.8%	12.0%	-6.84	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	9.7%	12.0%	-3.53	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	35.9%	40.0%	-3.37	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0004
		Agree	35.9%	24.0%	-11.07	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	10.7%	12.0%	-1.99	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0233
	collect signatures for a petition	Strongly Disagree	19.4%	22.0%	-2.88	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0020
		Disagree	23.3%	20.0%	-3.61	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Neutral~~	26.2%	26.0%	0.21	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.5832
		Agree	20.4%	26.0%	-5.92	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	10.7%	6.0%	-8.23	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	participate in a non-violent [peaceful]	Strongly Disagree	13.7%	28.0%	-15.80	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	18.6%	14.0%	-5.79	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	29.4%	26.0%	-3.28	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0005

	protest march or rally	Agree	29.4%	26.0%	-3.28	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0005
		Strongly Agree	8.8%	6.0%	-5.24	$P_1 > P_2$	0
P-Other	block traffic as a form of protest	Strongly Disagree	36.9%	64.0%	-19.43	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	28.2%	12.0%	-18.32	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	21.4%	10.0%	-14.57	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		~~Agree~~	8.7%	8.0%	1.29	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.9015
		Strongly Agree	4.9%	6.0%	-2.50	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0064
	spray-paint protest slogans on walls	Strongly Disagree	58.3%	70.0%	-7.48	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	16.5%	10.0%	-9.08	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	11.7%	14.0%	-3.33	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0004
		Agree	9.7%	0.0%	-22.37	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	3.9%	6.0%	-4.83	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	occupy public buildings as a form of protest	Strongly Disagree	52.0%	66.0%	-9.27	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	20.6%	12.0%	-10.76	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	16.7%	10.0%	-9.23	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	7.8%	10.0%	-3.65	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	2.9%	2.0%	-3.02	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0013

Note. Where the alternative hypothesis is crossed out, there was not enough evidence to reject the null.

Feelings of political connectedness and efficacy

In feelings of political connectedness (Appendix A, Tables 61-61 for Wave 2 item statistics and histograms), fewer students chose Neutral proportionally for all items, moving more strongly toward agreement for 'Canadian youth today don't care about politics', toward agreement for 'participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about', and toward both strongly disagree and strongly agree for 'decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life" (Table 40). In contrast, efficacy items related to young people on the whole saw a movement toward center (Table 40; Appendix A, Table 64 - 67 for Wave 2 item statistics and histograms of personal and group efficacy items), with a greater proportion choosing Neutral with the most notable decrease in those who felt youth do not have many ways of influencing national politics. Personalized efficacy items, using language of "I feel able" all moved proportionally away from Neutral and towards the edges of the scales. Particularly robust increases in proportion exist in students' feeling able to address national (31.8 - 41.2% positive) and international (37.5 - 54.9% positive) issues of importance.

Table 40 *Political connectedness and efficacy items' proportion change from Wave 1 to Wave 2*

Scale	Item	Likert level	Wave 1 proportion	Wave 2 proportion	Z-score	Alternative hypothesis	p-value
Political	Canadian youth today	Strongly Disagree	11.5%	13.7%	-3.17	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0008
		~~Disagree~~	24.0%	25.5%	-1.50	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~0.668~~

connectedness	don't care about politics	Neutral	34.6%	21.6%	-12.70	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	23.1%	31.4%	-8.20	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	6.7%	7.8%	-2.12	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0170
	Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about	Strongly Disagree	1.0%	2.0%	-4.26	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		~~Disagree~~	10.6%	9.8%	1.25	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~0.8925~~
		Neutral	42.3%	31.4%	-9.30	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	34.6%	41.2%	-5.50	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	11.5%	15.7%	-5.79	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	Strongly Disagree	1.0%	6.0%	-13.77	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	11.5%	12.0%	-0.69	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	~~0.2483~~
		Neutral	29.8%	20.0%	-10.04	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	36.5%	34.0%	-2.18	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0146
		Strongly Agree	21.2%	28.0%	-7.05	$P_1 < P_2$	0
Efficacy in Impact	Young people today have many ways of influencing national politics	Strongly Disagree	10.6%	3.9%	-12.74	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Disagree	21.2%	13.7%	-9.17	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	22.1%	31.4%	-9.23	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Agree	28.8%	39.2%	-9.17	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	17.3%	11.8%	-7.49	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Young people today have many ways of influencing global politics	Strongly Disagree	4.8%	3.9%	-2.18	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0146
		Disagree	20.2%	17.6%	-3.02	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0013
		Neutral	22.1%	31.4%	-9.23	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Agree	33.7%	31.4%	-2.06	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0197
		Strongly Agree	19.2%	15.7%	-4.37	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	I feel able to address important issues in my local community	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	5.9%	-7.26	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Disagree	15.5%	19.6%	-4.99	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Neutral	34.0%	25.5%	-8.00	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	38.8%	35.3%	-2.99	$P_1 > P_2$	0.0014
		Strongly Agree	8.7%	13.7%	-7.63	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	I feel able to address important issues across Canada.	Strongly Disagree	4.8%	5.9%	-2.39	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0084
		~~Disagree~~	23.1%	21.6%	1.65	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.9495
		Neutral	40.4%	31.4%	-7.77	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	23.1%	27.5%	-4.49	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	8.7%	13.7%	-7.81	$P_1 < P_2$	0
	I feel able to address important international issues	Strongly Disagree	7.7%	5.9%	-3.58	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Disagree	21.2%	13.7%	-9.17	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Neutral	33.7%	25.5%	-7.75	$P_1 > P_2$	0
		Agree	28.8%	39.2%	-9.17	$P_1 < P_2$	0
		Strongly Agree	8.7%	15.7%	-10.39	$P_1 < P_2$	0

Note. Where the alternative hypothesis is crossed out, there was not enough evidence to reject the null.

Regarding voting, the most visible and discussed marker of citizenship, at the end of their courses students reported a very slightly greater likelihood that they will vote in each level of elections (Table 41). Municipal elections remained the lowest percentage, taking into account all students in both pre- and post-course measures.

Table 41 *Comparative table for voting intentions of all students: "When I am eligible, I intend to vote in…"*

Election level	Wave 1 (n = 103)		Wave 2 (n = 51)	
	#	%	#	%
Municipal elections	72	69.2	36	70.6
Provincial elections	82	78.8	41	80.4
Federal elections	90	86.5	44	86.3
I do not intend to vote in any of these elections	7	6.7	3	5.9

Note. Given the opportunity to explain their choice not to vote in elections, two students specified that they are not Canadian citizens, and one student responded, "if i'm ever going to be a politician, it will we though war, because i believe the government that build though peace are not trustworthy."

In Wave 1 and Wave 2 students were polled regarding their confidence in understanding how political systems work at municipal, provincial, and federal levels (Table 42). While all were relatively high in both waves of data collection, confidence in understandings of municipal government decreased slightly at the end of the course (-4.37%) while for provincial government they improved (+6.43%). Although fewer students overall reported feeling that they didn't know how any of the systems worked, this represented a larger portion of the smaller sample (+1.7%).

Table 42 *Voting efficacy: "I am confident in my understanding of how these political systems work …" (n=104)*

Election level	Wave 1 (n = 104)		Wave 2 (n = 51)	
	#	%	#	%
Municipal system	80	76.9	37	72.6
Provincial system	81	77.9	43	84.3
Federal system	94	90.4	46	90.2
I do not know how any of these systems work	5	4.8	3	5.9

Furthermore, students generally felt an increased sense of responsibility for addressing political, social, and environmental issues in their communities, though averages tended to hover between 'neutral' and 'somewhat' (Table 43). In the Wave 2 data, this meant 54% responded somewhat or very strongly to addressing the local community (34% neutral), 48% for the national community (34% neutral), and 58% for the international community (24% neutral).

Table 43 *Comparative table of descriptive statistics for sense of responsibility items: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, environmental, issues in my ___X___ community"*

	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	M	SD	M	SD
Local	3.55	1.144	3.62	1.008
National (Canada)	3.52	1.182	3.46	1.092
International	3.48	1.170	3.64	1.102

Note. n=103 for Wave 1, n = 50 for Wave 2

Q3: What role might the school play in shaping citizenship ideals?

i. What sources do youth feel have shaped their understanding of citizenship?

ii. What school-based experiences do youth feel have been most positive?

iii. By what means do youth feel citizenship is best taught?

i) What sources do youth feel have shaped their understanding of citizenship?

In the initial survey, after describing how students perceived themselves as citizens and exploring the relationships between local, national, and global subjectivities, this study aimed to investigate student educational experiences and the role of current programming in the context of self-reported sources of learning (Table 44). Reflecting on their understanding of citizenship across a variety of elements, youth identified what they felt to be the most significant contributors, from course content at school (with a total of 363 responses across all elements making it the most frequent contributor) to teachers as role models (with a total of 237 responses across all elements, making teachers as role models the least frequent contributing source). Youth felt they learned the most about Canadian culture and values from family (62.5%) followed by travel (58.7%), and about other cultures and values systems from travel (67.3%) then friends (53.8%). According to this self-report, knowledge of Canadian democratic systems was influenced by course content at school (70.2%) followed by political debates, processes, or policy (67.3%). Finally, youth's desire to do something about world issues was based on the influence of course content at school (60.6%) and digital and social media (54.8%), while a desire to impact issues in Canada was based on course content at school (53.8%) then family (47.1%). Their sense of how to achieve desired social or political changes also drew on the influence of course content at school (58.7%) followed by political debates, processes, or policy (52.9%).

Table 44 *Self-reported sources of learning (Wave 1, n = 104)*

Topic ----- Source	Canadian culture and values	other cultures and values systems	Canadian democratic systems	your desire to do something about world issues	your desire to make a difference in Canada	How to create social or political change	*Total Responses for source*
Course content at school	56.7 *(59)*	49.0 *(51)*	**70.2** *(73)*	**60.6** *(63)*	**53.8** *(56)*	**58.7** *(61)*	*363*
Digital and social media	47.1 *(49)*	52.9 *(55)*	45.2 *(47)*	54.8 *(57)*	46.2 *(48)*	50.0 *(52)*	*308*
Family	**62.5** *(65)*	46.2 *(48)*	40.4 *(42)*	42.3 *(44)*	47.1 *(49)*	40.4 *(42)*	*290*
Political debates, processes, or policy	43.3 *(45)*	24.0 *(25)*	67.3 *(70)*	41.3 *(43)*	37.5 *(39)*	52.9 *(55)*	*277*
Traditional media*	43.2 *(45)*	44.2 *(46)*	37.5 *(39)*	49.0 *(51)*	39.4 *(41)*	41.3 *(43)*	*265*
Travel	58.7 *(61)*	**67.3** *(70)*	10.6 *(11)*	49.0 *(51)*	38.5 *(40)*	27.9 *(29)*	*262*
Friends	57.7 *(60)*	53.8 *(56)*	22.1 *(23)*	39.4 *(41)*	37.5 *(39)*	31.7 *(33)*	*252*
Teachers as role models	37.5 *(39)*	26.0 *(27)*	36.5 *(38)*	44.2 *(46)*	44.2 *(46)*	39.4 *(41)*	*237*
Average % for element	*50.84%*	*45.43%*	*41.223%*	*47.58*	*40.03*	*42.79*	

Note. All frequencies reported as percent first, then number of respondents in parentheses. Elements of citizenship knowledge used in this question are organized in rows from the top total contributor (course content at school) to the least frequent contributor (traditional media) as shown in the far right column. Top contributors to each element of citizenship knowledge is made bold, highlighting the contribution of course content at school across elements. Averages of each element are included at the bottom of the chart to allow comparison across sources. *Students were offered the examples of magazines, news, television and print advertising to help define traditional media. **Students were offered the examples of social networking sites, YouTube, online advertising to help define digital and social media.

When students reflected on the effectiveness of their course in addressing aspects of group identity, civic subjectivity, and civic knowledge they felt courses were on the whole somewhat or very effective (Table 45; Appendix A, Table 82). Very few felt any of these items were not addressed or that they had not heard of such an item. Significantly, the item students most frequently felt was ineffectively addressed was the

active component of how to create social or political change (11.76%) followed by learning about world history (9.80%).

Table 45 Histograms for Wave 2 evaluations of coursework

	I don't know	We never addressed this	Ineffe-ctive	Somewhat effective	Very effective	M	SD	% Pos.
Canadian culture and values	2.0 *(1)*	2.0 *(1)*	3.9 *(2)*	29.4 *(15)*	62.8 *(32)*	1.55	.642	92.1
Other cultures and value systems	0.0 *(0)*	3.9 *(2)*	5.9 *(3)*	52.9 *(27)*	37.3 *(19)*	1.27	.635	90.2
Canadian democratic systems	0.0 *(0)*	0.0 *(0)*	3.9 *(2)*	23.5 *(12)*	72.6 *(37)*	1.69	.547	96.1
Issues of importance for the global community	0.0 *(0)*	2.0 *(1)*	3.9 *(2)*	29.4 *(15)*	64.7 *(33)*	1.59	.606	94.1
Issues of importance for the Canadian community	2.0 *(1)*	2.0 *(1)*	5.9 *(3)*	25.5 *(13)*	64.7 *(33)*	1.55	.673	90.2
How to create social or political change	7.8 *(4)*	3.9 *(2)*	11.8 *(6)*	41.2 *(21)*	35.3 *(18)*	1.12	.765	76.5
World history	0.0 *(0)*	0.0 *(0)*	9.8 *(5)*	27.5 *(14)*	62.8 *(32)*	1.53	.674	90.2
Canadian history	0.0 *(0)*	0.0 *(0)*	5.9 *(3)*	21.6 *(11)*	72.6 *(37)*	1.67	.589	94.1

Note. Response categories "I don't know", "We didn't address this", and "Ineffective" were combined into one "Not effective" category and worth 0 in calculating descriptive statistics for the sample. Percent positive was calculated using responses from somewhat and very effective.

ii) What school-based experiences do youth feel have been most positive, and how do youth see the school best serving citizenship education goals?

The role of educational institutions in shaping group identity

Asked whether it is important for high school students to learn "what it means to be a Canadian," youth generally felt that this topic held value in both Waves 1 and 2. In Wave

1, respondents primarily agreed (75.0% somewhat or strongly agree) and in Wave 2 with even more emphasis (85.7% somewhat or strongly agree) (Table 46).

Table 46 *Comparative table for Wave 1 and Wave 2 responses to the prompt "Is it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'"? (n =104 and n=49, respectively)*

		Not at all important	Minimally important	Neutral	Somewhat important	Very important	
Frequency	Wave 1	3	7	16	50	28	M = 3.39
	Wave 2	2	1	4	23	19	M = 4.14
Percent	Wave 1	2.9	6.7	15.4	48.1	26.9	% positive 75.0
	Wave 2	4.1	2.0	8.2	46.9	38.8	% positive 85.7
% change		*+ 1.2*	*- 4.7*	*- 7.2*	*- 1.2*	*+ 11.9*	

Note.

Wave 1: M = 3.389, SD = .974, Skew = -1.003, Std. error of skew = .237, Kurtosis = .934, Std. error of kurtosis = .469.

Wave 2: M = 4.14, SD = .957, Skew = -1.633, Std. error of skew = .340, Kurtosis = 3.358, Std. error of kurtosis = .668

Regarding measures of significance for the same data (Table 47), students choosing 'strongly disagree' (p = 0.0006) and 'strongly agree' (p = 0) increased in proportion from Wave 1 to Wave 2, while options 'disagree' (p = 0) and 'neutral' (p = 0) decreased in proportion. The decrease in students choosing 'agree' was not significant (p = 0.2033).

Table 47 Proportional change from Wave 1 to Wave 2 in 'Is it important to learn what it means to be Canadian'

Item	Likert level	Wave 1 proportion	Wave 2 proportion	Z-score	Alternative hypothesis	p-value
Is it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'?	Strongly Disagree	2.9%	4.1%	-3.24	$P_1 < P_2$	0.0006
	Disagree	6.7%	2.0%	11.31	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Neutral	15.4%	8.2%	10.63	$P_1 > P_2$	0
	Agree	48.1%	46.9%	0.84	~~$P_1 < P_2$~~	0.2033
	Strongly Agree	26.9%	38.8%	-10.46	$P_1 < P_2$	0

Note. Wave 1 n = 104, Wave 2 n = 51
Where the alternative hypothesis is crossed out, there was not enough evidence to reject the null.

Students were invited to give a qualitative reason for their quantitative response, which is evaluated here for one class's Wave 1 data (special programming course; Table 48). Those who felt it was not important (12.5% somewhat or strongly disagree) cited individuality or personal choice, that it is not helpful or doesn't matter, that those who

were born here or are living here should already know, and finally that other things are more important. Those who were neutral (14.0%) expressed themselves in the same categories, though with different weights, adding that: it is best learned through experience, and a feeling that education would have no impact. Generally, these responses depended approximately evenly on personal and educational factors in explaining their opinions.

Of responses from students who felt that it is important (73.0% somewhat or strongly agree) for youth to learn what it means to be Canadian, 80.0% spoke through a lens of belonging, referencing the way education could impact a sense of unity, pride, or identity. The concept of identity was grounded in a sense of place, shared values, or knowledge of history and heritage. At the same time, 50.0% of comments based their opinion in the impact on behaviour, from altruistic to practical considerations, and potential gains in understanding at global, national, and personal levels. Despite rating the concept of 'what it means to be Canadian' as important, 9.0% still expressed primarily critical responses. Overall 14% had mixed opinions on the utility or acceptability of teaching the topic in schools.

Table 48 *Special programming students qualitative explanations of their quantitative responses to "Why it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'?" (n=58)*

Response Category Summary code Contributing Codes	# of respondents referencing code		% of category's total responses
Not at all or minimally important			
Personal Factors		4	50%
Individuality / Personal choice	3		
If born or living here, should already know	1		
Educational Factors		4	50%
Not helpful / Doesn't matter	3		
Other things more important	1		
Other [Excluded]	*1*		
Neutral			
Personal Factors		5	83%
Individuality / Personal choice	2		
If born or living here, should already know	2		
Won't change me	1		
Educational Factors		4	67%
Not helpful / Doesn't matter	1		
Other things more important	1		
Not possible in classroom / Experience preferable	2		

Somewhat or very important			
Belonging to a collective: Unity, pride, identity (place, values, history)	11	35	80%
Sense of identity and place	7		
Inspires pride or unity	4		
Appreciate privileges / rights	9		
Learn: history or about the nation (knowledge)			
Learn: shared values, goals	4		
Behaviour of the individual: Doing good and being aware		22	50%
Impact on behaviour: in ways that inspire change / life purpose	5		
Impact on behaviour: practical considerations like voting, career	3		
Part of being an aware global citizen			
Part of being an aware national citizen	3		
Part of personal growth: improvement or understanding	4		
	7		
Critical Considerations		4	9%
Individuality / Personal choice	2		
If born or living here, should already know	1		
Other	1		
Mixed Tone		6	14%

Note. Respondents may have referenced two codes in their response and thus the percent of category's responses will not add up to 100. Those who felt the statement was somewhat or very important explained their position with positive assertions, critical caveats, and mixed tone responses. One respondent expanded upon an answer to a previous question that was not relevant and will be excluded.

iii) By what means do youth suggest citizenship is best taught?

When asked at the beginning of their courses what lessons or activities have been most useful or meaningful in learning about citizenship to date, and at the same time how they believe high school students best learn about citizenship (Table 49), students responded in 8 main categories: school courses (39%), experiential learning (36%), class-based activities and teachers (19%), interacting with others (10%), personal activities or motivations (8%), school-wide extracurricular activities and clubs (8%), media and social media (6%), and other (18%). Responses tended to focus on recounting what had been done rather than what should be done or what had been personally meaningful, with a notable proportion of the whole saying 'I don't know' or stating that they had not been taught about citizenship in the category of 'other'.

School courses (39.4%) and class-based activities and teachers (19.2%) were mentioned frequently in student descriptions of where felt they were learning about citizenship, and also how they could best learn. Some felt strongly about the classroom's

role, stating "definitely in school" or "the best way is to learn it on a course", but at least half of these responses coded as 'in school' generally were two part responses also referencing experiential learning outside of the classroom and personally motivated research. Social studies (11.5%) came to mind frequently and simply, forming the entirety of the response in 6 of those referencing it. Likewise, those who pointed to History courses (5.8%) mainly described the course component rather than explaining an opinion about education: "learning about the history of my country and what the future holds" or "through a section or lessons as part of a Canadian history course". These responses tended to be clipped in tone and length. Similarly, 7 students in the two-year special programming course simply referenced their program by name as the best way to learn about citizenship, however -- with the exception of two responses -- they did tend to explain specific components of the coursework that they had found particularly significant. For example, one student reflected:

> "For me, [program name] has been a really influential class when learning about citizenship. I have learned what a model citizen looks like, how I can help the world myself as a citizen, and how to do good in the world despite being a minor. The lessons that have helped me, is learning about the [upcoming field trip] (very excited to learn even more during that), as well as just talking and having debates in the classroom."

Similarly, another special programming student elaborated on the importance of critical thinking and openness as a lifestyle, but also related the course to these educational values:

> "To live. Travel, explore and ask questions. Simply find out for yourself what it means. Don't let someone make your decisions for you and tell you what it means. reflect and contrast your own values with what you are learning and come up with your own opinions on things. That is the best way people can educate themselves on citizenship. [Two-year special courses] have been great classes for this kind of learning because it is so independent. There is no right answer,

> it allows you as an individual to formulate your own answers and ideas."

As can be seen from this detailed response, those who elaborated were able to link the largest two categories of response: experiential learning (35.6%) followed school courses as the most frequently mentioned preference for learning about citizenship. Community involvement and hands-on practice, as well as daily life were cited as ways to understand citizenship (15.3%), followed by a strong call for travel (12.5%) as a way to understand oneself in relation to a larger group. Across all experiential responses only 4 used language related to a traditional, structural approach to government and politics, including two responses that pointed to voting as a way to learn about citizenship, and two more that mentioned visiting government houses and "experiential education about the Canadian politics" without elaborating on the purpose or meaning of such activities. This is, at least, more attention than traditional governmental structures or politics received in the school-based responses, where only one description of a course specifically referenced a "government unit in socials 11" as part of where citizenship was learned.

Like the trend underlying experiential responses, the next three thematic categories were also relational in their focus; school-wide extracurricular activities and clubs (7.7%), interacting with others (9.6%), personal activities or motivations such as online research or being empathetic (7.7%), and using media or social media (5.8%) all require the individual to take initiative and become informed or involved. Thus, these themes were similar to the experiential responses that leaned on the interaction between student and environment for learning, but further emphasized a specific mode of interaction rather than the fact of being involved.

Finally, a significant proportion (18.3%) categorized as 'other' did not feel able to respond to this required question. These students were either not sure what to say (5.8%), did not feel that there is a way to 'learn' citizenship (6.7%), or felt they had not been taught about citizenship -- especially as there is nothing to learn -- and so could not point to the best way (5.8%).

Table 49 *Student-designed citizenship education in Wave 1: "What are the best ways for high school students to learn about citizenship? What lessons or activities have you found most useful or meaningful?" (n = 104)*

Theme	Contributing code	# mentioned	% total responses
School courses	In school	13	12.5
	Social Studies	12	11.5
	Special program	7	6.7
	History	6	5.8
	Planning 10 and other younger years courses	3	2.9
	Theme Totals	*41*	*39.4*
Experiential learning	Experiences (e.g. volunteering, daily life, process of becoming a citizen)	16	15.3
	Travel	13	12.5
	Field trips, being outside conventional classroom	6	5.8
	Canadian politics and voting	2	1.9
	Theme Totals	*37*	*35.6*
Class-based activities and teachers	Classroom discussions	9	8.7
	Teachers	8	7.7
	Videos	2	1.9
	Current survey	1	1.0
	Theme Totals	*20*	*19.2*
Interacting with others	Friends, family, family friends	9	8.7
	Talking to those in government	1	1.0
	Theme Totals	*10*	*9.6*
Personal activities or motivations	Becoming informed through personal research (e.g. news, governmental websites)	4	3.8
	Awareness and empathy	2	1.9
	Studying online	2	1.9
	Theme Totals	*8*	*7.7*
School-wide extracurricular activities and clubs	School-wide activities (e.g. spirit)	3	2.9
	Club or sport membership	2	1.9
	Videos	2	1.9
	Current survey	1	1.0
	Theme Totals	*8*	*7.7*
Media and social media	Media and social media	6	5.8
	Theme Totals	*6*	*5.8*

Other	Not sure: I don't know, I haven't thought about it, I don't understand citizenship	6	5.8
	It's an individual opinion and experience, it's undefined, it's not possible to teach	7	6.7
	We have not learned about citizenship or there is nothing to learn	6	5.8
	Theme Totals	*19*	*18.3*

Note. Five students wrote responses that were categorized in full or in part as not applicable to the question or not interpretable for the purposes of analysis including as series of question marks, "kk", and Shakespeare's "To be or not to be". These responses are most likely a result of the way the survey was designed, where this question was required to proceed.

When asked directly about the best ways for students to learn about citizenship after the completion of their course (Table 50), youth tended to respond in three categories: via experiential learning, via existing or ideal coursework, and via reinforcing the individual's responsibility to conform with values similar to those expressed in previous questions about citizenship. Experiential learning was valued strongly, mentioned in 68.6% of responses, and placed a particular emphasis on interactive work outside of the classroom and the productivity of travel. Students used words like "interactive", "be part of it" and "hands on" to express the significance of real experiences. Travel within the country and field trips were viewed as good ways to experience and thus understand what citizenship means on an individual level and at the more abstract level of the national community. The emphasis on 'experiencing the nation' was often connected with a desire to get outside of an accustomed perspective or to engage in dialogue with other Canadians. As one student wrote:

> "I found travel to be exceptionally effective, seeing the variation in definition of citizenship across a country, but without excessive unproductive contemplation, as I've found this kills the interactivity and experience by encasing everything in my own perspective."

This reflection highlights one important aspect of interactive learning -- that it must be active and open -- by acknowledging the need to step aside from accustomed approaches and personal perspectives that can 'encase' new understandings in the old. Such nuanced responses often alternated between nationally-based and global understandings,

suggesting "talking to people all around the world and listening to their perspective" but also "asking other people in the country about their oppinion [sic]". At the same time as respondents wanted to reach out and listen to a variety of opinions, they also wanted to hear from expert speakers. Thus, while this category emphasized action and interactive experiences, it also revealed a feeling that listening and speaking are key to learning in this subject area.

With just under half of respondents mentioning coursework in their suggestions, school-based learning still played a strong role in how students conceived an ideal citizenship education. Four of the 25 coursework responses also mentioned an experiential element, some explicitly specifying that the "best way to learn a concept of such depth is to be completely immersed in it both inside and outside of the classroom", and a small few used language around "context" or global perspectives: "Getting out into their community and becoming an active citizen while also learning in a classroom about national and global citizenship and what it means to other countries and cultures". Most of the structural suggestions, however, were fairly straightforward: of the 12 responses, 7 said simply to attend Social Studies. Four responses specified content that would be more useful within school programs, including the history of the country, indigenous culture, modern politics and current events, government and how countries are run, and women's and LGBTQ+ rights. The 'special program' referred to by 9 of the respondents here was the very course they had just taken, which with its heavy emphasis on experiential learning and student voice lends further weight to the importance of interactive experiences even through a course-based response. One student response, categorized under the experiential theme based on its detailed emphasis on the activities of the course, may express the passion others felt in simply listing their program's name:

> "Do what we have done! See the whole thing! see it in the west and the east, and from outside Canada as well! Go to your legislative building, go to parliament! Meet Canadians from all walks of life. Live it!"

A final, small percentage of responses pointed to similar values as expressed in earlier group understandings of Canadian citizenship. These students saw citizenship education as supporting individually motivated action or pride, calling on fellows to "learn the law

of this country first and obey the rules then be a nice and polite person", or to "let them be proud of their country and motivate them to make contributions to their society".

Table 50 *Student-designed citizenship education in Wave 2: If you could design courses or make policy, what would you say are the best ways for students to learn about citizenship? (n = 51)*

Thematic category	Contributing code	# mentioned	% total responses
Experiential	Interactive learning itself	18	35.3
	Travel and field trips	11	21.6
	Dialogue and examples	6	11.8
	Theme Totals	*35*	*68.6*
Coursework	Structure suggestions	12	23.5
	Special program	9	17.6
	Content suggestions	4	7.8
	Theme Totals	*25*	*49*
Individual	Individual action or pride	3	5.9
	Theme Totals	*3*	*5.9*

Note. One student also wrote, "I do not think its important" which represents 1.96% of the total.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Q1: What vocabularies do young Canadians use to construct their civic subjectivities?

i) What models of citizenship best characterize youth descriptions of their current civic selves and future civic ideals ('good' citizenship)?

Using open-ended prompts, this study found that young people think of citizenship in terms of personal belonging, personal behaviours, shared community traits, and as something tied to national citizenship. Their understandings were largely emotional, in this sense emphasizing belonging and attachment to duty and being a good person, but were also to an extent legalistic or traditional in tone. This two-pronged approach to citizenship is similar to studies worldwide -- as wide-ranging as Britain, Italy, Turkey, and Australia -- which also strive to summarize youth conceptions in terms of themes or 'vocabularies': belonging often tops thematic lists, but youth also speak in terms of responsibilities, an inevitable legal status, obeying the law, and a social contract (Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Senay, 2008; Marzana, Pozzi, Fasanelli, Mercuri, & Fattori, 2016; Purdie & Wilss, 2007). Even in Russia, where the top theme in youth discussions of citizenship was 'traditional legal by birth or residence', researchers noted that "[particular] emphasis is put on the 'emotional' understanding of citizenship" (Krupets, Morris, Nartova, Omelchenko, & Sabirova, 2017, p. 252).

Prompted to consider specific civil and civic behaviours, youth rate a variety of actions as admirable. The ICCS scales of conventional citizenship and social-movement related citizenship did not distinctly categorize student approaches to ideal citizenship: while both conventional and social-movement related citizenship items were generally rated as valuable, neither showed precedence. This suggests young people rely on both traditional and progressive behaviours in defining ideal citizenship, demonstrating an integration and balance between valued democratic behaviours such as voting and socially aware mindsets that take personal responsibility for change.

In fact this aligns with the IEA's ICCS data, which demonstrated support for both styles of engagement overall: 19 of 36 nations' students on average ranked all conventional behaviours as quite important to the ideal citizen (with the exception of

joining a political party and engaging in political discussions) with social-movement-related actions more tightly grouped and higher on the ranking scale (p. 17, 93). In the current study, joining a engaging in political discussions fared slightly better than the worldwide average (inching above the neutral line), perhaps pointing to positive classroom discussion experiences, or linking to the strong value for openness and tolerance leading youth to more highly value the process of debate generally. As with the current study, the ICCS data found the greatest range reflected in conventional citizenship where joining a political party (33% positive) lagged far behind voting (81% positive) in youth preference (p. 93). The balance between conventional and social-movement related categories held true across current actions (with an emphasis on research and volunteering, which are often assigned in school), future predicted actions (where volunteering and socially-sanctioned forms of individual activism were ranked most positively), and idealized adult conceptions of citizenship. This is the case overall, with one important exception.

While only the group mean of joining a political party fell below a 3.0 'not sure' in ideal conceptions of citizenship, when applying behaviours to their own future many more actions were ranked negatively. Conventional citizenship fared particularly poorly when applied to students themselves: all four Predicted Conventional Citizenship item means all began below 'Not Sure', indicating that students felt these were unlikely in their own futures. While active conventional items were thus generally rejected for personal futures, and it might be surmised that youth predict less traditional modes of civic engagement for their adult selves, the picture becomes more complex when qualitative and quantitative responses are considered alongside one another.

Looking across different prompts addressing conventional citizenship behaviours, voting was ranked highly when students considered ideal adult citizenship on Likert scales and was claimed by a large majority as a personally likely action at municipal, provincial, and federal levels in yes/no response formats. These results were especially strong when the sample was limited to domestic Canadian students (who would have felt most attached to the prompt's terms 'municipal' and 'provincial'). On average in the IEA's international survey of 36 countries, 82% of youth would probably or certainly vote in local elections in future (compared to 85% at provincial and 73% at municipal for

domestic Canadian students in this study), while 81% felt the same regarding national elections (compared to 94% Canadian domestic respondents), putting Canadian students generally above world averages in their intention to vote (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 285). However, voting was referred to only in passing when constructing citizenship freely (only one student proposed 'the right to vote and participate in elections' as part of their description of citizenship and two others referred more obliquely to 'the right to have a say or power to effect change in the nation', or about 3% of total responses). This suggests that students value voting as a pro-social behaviour, but it is not the meaningful core of how they perceive themselves as citizens; this mimics studies done with adult populations in Canada where voting's significance is low in impromptu definitions of good citizenship (8% mention), but 'very important' (82%) when picked from a list of possibilities (Environics, 2012). Similarly, in this study, democracy and the ability to vote or have a voice was mentioned in only 5 responses describing what it means to be Canadian, or 5% of total. Considered alongside the current study's results, Elections Canada data on young adult voting patterns -- especially lower but increasing voter turnout alongside qualitative results on barriers to participation in the electoral process -- points to the disjuncture between how secondary students strongly value and predict high rates of voting that are ultimately not borne out with the same vigour in adult behaviours once they leave high school. This disjuncture is not unique to youth, but rather reflects a larger trend in a somewhat ambiguous understanding of 'good' citizenship behaviours.

Despite the fullness of what 'citizenship' might entail for young people -- from belonging to neighbourliness -- it is clear that within their broad conceptions of citizenship, they value established democratic processes. Indeed, Canadian youth should be recognized for their increasing engagement in political systems as evidenced by their responses in this study and in elections data. Taken together, the qualitative and quantitative results of this study discount arguments that youth are politically apathetic or disengaged from traditional political systems, but at the same time demonstrate how the genuinely valued action of voting forms only a small part of the ways students conceive of their civic subjectivities. As is evident from qualitative responses, a sense of belonging is foremost in their minds when considering citizenship, while behaviours play a less

significant role in how they use the term. Action is less important generally, and furthermore personal community-oriented actions are valued over collective action in the public forum. As noted in the literature review, some researchers warn of a narrowing of the neoliberal doctrine of citizenship into one that focuses on personal responsibility and depoliticized, state-sanctioned action such as volunteering as opposed to protesting. In Canada, Kennelly (2009) sees this trend in civics curriculum documents where responsibilities are emphasized over rights, thereby shifting “the burdens of citizenship onto the individual, by continually reiterating the requirement to be self-regulating and self-scrutinizing” (p. 133). In multiracial, multicultural Singapore, Ho & Baildon (2013) observed a curriculum that "explicitly addresses the importance of social cohesion and the promotion of a common national identity," albeit one based in plurality, and a citizenship in that is "severely circumscribed and controlled by the State"; they point especially to political speeches that define "national contribution in only two non-political ways: volunteer work and joining the civil service or government" (p.329 - 330). The new narrative, they argue, makes for easily controlled citizens and powerful states. Again, research in Canada criticizes understandings of citizenship that value personal responsibility but do not also emphasize critical thinking and collective action:

> "Not only does citizenship as personal responsibility divest students of the need to consider ideology, it does not require them to ‘examine the impact of ideology on consciousness shaping’ (Hyslop-Margison and Sears 2008: 32). So, even though the students in our study embraced a communal ethos in their representations of ‘good’ citizenship, they did not reference the importance of collective action to enact social change, because there was no sense of what social change might be needed." (Tupper & Cappello, 2012, p. 54).

The findings of this study run against the notion that young people are politically disengaged, but given their focus on personal qualities and behaviours like 'being kind' or 'being law-abiding' these results might concern researchers who follow depoliticizing trends. This developing issue may actually help to clarify one of the key problems in research and policy mentioned at the outset: the proliferation of apparently synonymous terms. If we have character education, civics courses, and citizenship education,

researchers and policy makers might be more rigorous in using these to define separate fields of study or sets of curricular goals. It may be that leaving kindness, volunteering, and tolerance to character education could leave more space for critical response in citizenship education if the two were approached as separate curricular goals.

ii) Do youth feel engaged and empowered as citizens?

Students in this study reported feeling generally confident in their understandings of municipal, provincial, and federal systems (between 77 - 90% of all students reported confidence depending on the level of government) and predict with similar strength that they are likely to vote at each level of government in the future (between 73 - 94% of domestic Canadian students). They leaned towards agreeing as a group that they felt responsible to local, national, and international communities, and felt between somewhat and very interdependent with these communities for creating positive change through shared values and political action.

In terms of engagement and power, the current sample of students has presented a mixed result for interpretation. In some ways the results have been encouraging to those looking for an engaged generation: youth have already participated in both conventional citizenship and social-movement related citizenship activities, most prominently researching political parties and candidates (67.3%) as well as volunteering in local communities (84.6%), respectively. These two top contenders make sense as they are often school-based or required activities, and indeed one student commented that they are "forced to do so". However, less than half of the sample had participated in each of the other activities listed.

The impact of the school may also explain differences in discussion habits: more students reported participation in face-to-face discussions of politics (44%) than in discussion online (23%). This is similar to other research where students reported engaging privately and in class on political topics, but not using social media (Mathé, 2017).

In describing themselves, the current study found that youth consistently feel a greater responsibility than ability (Table 51). Turning attention to their generational group, they feel young people have many ways to influence politics, but still feel it is difficult to influence social or environmental issues. This sense of being left out of decision-making

processes is by no means uncommon the world over, despite educational institutions' attempts to facilitate practice opportunities (see Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, and Lopes, 2005).

Table 51 Means of responsibility and efficacy items (n = 104)

	I feel *able* to address important issues in my ___X____ community	I feel a *responsibility* to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X____ community	It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to ___X____ social or environmental issues	Young people today have many ways of influencing ___X____ politics
Local	3.35	3.55	n/a	n/a
National	3.08	3.52	2.93	3.21
International	3.10	3.48	2.88	3.42

The possible disjuncture between the acknowledged value of political activities and up-take of authentic practice opportunities is a worthy topic for future research, especially in light of this study's findings regarding student preferences for experiential learning. In the current study, youth reported just above neutral feelings about statements such as 'Canadian youth today care about politics' and 'participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about', and yet highly valued voting in other prompts. Despite lower frequency compared to researching, students have indeed discussed politics and have voted in elections of some kind (40%), but less frequently have run in elections themselves (21%).

Finally, when considering the order of predicted conventional citizenship actions, it is notable that running in elections (municipal, provincial, or federal) occupy the bottom of the list alongside counter-culture forms of protest including blocking traffic, occupying public buildings, and spray-painting slogans on walls. One area, then, that seems to deserve attention in classrooms and is particularly rich an opportunity for experiential learning, is the process of campaigning for and occupying governmental offices. Demystifying the process may invite students to understand, critique, and participate in elections with a greater sense of efficacy both during secondary school and beyond.

Q2: What does it mean to be a 'good' citizen in a particular context?

i) How do youth describe 'being Canadian'?

To begin broadly, the nation played a role in organizing students' thoughts about the abstract concept of citizenship as described above: it was the first community to come to mind when describing where citizens 'belong', and pride or loyalty to the nation featured

as an emergent theme of citizenship in its own right. Only 2% of participants felt that citizenship itself meant nothing, or nothing apart from national citizenship.

Inquiring after students' distinction between subjective and legal senses of belonging in their use of the word 'Canadian', this study found that youth were unsure whether there is a difference between ‘being Canadian’ and the concept of ‘being a Canadian citizen’ specifically, but did feel that being Canadian is more than a legal status in that it impacts actions or values. This could also indicate that the language used did not elicit a strong opinion and may not be appropriate to the narratives youth use to construct their sense of citizenship; this is interesting in light of findings below, where youth are able to describe both their sense of national and global citizenships in depth, suggesting that youth understand citizenship best when it is tied to a geographical marker rather than discussed in the abstract.

When considered in a more concrete sense, citizenship in terms of 'being Canadian' was used to discuss both cultural or moral, and legal senses of the phrase without a clear distinction in vocabulary. When young people are asked to comment on their citizenship or sense of self within a nation it seems they use the same vocabulary for politically understood and emotionally felt discussion points, which can help to explain the variety and sometimes confusion in both research and educational contexts. While youth certainly speak passionately about their citizenship and subjectivities, one goal of educational programs might be to provide a more specific and deeply understood vocabulary in order to engage students in the process of thinking critically about, challenging, and using these terms consciously.

Open-ended questions probing the meaning of Canadian from different angles used symbols, values, and simply 'being Canadian' to allow students to describe their sense of Canadian group identity. The symbols that came to mind when thinking of Canada had most to do with the everyday or even stereotypical image of Canadian people and Canadian life: the sports, mannerisms, food, and drink of the people. Official ways of representing, or rather those symbols that are also associated with the state, were also key in signifying Canada pointing again to a mixture of received and negotiated ways of knowing what 'Canadian' is. A question regarding values supported similar categories. In his argument for the role of the national identity in individual subjectivities, Miller (2000)

posits that members may not be able to articulate defining national traits explicitly, but feel them intuitively when in the company of foreigners; he argues that “national identities can remain unarticulated, and yet still exercise a pervasive influence on people’s behaviour” (p. 30).

Open-ended responses allowed space for further elaboration. In this section, some students described their sense of being Canadian with an emphasis on traditional senses of rights, affiliation, pride, and duty:

> "To be proud of who I am and where I come from. Taking every opportunity to learn from and enrich my Canadian culture. Being a Canadian means that I accommodate all kinds of people from all walks of life no matter their attitudes, values or opinions. Being a Canadian means standing up for what you believe in and expressing how you feel without fear of prosecution or discrimination. To me being a Canadian means that I have a sense of duty to my country surpassing any other, and I am willing to fight for my country and the rights of my fellow Canadians."

Similarly, some described their sense of being Canadian referring mostly to the ways in which people belong and how this interacts with moral codes:

> In my opinion, being Canadian is not so related with who you are but rather what you believe and your outlook on life. Canadians, all being quite recent immigrants from other countries, tend to have cultural ties, whether strong or not, to their country of heritage. Socially, being Canadian means you are accepting of all people. I tend to believe being Canadian is more of a political stance. Canadian citizenship is some of the most valued in the world, and the benefits that come with it are great."

Others described their sense of being Canadian more narrowly as a legal or residence-based label with clipped statements such as, "Being Canadian means having a Canadian citizenship," or more developed contemplations:

> "Living in or originally from Canada. I mean, you can't be Canadian if you are from anywhere else. Canadian is a nationality, it's not a spectrum. You either are Canadian or you're not."

Some students used the space to negotiate conflicting feelings about the nation versus a sense of affiliation with a global community:

> "I believe that being Canadian or any other citizenship does not necessarily mean anything. Human is just human and they are just a species on Earth. Everyone should be equal and not being judged due to their habit and behaviour. However, I am not suggesting that we should feel indifferent about our country. I mean it is still the place where you were born or you are currently living in. We should love our country but not in a crazy way."

Finally, in addition to a strongly expressed commitment to being welcoming or accepting and being a multicultural nation, students often found their way through both situated and global senses of responsibility but were sometimes wary of imposing these conclusions on others:

> "Being Canadian means helping people, whether it be peace keeping in a foreign country or giving food to homeless people in your own. In my opinion, a Canadian citizen is someone who puts compassion over pride, and empathy over money. I am thoroughly disgusted with anyone willing to walk by someone in need of their help without even a second look. Mind you, this opinion of what it means to be a Canadian citizen is my personal ideal, and just because I believe in it does not mean other people do."

Some students used the open-ended response spaces to consider a more complex or fluid sense of the prompt. In discussing values, one student wrote:

"I dont really think there are any symbols, everyone has their own feelings about Canada and that there makes it Canadian. Alot of people will think of some of the same things and that might be a symbol, but it doesn’t represent Canadians as a whole. I feel symbols in a way don't matter or they're just unspoken because there are too many different ones that people think of to represent their feelings. In a way, its hard for any symbol to be incorrect."

Taken together these descriptions of a Canadian self are both strong and flexible, reflecting young adults' desire to assert themselves in their national context but also to maintain the openness and tolerance that form key foundations of their national and global selves. The interplay between these multiple selves, as described in the next

section, may explain why previous studies have found it difficult to pin down how youth feel about their nationally-based subjectivities while still expressing pride in Canadian values.

ii - iv. How do youth describe 'being a global citizen'? Do youth feel their Canadian citizenship is more conceptually distinct from or intertwined with a global subjectivity? Is there conflict or confluence between youth concepts of national and global citizenship?

In this study, Canadian-ness was generally described as something distinct from a global subjectivity, though students often made use of varying levels of community affiliation to describe the ways they interact with the world as citizens of Canada. For example, in describing their understanding of the generalized word 'citizenship', 10.6% of participants made use of explicitly trans-national or mutli-level language in referring to 'nations' as well as 'regions'. In those questions related directly to conflict in multiple layers of a subjectivity, domestic Canadian students firmly felt that nations matter in today's world, and that they themselves were able to be Canadian and global citizens at the same time. In fact, their global citizenship is slightly less significant than their Canadian-ness, which flies in the face of those proposals that youth are boundary-less and indifferent to their national perspective.

These findings would support either a glocal or a rooted cosmopolitan reading of young Canadians' sense of civic subjectivities: while Canadian youth are globally oriented to an extent, the nation is still playing a mediating role. This result may be due to the fact that in this study youth were not forced to choose between the various facets of their subjectivities. Moes (2009) investigated national Polish identity in relation to European cultural identification and explains the negative impact of participant fears of losing national identity on the ways questions are asked: if "the nation is placed explicitly in opposition to Europe, then ‘Europe’ becomes a threat, while if the nation is not mentioned in the question these ‘nested’ levels of identity do not exclude each other" (p. 437). If students find ways of understanding their various particular and general duties as parallel or even complementary, they may be able to balance their multiple subjectivities without any anxiety.

Viewing themes across student descriptions of abstract citizenship, being Canadian, and global citizenship (Table 52), it is clear that these conceptualizations bear strong

similarities and that Gagnon & Page's (1999) framework generally summarizes student responses, though with flexibility for emphasis with each lens. Indeed, students described their situated sense of self with behaviours, a sense of pride and distinctiveness, and a mix of values and state-based privileges or freedoms. Cultural, social, and transnational belonging figured in the most student descriptions in citizenship responses, but less prominently or explicitly in 'being Canadian' or global citizenship. Instead, and unsurprisingly, through 'being Canadian' a sort of proxy for belonging was expressed in a description of national identity in personal qualities, behaviours, and shared values. Youth marked out the 'ideal Canadian' in a way, and in their seemingly strong support for the positive attributes espoused, aligned themselves with a group identity that was both privileged and proud. An effective system of rights as well as political and civic participation also figured prominently in citizenship itself as well as global citizenship, expressed from the perspective of the individual.

Table 52 *Summary of open-ended qualitative themes: Wave 1 n = 104*

Citizenship	Being Canadian	Global Citizenship
1. Personal Belonging • To belong (51.0%) • A legal categorization (22.1%) • A sense of attachment to the nation (pride, respect, loyalty) (6.7%)	*1. Personal qualities and behaviours* • Personal qualities and behaviours (72.1%)	*1. Personal action and mindset* • Moral imperatives (41.3%) • Active participation in global community (32.7%)
2. Personal Behaviours • Making an active contribution (21.2%) • A set of responsibilities (12.5%) • Being a good person (6.7%)		*2. Personal openness: Global awareness and cultural understanding* • Awareness of global events, issues, and diversity (20.2%)
3. Shared community traits • Values and culture (12.5%) • Privileges and rights (12.5%)	*2. Shared traits: rights, lifestyle, culture, values* • Privileges (rights, freedoms, lifestyle, safety) (50.0%) • Shared culture and values (48.1%) *3. State-based symbols and legal legitimacy* • State-based understandings (37.5%) *4. Group membership and positive attachment* • Pride (17.3%) • Belonging and identity (15.4%)	*3. Group membership* • State of being or set of traits (22.1%) • Passive belonging and connection in global community (13.5%) *4. Rights, privileges, and responsibilities* • Individual rights, privileges, and responsibilities (14.4%)

4. Not distinct or not important (1.9%)	*5. Other* • Means nothing / We are human (1.9%) • I don't know (1.0%) • Non-response / Other culture (3.8%)	*5. Other* • I don't know (4.8%) • Prompt language repeated (1.9%) • Nothing in particular (1.0%)

v. Do youth feel attachment to, belonging in, and power in Canada?

Canadian youth claim the label of 'Canadian citizen' for themselves. This was apparent in the demographics and in quantitative responses asking students to rank the significance of different communities to their personal sense of self. Domestic Canadian youth strongly valued being a citizen of Canada as an important part of who they are, more so than any other level of community. They did, however also feel attached to their generational group, their local community, their provincial community, and global citizenry -- in that order -- with only cultural or ethnic groups other than Canadian lagging behind. This multiplicity of selves could be based on the openness of the survey: although placed next to each other in the question format, students were asked to rank each item freely and individually rather than in relation to one another. Based on his mixed-methods study of European and Polish senses of civic subjectivity, Moes (2009) "[contends] that European and national identifications are not (necessarily) mutually exclusive" and in fact that "a strong identification with the nation has a cumulative relation to European identification" -- proposals that were borne out by his analysis (p. 437). Similarly, students in this study seemed to feel affiliated with multiple levels of community, not the least of which is national. That nearly 89% answered positively to the idea that being a Canadian citizen is important to who they are provides a counter-narrative to the idea that Canadians are post-national or even without an identity.

In order to create change, youth look to cooperate with their national and global communities first, leaning on the national for political means of change and the global for acting according to shared values. This suggests that while students feel generally integrated with their communities, including the national and local communities for economic opportunities, they do not see global connections so much as a system that they can participate in or change for the better. Reflecting on his study of Australian young adults, Manning (2014) notes how actions at the individual level were seen as a way of engaging with the larger community: for "participants who politicised their daily lives,

political agency meant seeing themselves, in public and private, as embroiled in the lives of even distant others...[reflecting] changing political repertoires and an awareness of the permeability of public/private spheres" (p. 496). Again youth emerge as glocal or rooted cosmopolitans, making connections between their local contexts and the global community, but still using the nation as a lens with which they can understand and influence the world.

vi) Do subnational, national, or global group identities play a role in youth feelings of attachment, belonging, or empowerment?

If Canadian youth ascribe to nested or simultaneously held group identities in constructing their civic and personal subjectivities, the question becomes: what role do each of these play in the student subjectivity? It might be assumed that the larger global sense of affiliation is simply a moral code whereas concrete Canadian-ness is a legal term, and while some youth did ascribe to a more limited definition of Canadian citizenship, this study points to a much broader and more emotional role for national group identity. Young people overwhelmingly highlighted the feeling of belonging itself, with 51% of respondents using this language of the nation, a community, or 'being from' to ground their understanding of citizenship. That all tests for correlation between items measuring feelings of subjectivity conflict and the relevance of the nation were not correlated provides further evidence that a level of attachment to a national group identity is not associated with the extent to which young people feel nations are relevant on the global stage, nor with the extent to which they feel conflict within their multifaceted subjectivity constructions. From this and similar studies worldwide, we can see the nation giving young people a space to belong and a community to serve. Finally, although with much continued space for research in the relationships between felt associations and civic behaviours or loyalties, we must turn to how classrooms and curriculum can best address these complex subjectivities.

Q3: What role might the school play in shaping citizenship ideals?

i. What sources do youth feel have shaped their understanding of citizenship?

In order to investigate the role of the school in fostering or challenging student understandings of citizenship, a direct question asking youth what sources have shaped their citizenship consciously was complemented by an examination of statistically

significant shifts in key concepts to highlight unconscious change over the course of one citizenship education course. These shifts are not tied to any cause -- they may have been due to factors inside or outside the classroom -- but occurred over the duration of a semester including one high school citizenship education course.

According to self-report, course content at school played a key role in shaping youth understandings of Canadian democratic systems, a desire to do something about world and national issues, and a sense of how to achieve social or political change. In contrast, youth understandings of Canadian culture and values were influenced by family, while an understanding of other cultures and values systems was gained primarily through travel. Interestingly, other studies have pointed to the importance of friends and families in how young people understand themselves as citizens and engage with political action (Manning, 2014; Harris, Wyn, Younes, 2010), and student outcomes in citizenship education are often tied not to school programs but rather to individual characteristics such as gender, self-efficacy, or socioeconomic background (Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & van der Werf, 2014; Claes, Maurissen, & Havermans, 2017) and parent interest (Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009; Zuckerman, Dasovic, & Fitzgerald, 2007). It may be that students in the current study felt the need to report school as an important factor because they were taking part in the survey as part of a school-based class, however, there is also research-based evidence that school experiences can profoundly impact individuals, such as mitigating the effect of the empowerment gap caused by family background (Neundorf, Niemi, & Smets, 2016). Further research is required to tease out the desire to be 'good participants' in a certain context from the genuine report of personally meaningful experiences, but taken together with the emphatic advocacy for experiential learning through school programs as discussed below, we may tentatively conclude that students authentically value their citizenship education at school.

Looking at the impact of their current enrolment, when these students considered their mental models of citizenship (items grouped as Conventional and Social-movement Related) before and after the course, there was a tendency to move away from Neutral and toward the outer edges of the Likert scale. While the direction of the skew or the dominant response category tended not to change, the group became slightly more polarized as evidenced by statistically significant decreases in the proportion of students

choosing Neutral and increases on either side of Somewhat or Very. The significant action of 'engages in political discussions' experienced a boost from Neutral to Agree, pointing to a greater appreciation for a relatively more personal and active mode of engaging by the end of the course. However, the strongest response category of 'joins a political party' from the Ideal Conventional scale shifted from Neutral to Strongly Disagree, while in students' predicted actions running federally, provincially, or municipally all shifted toward the lower end of the scale: all proportions decreased significantly or remained static except for Strongly Disagree, which absorbed the difference.

Efficacy as measured by the items on the scale was not correlated with a model of citizenship, a sense of feeling politically connected, student opinions on whether 'being Canadian' should be taught in schools, a sense of belonging in Canada, or measures of the relevance of the nation and subjectivity conflict. This suggests that student feelings of efficacy in impacting their worlds come from quite another source.

ii - iii. What school-based experiences do youth feel have been most positive? By what means do youth feel citizenship is best taught?

Before completing their course, students used course names to stand in for an understanding of good citizenship education (Social Studies, History, and the special program unsurprisingly being used as shorthand for citizenship education); they described classroom discussions and teachers as the most important components of these school-based experiences. A slightly smaller proportion, although overlapping with many of those who also pointed to school courses, valued experiential learning itself as the best way they have learned and would prefer to learn about citizenship. Related to this orientation toward active learning, students also valued school-wide extracurricular activities and clubs, interacting with others, personal activities or motivation, and using media or social media. However, nearly a fifth of all respondents did not feel equipped to describe where they had learned about citizenship or how students can best do so; they cited a lack of experience on their own part, or an issue with the idea of teaching citizenship (nothing exists to teach, or it is too highly individual a subject to be taught).

When asked about ideal citizenship education at the end of their courses, youth overwhelmingly feel that experiential learning is the best way to achieve the goals of

citizenship education, but just under half also value classroom-based learning about history, government, indigenous cultures, and rights-based issues that are relevant to their current experiences of the world. At this point, only one student used the space to respond that citizenship education was not important to learn.

The clipped tone and length of responses referencing courses as the best way to learn about citizenship could be because students assumed readers would know the content of these courses and accept the legitimacy of the answer without needing further elaboration. In contrast, those who suggested alternative means of educating for citizenship tended to explain their thoughts in more depth. This may be indicative of a lack of critical thinking in how the social studies curriculum relates to the concept of citizenship, and rather an acceptance of the fact that this is where students are supposed to learn the topic.

Those who advocated for an interactive or experiential learning tended to frame citizenship in a relational way, focusing on people and belonging similar to the dominant category in earlier responses to the meaning of citizenship itself; for example, one student wrote "I think alot of people in the country(not just high schoolers) need to learn about citizenship. Listening to people talk and act in that place is the best way to learn" emphasizing a negotiated knowledge, and another pointed to the highly personal result of an objective political process: "Best ways to learn about citizenship is to become a citizen. Being a citizen taught me that I actually belong somewhere".

At both data collection points students valued both school-based and off-campus learning, with traditional courses, experiential learning, and individually-motivated activities vying for value. Both positive and negative socialization experiences are strong predictors of later political action (Anderson & Goodyear-Grant, 2008; Kahne & Sporte, 2008), and the move away from neutral in many of the statistical tests indicates that students began at least to own and acknowledge stronger opinions on the issues presented. The process of taking the course seems to have crystalized and streamlined the students' perceptions of what makes excellent citizenship education in these same categories of thought; perhaps the largest shift was in those who said they were not sure, moving from one fifth of responses to virtually none as they completed their course. Near the beginning of their courses, simple pointing to school courses as the best way to learn

citizenship was approximately equal to the value placed on experiential learning, whereas at the end of their courses students much more strongly emphasized experiential learning over curriculum labels in describing the best way to learn. This is due in part to a shift in the ways they framed their responses. For example, while originally discussion was framed as a significant classroom activity separately from generally interacting with others as a way to learn (if combined, this dialogue-orientation mentioned in 18.3% of the total in Wave 1), at the end of the courses any desire for interactive dialoguing (now 11.8% of the total) was framed by and subsumed under the value of experiential learning. The originally large theme of school courses as the best way to learn about citizenship (39.4%) remained in the later response patterns pointing to structural suggestions and the value of their special program's curricular model (41.2% if combined), but was eclipsed by their descriptions of interactive and out-of-classroom experiences.

Overall, this study found that students generally strongly value learning what it means to be Canadian. When asked why this aspect of citizenship education is important, their responses made connections between the individual and the collective by emphasizing the significance of a cohesive society enjoying shared privileges and affirming subjectivities. Across response categories of belonging and behaviour it is clear that students think of their subjectivities as rooted in the past - with a need to understand and question Canada's cultural inheritance - but looking to an optimistic future of integrated personal, national, and global engagement. To this end, critical responses across all categories acknowledged the need for individuality and personal choice rather than a didactic national myth, and a commitment to cohesive and collaborative diversity rather than a singular paternalistic image of Canadian values and ethnicities.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This project had many limitations, due to: the inevitable difficulties in language inherent in the field; issues in the design's balance between anonymity for youth participants, attrition, and a matching between individuals across waves of data collection; and finally, the attempted scope that strove to link open opportunities for student expression with concrete rankings of key issues from the literature on Canadian group identity and youth subjectivity development.

Issues in language included possible different triggering with use of words 'global' versus 'international' in prompts addressing this level of community, and problems that arose when prompt wording did not adequately allow international youth clarity in responding to questions of national importance versus Canada. In particular, future research should strive to make better use of the strong national attachments felt by international students: moved to explain their feelings in open-ended responses and expansion opportunities of 'other', these young people expressed a desire to explain their own senses of self in reference to Canadian and international contexts. While outside of the scope of this project, 'third-culture' and diaspora youth populations are an essential and growing part of Canadian classroom realities, and a rich area of research in group identities and negotiated selves. While this project purposefully limited itself to a discussion of Canadian-ness, inviting international students to participate where appropriate, the larger discussion would in fact better represent the lived experience of Canadians more broadly. Finally, this study did not seek to specifically target First Nations communities outside the standard classrooms sampled, as the prompt sensitivity and specificity required to authentically explore First Nations youth perspectives in relation to concepts of 'Canada' and 'citizenship' would have led the project into a scope too large for current parameters. What has been found in the free association prompts regarding First Nations cultures or symbols is interesting, but the picture of youth perspectives in Canada will be incomplete until further research more purposefully samples First Nations perspectives.

Future research might also attempt to clarify and further probe student understandings of the boundaries and interactions between what they term 'local' and 'provincial' communities in contrast to the 'global', which may signify a more glocal sense of those individuals who pay attention to world events while living locally, or may truly mean a globalized community existing in the abstract. Additionally, future research might limit the number of prompts overall and better connect qualitative open responses to specific quantitative questions -- making these required rather than optional -- in order to help students explain their responses with more detail. This would also provide a greater sensitivity to the situation of international students or those who feel strong cultural associations outside of the pan-Canadian subjectivity.

Sample size is a consistent issue of concern in studies such as these and no such project can claim generalizability, in this case especially between school groups and between pre-and post-survey. In order to most completely protect student anonymity and feelings of safety, individual students were not given a unique code to sign in with, and thus this project cannot compare individual's data pre- and post-course; instead it relies on the shifts made by the group as a whole. Due to attrition (individual students and one class that did not have time in their curriculum) this creates concerns for the validity of the group shifts from Wave 1 to Wave 2 and these are therefore held lightly in discussions and conclusion. Furthermore, because of the small sample sizes provided by individual classrooms, the comparison between programs was not viable statistically or fair to the teachers and students participating in the study. A larger study with a wider variety of special program options alongside the standard stream offering might better address the pre- and post-course effects of programs with different approaches. The Wave 2 data, however, was instrumental in providing end-of-course reflections from the students and future studies should capitalize on youth willingness to give voice to their experiences as we strive to create courses that begin where youth citizenship truly sits in the modern classroom.

Further to design issues, a mixed-methods comparison was difficult where open-ended citizenship responses emphasized belonging compared to quantitative prompts exploring behaviours. Additionally, in striving to provide the missing Canadian data that speaks to the IEA's multinational ICCS, this study used scale items established through the multiple

iterations of ICCS testing but added a 'neutral' or 'not sure' option to the IEA's 4-point Likert scale in order to allow students the psychological comfort of a middle ground and to elicit a true positive or negative response through the 'very' and 'somewhat' options. Unfortunately this meant the data is not exactly comparable to the larger study; future work should revisit the validity of the forced choice employed by the IEA's 4-point scale, versus a scale including options for neutral or undecided. A closer overlap in collection methods might have helped to explain the surprisingly large gaps in positive responses to items related to human rights, the environment, and respecting government representatives in the two ideal citizenship scales; alternatively, using a follow-up qualitative prompt to explain their understanding of the ranking system (especially their use of 'not sure') or the relative importance of behaviour types. Furthermore, this qualitative space could have allowed students to comment on the relationship between subjective feelings of belonging or pride and the importance of various behaviours in their constructions of what global or national citizenship means. As it stands, this study attempts to propose the importance of evaluating these connections and a starting place for future research.

Finally, the design originally included a focus group option at the end of the second wave of survey data collection, which was ultimately not feasible given the time constraints of classes at the end of their semesters. However, the inclusion of such follow-up qualitative data collection could have provided a rich opportunity for clarifying some of the issues mentioned above, such as terminology use. In addition, it would have provided an opportunity for students to comment more closely on their experiences of citizenship in various educational contexts than did the written response format included on the survey, and would have opened a space for more direct consideration of the tension between local, national, and global subjectivities. As it is, this level of depth is beyond the scope of the current study.

Two questions became increasingly interesting as the study progressed: first, do youth see citizenship as a daily practice and second, why do youth choose to engage in different models of civic behaviour? Regarding the former, future research might focus more on current rather than intended citizenship. Longitudinal work may show how current behaviours and attitudes predict future adult civic action, but given the call for real and

meaningful opportunities to motivate youth now, it behooves researchers to investigate how youth feel they enact their citizenship currently in more detail. In particular, items should be added that address lifestyle politics, such as political purchasing, wearing t-shirts, donating to a variety of causes, and other daily actions as suggested by open-ended prompts. Regarding the question of why students engage, a distinction between school-mandated and independently motivated action, research, and discussion would paint a more clear picture of youth citizenship in action. Using the current data and approach as a springboard for more specific enquiries into youth citizenship as a daily practice and the reasons behind student action choices would further clarify the state of youth citizenship in British Columbian communities, and provide a basis for deeper classroom discussion of youth action and 'good' citizenship in British Columbian schools.

6.2 Summary of findings and conclusion

Citizenship itself is a contested term in research communities, and so it is useful to know how students themselves understand and are using this language. According to the students in this study, citizenship in the abstract primarily means belonging someplace in the world, both in a subjective emotional and an objective legal sense. To a lesser extent it also entails a set of pro-social behaviours or responsibilities and shared values. Youth are engaged, active, and optimistic about their future participation in political systems and their participation in different levels of community, although they do not feel currently empowered to have an impact to the same extent. They use the concept of citizenship to signify a sense of belonging to a place and a people, as well as a set of moral codes and behaviours that one can enact to fulfill duty and make the world a better place.

Rarely do we meaningfully consult young people in constructing the ideal citizenship norms that govern adult evaluations of youth; much more could be done to involve them in the conversation. While national group identity and citizenship are complex and flexibly employed by students in this study to indicate both subjective emotional and traditionally duty-bound behavioural aspects of life, global identity leans more toward defining a cooperative polity that creates change by acting according to shared values rather than through systems. In contrast, students ascribe systems-based action to the political level of the nation, and value this highly across all prompts -- open and ranked --

where voting or national cooperation through political systems consistently garnered support as important actions for good citizens.

The concept of good citizenship and therefore the defined outcomes of citizenship education are and will probably always be situated. In particular, the buzz words 'active citizenship' pervade modern citizenship curricula across nations and political spectrums, but are interpreted as "a slogan that suits the politics of the day": Singapore and Canada may each value citizen participation, but this does not extend to protests and challenging the state in Singapore (Kennedy, 2007, p. 307). A focus on critical thought and confidence in oppositional politics as defining features of active citizenship may emerge as a uniquely Canadian approach to active citizenship, given the cultural emphasis on personal qualities like tolerance, openness, and kindness. In this way, the emphasis on the individual's 'good' character that worries those watching depoliticization of citizenship could actually serve as a foundation for greater political debate and space for honest critique, provided these active, discursive approaches are also valued and pursued.

Findings from this research highlight the issues and tensions at the forefront of youth worldviews, and thus provide educators with a starting-place for addressing adolescent thinking about citizenship. Although being global is certainly not to be discounted in the Canadian youth experience, neither is the nation. Being Canadian for young people brings to mind pro-social behaviours, including acting with kindness, being tolerant and welcoming, and acting morally. A loud nationalism characterizes at least half of the responses overall, and when limited to only domestic Canadian students, the sense of collective positive association with the nation is strong. With all of this in mind, students also consider themselves global to an extent, and do not feel a major conflict between these different aspects of their civic subjectivities.

Most importantly, this study points to the significance and possibility of experiential learning. It is highlighted as a preferred and meaningful mode of learning by students, and would seem to meet gaps in learning and efficacy noted in ranking and self-report prompts. In particular, students have not participated in some portions of the electoral process and also rank these as unlikely in the future. Despite results that point to high confidence in voting and a sense of responsibility to all levels of community, encouraging to those looking for an engaged and empowered future citizenry, schools might better

incorporate a greater variety of hands-on learning experiences specifically in the realm of elections -- moving beyond the practice of voting in order to address ambivalent feelings about more actively participating in adult political processes. As Anderson & Goodyear-Grant (2008) point out, "voting and abstention are habit-forming" and thus it is important to examine the pre-adult years for foundational beliefs about the self as citizen (p. 697). Based on the student responses to curriculum design prompts, I would propose experiential learning as a means of breaking barriers of confidence and understanding in activities such as campaigning for and occupying offices of government at all levels of government. Although not every citizen will run for office, to understand the process would build efficacy and empathy in all voters.

Citizenship education programs must clearly define the type of citizenship they aim to cultivate and then engage students in concrete, empowering experiences of practicing the behaviours and patterns of thought associated with that citizenship. With reference to youth below the age of 18, our conceptions of good citizenship are problematic to the extent that they emphasize electoral voting, a behaviour in which youth cannot engage. The significance of having power over another, dictating and evaluating the other's participation, should be considered carefully by the educational community. In education, democratic policies and approaches represent supports to student growth, while anti-democratic ones pose barriers. When we give students meaningless tasks or constantly limit them to 'practice for the real future', we can inadvertently suppress their political instincts and teach them to distrust and reject institutionalized modes of participation. After analyzing 35 years of young people's contributions to social change Ho, Clarke, & Dougherty (2015) summarized: "Youth are more impactful and aim for higher scales of impact than we give them credit for: youth think big and are risk takers. Do not forget to celebrate and acknowledge youth-led successes and impact." (p. 60). It is necessary to interrogate our experiential learning designs and ask whether they provide real experience with the spirit of the desired outcome. In order to maintain any gains made in high schools, we must also seek to build enduring communities that may support norms and provide continuing educational resources through emerging adult years. This will require attention to the complexities of group membership and belonging, but will also

require adults to remove themselves as authoritarian leaders and – once again – give meaningful roles over to the students themselves.

In my own practice, I will strive to provide students with real opportunities to engage with political skills and to form authentic and lasting connections with peers around issues that they find accessible and engaging. I will remember that I too was once a so-called apathetic youth, and that anyone can find a passionate political voice given opportunity, inspiration, and support.

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Appendix A: Supplementary Tables

Table 53 *Comparative frequency table for age, grade, and gender of Wave 1 (n = 104) to Wave 2 (n = 51)*

		Wave 1		Wave 2	
		#	%	#	%
Age	14	1	1.0	0	0
	15	17	16.3	3	5.9
	16	72	69.2	31	60.8
	17	10	9.6	14	27.5
	18	4	3.8	2	3.9
	19	0	0	1	2.0
Grade	10	9	8.7	4	7.8
	11	91	87.5	44	86.3
	12	4	3.9	3	5.9
Gender	Female	52	50.0	24	47.1
	Male	50	48.1	25	49.0
	Other	1	1.0	1	2.0
	Skipped	1	1.0	1	2.0

Note.
Wave 2 Age (SD = .744, Skew = 1.138, Kurtosis = 2.476), Grade (SD = .374, Skew = -.235, Kurtosis = 4.838)) Gender (SD = .542, Skew = .235, Kurtosis = -1.141), Std. Error of Skewness for age = .333, for grade = .333, for Gender = .337. St.Error of Kurtosis for age = .656, for grade = .656, for gender = .662.

Table 54 *Number of languages spoken by participants in Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection*

	Wave 1		Wave 2	
# of Languages Spoken	#	%	#	%
1	53	51.0	25	49.0
2	36	34.6	16	31.4
3+	15	14.4	10	19.6
Total	*104*	*100.0*	*51*	*100.0*

Table 55 *Primary language(s) spoken at home in Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection and averages from BC classrooms*

	Wave 1		Wave 2		BC *
Language	#	%	#	%	%
English	76	73.07	34	66.7	75.5
German	4	3.85	4	7.8	--
Mandarin	4	3.85	2	3.9	3.5

Spanish	4	3.85	2	3.9	1.1
Chinese	4	3.85	2	3.9	1.7
Portuguese	3	2.88	3	5.9	--
Tagalog / Filipino	3	2.88	2	3.9	1.6
Korean	1	0.96	1	2	1.4
Amharic	1	0.96	0	0	--
Danish	1	0.96	0	0	--
Dual**	3	2.88	1	2	--
Total	*104*	*100.0*	*51*	*100.0*	

Note. *British Columbia percentages from Ministry of Education (2016) statistical reports also included Punjabi (5.1%), Cantonese (2.1%), Vietnamese (0.8%), and Persian (0.7%), but had no data for German, Portuguese, or Danish as these languages were not in the top ten languages spoken at home as reported by BC students. **Those in the Wave 1 dual category responded English/Chinese (2), or specified that "Parents speak Tagalog to me. I speak English back." The respondent in the Wave 2 dual category spoke Mandarin and English.

Table 56 *Claimed cultural associations in Wave 1 data (n = 104)*

Category and responses	Frequency	Percent
ETHNICITY / REGIONAL	**10**	**9.6**
African American, German**	1	1.0
Asian, Western	1	1.0
English	1	1.0
European	1	1.0
European and First Nations	1	1.0
Latin culture (Ecuador)	1	1.0
Punjabi	1	1.0
The Metis People	1	1.0
Cherokee*	1	1.0
White	1	1.0
NATION	**64**	**61.5**
American*	3	2.9
Austrian*	2	1.9
Australian*	1	1.0
Brazilian	2	1.9
British*	5	4.8
Canadian*	21	20.2
Chinese	7	6.7
Chinese, Russian	1	1.0
Filipino	3	2.9
French*	4	3.8
German*	6	5.8
Indian*	1	1.0
Irish*	2	1.9
Korean	1	1.0
Mexican*	3	2.9
Philippines	1	1.0
Scottish	1	1.0
RELIGION	**4**	**3.8**

Atheism, Anarchism	1	1.0
Christian, British**	1	1.0
Sikh	1	1.0
Jewish*	1	1.0
LANGUAGE	**1**	**1.0**
Francophone	1	1.0
MIXED	**9**	**8.7**
Canadian dual (American, British, French, Indian, Latin culture from Ecuador, Mexican)**	6	5.8
3 or more (Mexican, German, & American; British, Australian, Canadian; Jewish, French, Irish, Austrian, Cherokee)**	3	2.9
OTHER	**41**	**39.4**
Other: any culture, life, nature, student	4	3.8
No response	19	18.3
None or n/a	18	17.3

Note.
* Includes data from a dual response also recorded elsewhere in the table.
** Data from this response is also included elsewhere in table.

Table 57 *Comparison of participants' claimed citizenships in Wave 1 and Wave 2 data collection*

Claimed Citizenship(s)		Wave 1		Wave 2	
		#	%	#	%
Canada	Canadian	68	65.38	30	58.8
	Canadian Dual *	12	11.54	5	9.8
Other Nation	American	1	0.96	1	2.0
	Austrian	1	0.96	1	2.0
	Brazilian	3	2.88	3	5.9
	Chinese	7	6.73	4	7.8
	Filipino	1	0.96	1	2.0
	German	3	2.88	3	5.9
	Mexican	1	0.96	1	2.0
	South African	1	0.96	0	0
	UK	1	0.96	1	2.0
	Dual	2	1.92	0	0
	Total	101**	97.1	51	100.0

Note. *Canadian 'dual' respondents in Wave 2 indicated that they were also holders of American (1), British (3), and New Zealand (1) citizenships in addition to Canadian.
** Three participants in Wave 1 data specified none, permanent resident, and 'person' in response to the prompt: see Table 4 for full Wave 1 results.

Table 58 *Full citizenship themes and contributing codes: "To me, citizenship means..." (n=104)*

Core theme	Contributing Code	Code Freq.	Theme Freq.	Theme % of total
To Belong			53	51.0
	To a nation	31		

To a group or community (local, global, general), to belong to something bigger, to be accepted	12		
A state of being associated with a place, being 'from', or identifying with the nation	10		
A legal categorization (based on birth or residence)		23	22.1
Legal category or certification	12		
Residence	11		
Making an active contribution		22	21.2
To be involved with or contribute to a community in order to better the community	13		
To contribute to the nation	7		
Global participation	1		
To be active politically	1		
Having shared values and culture		13	12.5
Shared national values	8		
Shared culture	5		
Having privileges and rights		13	12.5
Privileges of that nation	7		
The right to 'have a say' or power to effect change in the nation	2		
The right to vote and participate in elections	1		
Freedom	3		
A set of responsibilities		9	8.7
Obey laws	4		
Be informed	4		
Integrate into society	1		
Being a good person		7	6.7
Being kind	3		
Being tolerant and accepting	2		
Being good	2		
A sense of attachment to the nation (pride, respect, loyalty)		7	6.7
Pride in or respect for nation	5		
Loyalty to nation	2		
Not distinct or important		2	1.9
Same as national citizenship	1		
Nothing / Not important	1		
Other		5	4.8
I have not been taught what it means to have citizenship	1		
Non-responses	4		

Explicitly trans-national or multi-level	------- *repeated from above*	*11*	*10.6*
Expressed ambiguity in geographical site of values or culture	------- *repeated from above*	*2*	*1.9*

Note. Table 7 in text presents summary of theme weightings.

Table 59 *Ideal Conventional Citizenship scale item histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen…"*

	Not at all	Minimally	Not sure	Somewhat	Very	M	SD
Votes in every election	2.9 *(3)*	6.7 *(7)*	17.3 *(18)*	33.7 *(35)*	39.4 *(41)*	4.00	1.052
Knows about the country's history	1.9 *(2)*	6.7 *(7)*	21.2 *(22)*	51.9 *(54)*	18.3 *(19)*	3.78	.892
Follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV	2.9 *(3)*	12.5 *(13)*	23.1 *(24)*	45.2 *(47)*	16.3 *(17)*	3.61	1.000
Shows respect for government representatives [leaders, officials]	3.8 *(4)*	8.7 *(9)*	28.8 *(30)*	41.3 *(43)*	16.3 *(17)*	3.58	.995
Engages in political discussions	2.9 *(3)*	15.4 *(16)*	38.5 *(40)*	32.7 *(34)*	10.6 *(11)*	3.33	.960
Joins a political party	19.2 *(20)*	23.1 *(24)*	38.5 *(40)*	16.3 *(17)*	2.9 *(3)*	2.59	1.065

Note. N = 104 for each item except 'shows respect for government representatives' where N = 103. Prompt asked how "true or important" each item was to student conceptions of ideal adult citizenship. Based on 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = not sure, 4 = somewhat agree, and 5 = strongly agree. All frequency data reported first as percent then as number of respondents in parentheses. Where percentages do not add up to 100, the difference accounts for non-respondents.

Table 60 *Ideal Social-movement Related Citizenship scale item histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen…"*

	Not at all	Minimally	Not sure	Somewhat	Very	M	SD
Takes part in activities to protect the environment	1.9 *(2)*	6.7 *(7)*	27.9 *(29)*	45.2 *(47)*	18.3 *(19)*	3.71	.910
Participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]	2.9 *(3)*	8.7 *(9)*	22.1 *(23)*	52.9 *(55)*	13.5 *(14)*	3.65	.922
Takes part in activities promoting human rights	2.9 *(3)*	15.4 *(16)*	31.7 *(33)*	37.5 *(39)*	12.5 *(13)*	3.41	.991
Would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust	5.8 *(6)*	12.5 *(13)*	29.8 *(31)*	39.4 *(41)*	11.5 *(12)*	3.39	1.041

Note. N = 104 for all items except 'would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust' where n = 103. Prompt asked how "true or important" each item was to student conceptions of ideal adult citizenship. Based on 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = not sure, 4 = somewhat agree, and 5 = strongly agree. All frequency data reported first as percent then as number of respondents in parentheses. Where percentages do not add up to 100, the difference accounts for non-respondents.

Table 61 *Predicted Conventional Citizenship scale item histograms: When I am an adult I might…*

	Very Unlikely	Somewhat	Not sure	Somewhat	Very Likely	M	SD
Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns	20.2 *(21)*	23.1 *(24)*	29.8 *(31)*	20.2 *(21)*	5.8 *(6)*	2.68	1.182
Volunteer for a political party	27.9 *(29)*	26 *(27)*	29.8 *(31)*	8.7 *(9)*	6.7 *(7)*	2.40	1.183
Run in a federal election	44.2 *(46)*	22.1 *(23)*	15.4 *(16)*	13.5 *(14)*	3.8 *(4)*	2.10	1.225
Run in a municipal or provincial election	43.3 *(45)*	24 *(25)*	19.2 *(20)*	8.7 *(9)*	3.8 *(4)*	2.05	1.158

Note. N = 103 for all items. Prompt asked how "likely" each item was in predictions of their own adult citizenship. Based on 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Very Unlikely, 2 = Somewhat Unlikely, 3 = Not Sure, 4 = Somewhat Likely, and 5 = Very Likely. All frequency data reported first as percent then as number of respondents in parentheses. Where percentages do not add up to 100, the difference accounts for non-respondents.

Table 62 *Predicted Social-movement Related Citizenship Scale and Illegal Protest item histograms: "When I am an adult I might…"*

	Very Unlikely	Somewhat	Not sure	Somewhat	Very Likely	M	SD
Social-movement Related Citizenship Items							
Volunteer time to help people in my local community	2.9 *(3)*	5.8 *(6)*	23.1 *(24)*	37.5 *(39)*	30.8 *(32)*	3.88	1.011
Participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally	13.5 *(14)*	18.3 *(19)*	28.8 *(30)*	28.8 *(30)*	8.8 *(9)*	3.01	1.182
Collect signatures for a petition	19.2 *(20)*	23.1 *(24)*	26.0 *(27)*	20.2 *(21)*	10.6 *(11)*	2.80	1.271
Run an awareness campaign online about social or political issues	18.3 *(19)*	27.9 *(29)*	26.9 *(28)*	17.3 *(18)*	7.7 *(8)*	2.68	1.195
Collect money for a social cause	7.7 *(8)*	9.6 *(10)*	35.6 *(37)*	35.6 *(37)*	10.6 *(11)*	2.32	1.050
Illegal Protest Items							
Block traffic as a form of protest	36.5 *(38)*	27.9 *(29)*	21.2 *(22)*	8.7 *(9)*	4.8 *(5)*	2.17	1.164

Occupy public buildings as a form of protest	51.0 *(53)*	20.2 *(21)*	16.3 *(17)*	7.7 *(8)*	2.9 *(3)*	1.89	1.125
Spray-paint protest slogans on walls	57.7 *(60)*	16.3 *(17)*	11.5 *(12)*	9.6 *(10)*	3.8 *(4)*	1.85	1.194

Note. N = 104 for 'Volunteer time', n = 103 for 'Block traffic', 'Spray-paint', 'Collect signatures', and 'Collect money', and n = 102 for remaining items. Prompt asked how "likely" each item was in predictions of their own adult citizenship. Based on 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Very Unlikely, 2 = Somewhat Unlikely, 3 = Not Sure, 4 = Somewhat Likely, and 5 = Very Likely. All frequency data reported first as percent then as number of respondents in parentheses. Where percentages do not add up to 100, the difference accounts for non-respondents.

Table 63 *Predicted conventional and social-movement related citizenship Wave 2 descriptive statistics: "When I am an adult, I might..." (n = 50)*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
volunteer time to help people in my local community	3.84	1.057	-.964	.605	72
block traffic as a form of protest	1.80	1.262	1.410	.738	14
write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns*	2.44	1.236	.502	-.778	23
run an awareness campaign online about a social or political issue	2.30	1.165	.347	-1.042	18
collect money for a social cause	3.12	1.154	-.243	-.427	36
participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally	2.68	1.301	-.008	-1.261	32
run in a federal election	1.84	1.218	1.236	.306	14
run in a municipal or provincial election	1.72	1.089	1.580	1.893	8
spray-paint protest slogans on walls	1.62	1.123	1.895	2.934	6
occupy public buildings as a form of protest	1.70	1.129	1.426	.788	12
collect signatures for a petition	2.74	1.242	-.013	-1.111	32
volunteer for a political party	2.26	1.367	.704	-.860	24

Note. Std. error of skewness = .337, and std. error of kurtosis = .662. *n = 48, std. error of skewness = .343, and std. error of kurtosis = .674

Table 64 *Predicted conventional and social-movement related citizenship Wave 2 histograms: "When I am an adult, I might..."*

	Very unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	[Not sure]	Somewhat Likely	Very likely	M	SD

volunteer time to help people in my local community	4.0 *(2)*	8.0 *(4)*	16.0 *(8)*	44.0 *(22)*	28.0 *(14)*	3.84	1.057
block traffic as a form of protest	64.0 *(32)*	12.0 *(6)*	10.0 *(5)*	8.0 *(4)*	6.0 *(3)*	1.80	1.262
write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns	27.1 *(13)*	31.3 *(15)*	18.8 *(9)*	16.7 *(8)*	6.3 *(3)*	2.44	1.236
run an awareness campaign online about a social or political issue	34.0 *(17)*	22.0 *(11)*	26.0 *(13)*	16.0 *(8)*	2.0 *(1)*	2.30	1.165
collect money for a social cause	12.0 *(6)*	12.0 *(6)*	40.0 *(20)*	24.0 *(12)*	12.0 *(6)*	3.12	1.154
participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally	28.0 *(14)*	14.0 *(7)*	26.0 *(13)*	26.0 *(13)*	6.0 *(3)*	2.68	1.301
run in a federal election	60.0 *(30)*	14.0 *(7)*	12.0 *(6)*	10.0 *(5)*	4.0 *(2)*	1.84	1.218
run in a municipal or provincial election	60.0 *(30)*	20.0 *(10)*	12.0 *(6)*	4.0 *(2)*	4.0 *(2)*	1.72	1.089
spray-paint protest slogans on walls	70.0 *(35)*	10.0 *(5)*	14.0 *(7)*	0 *(0)*	6.0 *(3)*	1.62	1.123
occupy public buildings as a form of protest	66.0 *(33)*	12.0 *(6)*	10.0 *(5)*	10.0 *(5)*	2.0 *(1)*	1.70	1.129
collect signatures for a petition	22.0 *(11)*	20.0 *(10)*	26.0 *(13)*	26.0 *(13)*	6.0 *(3)*	2.74	1.242
volunteer for a political party	42.0 *(21)*	22.0 *(11)*	12.0 *(6)*	16.0 *(8)*	8.0 *(4)*	2.26	1.367

Note. Std. error of skewness = .238, and std. error of kurtosis = .472.

Table 65 *Histograms for sense of political connectedness items (n = 104)*

	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Canadian youth today care about politics *	6.7 *(7)*	23.1 *(24)*	34.6 *(36)*	24.0 *(25)*	11.5 *(12)*	3.11	1.096
Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about	1.0 *(1)*	10.6 *(11)*	42.3 *(44)*	34.6 *(36)*	11.5 *(12)*	3.45	.869
Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	1.0 *(1)*	11.5 *(12)*	29.8 *(31)*	36.5 *(38)*	21.2 *(22)*	3.65	.973

Note. Based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.
*Reverse coded from negative wording.

Table 66 *Political connectedness item statistics Wave 2*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
Canadian youth today don't care about politics	2.94	1.207	-.096	-1.046

Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about	3.59	.942	-.415	-.008
Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	3.66	1.189	-.664	-.384

Note. For "Canadian youth..." and "Participating in..." n = 51, std. error of skew = .333, std. error of kurtosis = .656. For "Decisions made..." n = 50, std. error of skew = .337, std. error of kurtosis = .662.

Table 67 *Political connectedness histograms Wave 2*

Prompt	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
Canadian youth today don't care about politics	13.7 *(7)*	25.5 *(13)*	21.6 *(11)*	31.4 *(16)*	7.8 *(4)*	2.94	1.207
Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about	2.0 *(1)*	9.8 *(5)*	31.4 *(16)*	41.2 *(21)*	15.7 *(8)*	3.59	.942
Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	6.0 *(3)*	12.0 *(6)*	20.0 *(10)*	34.0 *(17)*	28.0 *(14)*	3.66	1.189

Note. Data is presented first as percentages, then as frequency counts (in italicized brackets).

Table 68 *Histograms for sense of connectedness items: People in this group need to… (n = 104)*

Connection	Community	Not at all	Somewhat	Very
Act according to shared values in order to create positive change (e.g. human rights, ethical shopping, environmental action)	LOCAL	3.8 *(4)*	52.9 *(55)*	43.3 *(45)*
	NATIONAL	2.9 *(3)*	51.9 *(54)*	45.2 *(47)*
	GLOBAL*	5.8 *(6)*	37.5 *(39)*	55.8 *(58)*
Be politically involved in order to create positive change (e.g. elections, debate, or protests)	LOCAL	8.7 *(9)*	39.4 *(41)*	51.9 *(54)*
	NATIONAL	2.9 *(3)*	28.8 *(30)*	68.3 *(71)*
	GLOBAL	8.7 *(9)*	35.6 *(37)*	55.8 *(58)*
I depend on people in this group for career or economic opportunities	LOCAL*	9.6 *(10)*	42.3 *(44)*	47.1 *(49)*
	NATIONAL*	2.9 *(3)*	51.9 *(54)*	44.2 *(46)*
	GLOBAL*	16.3 *(17)*	48.1 *(50)*	34.6 *(36)*

Note. Prompt asked “how important” each item is for that community. All frequency data reported first as percent then as number of respondents in parentheses.
*marks where item's n = 103

Table 69 *Histograms for sense of responsibility items: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in my ___X___ community"*

	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly	M	SD

Local	7.7 *(8)*	9.6 *(10)*	21.2 *(22)*	41.3 *(43)*	19.2 *(20)*	3.55	1.144
National (Canada)	7.7 *(8)*	11.5 *(12)*	24.0 *(25)*	34.6 *(36)*	22.1 *(23)*	3.52	1.182
International	5.8 *(6)*	15.4 *(16)*	26.0 *(27)*	29.8 *(31)*	22.1 *(23)*	3.48	1.170

Note. n=103 for local and international responses, n=104 for national responses. Based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.

Table 70 *Histograms for personal efficacy items in Wave 1*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
I feel able to address important issues in my local community	2.9 *(3)*	15.5 *(16)*	34.0 *(35)*	38.8 *(40)*	8.7 *(9)*	3.35	0.947
I feel able to address important issues across Canada	4.8 *(5)*	23.1 *(24)*	40.4 *(42)*	23.1 *(24)*	8.7 *(9)*	3.08	1.002
I feel able to address important international issues	7.7 *(8)*	21.2 *(22)*	33.7 *(35)*	28.8 *(30)*	8.7 *(9)*	3.10	1.075

Note. n=103 for local responses; n=104 for national and international responses.

Table 71 *Histograms for group efficacy items in Wave 1 (n = 104)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada*	10.6 *(11)*	27.9 *(29)*	29.8 *(31)*	21.2 *(22)*	10.6 *(11)*	2.93	1.60
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to global social or environmental issues*	7.7 *(8)*	30.8 *(32)*	34.6 *(36)*	19.2 *(20)*	7.7 *(8)*	2.88	1.055
Young people today have many ways of influencing national politics	10.6 *(11)*	21.2 *(22)*	22.1 *(23)*	28.8 *(30)*	17.3 *(18)*	3.21	1.259
Young people today have many ways of influencing global politics	4.8 *(5)*	20.2 *(21)*	22.1 *(23)*	33.7 *(35)*	19.2 *(20)*	3.42	1.155

Note. Based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. *Reverse-coded to align with positive language of similar prompts.

Table 72 *Descriptive statistics for personal efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
I feel able to address important issues in my local community	3.31	1.122	-.307	-.680	49.0
I feel able to address important issues across Canada	3.22	1.119	-.090	-.708	41.2
I feel able to address important international issues	3.45	1.101	-.525	-.310	51.9

Note. Std. error of skew = .333, std. error of kurtosis = .656.

Table 73 *Histograms for personal efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
I feel able to address important issues in my local community	5.9 *(3)*	19.6 *(10)*	25.5 *(13)*	35.3 *(18)*	13.7 *(7)*	3.31	1.122
I feel able to address important issues across Canada	5.9 *(3)*	21.6 *(11)*	31.4 *(16)*	27.5 *(14)*	13.7 *(7)*	3.22	1.119
I feel able to address important international issues	5.9 *(3)*	13.7 *(7)*	25.5 *(13)*	39.2 *(20)*	15.7 *(8)*	3.45	1.101

Table 74 *Descriptive statistics for group efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)*

	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada*	2.82	1.143	.611	-.636	27.5
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to global social or environmental issues*	2.88	0.993	-.011	-1.016	33.4
Young people today have many ways of influencing national politics	3.41	1.004	.428	-.153	51.0
Young people today have many ways of influencing global politics	3.37	1.076	-.207	-.597	47.1

Note. *Reverse-coded to align with positive language of similar prompts. Std. error of skew = .333, std. error of kurtosis = .656.

Table 75 *Histograms for group efficacy items in Wave 2 (n = 51)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada*	5.9 *(3)*	45.1 *(23)*	21.6 *(11)*	15.7 *(8)*	11.8 *(6)*	2.82	1.143

It is not difficult for young people to make a difference to global social or environmental issues*	5.9 *(3)*	35.3 *(18)*	25.5 *(13)*	31.4 *(16)*	2.0 *(1)*	2.88	0.993
Young people today have many ways of influencing national politics	3.9 *(2)*	13.7 *(7)*	31.4 *(16)*	39.2 *(20)*	11.8 *(6)*	3.41	1.004
Young people today have many ways of influencing global politics	3.9 *(2)*	17.6 *(9)*	31.4 *(16)*	31.4 *(16)*	15.7 *(8)*	3.37	1.076

Note. Based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. *Reverse-coded to align with positive language of similar prompts.

Table 76 *Distinguishing concept items: Citizenship versus cultural group* (n = 104)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
There is a difference between 'being Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen'	1.9 *(2)*	13.5 *(14)*	40.4 *(42)*	32.7 *(34)*	11.5 *(12)*	3.38	.928
Being Canadian is a legal status only, which does not impact a person's actions or values	7.7 *(8)*	32.7 *(34)*	27.9 *(29)*	21.2 *(22)*	10.6 *(11)*	2.94	1.131

Note. Prompt asked participants the extent to which they agreed with the statement. Based on 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, and 5 = strongly agree. All frequency data reported first as percent then as number of respondents in parentheses.

Table 77 *Distinguishing concept items – domestic Canadian respondents (n=81)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
There is a difference between 'being Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen'	1.2 *(1)*	11.1 *(9)*	40.7 *(33)*	34.6 *(28)*	12.3 *(10)*	3.46	.895
Being Canadian is a legal status only, which does not impact a person's actions or values	8.6 *(7)*	34.6 *(28)*	27.2 *(22)*	19.8 *(16)*	9.9 *(8)*	2.88	1.133

Note. Based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.

Table 78 *Full table of Canadian symbols themes: Written responses to "The three best or most important symbols of Canada are... " Wave 1 (n=104)*

Theme Contributing Code	# of respondents referencing code	% of total responses referencing theme
Culture and lifestyle		*80*
Sport (*hockey, NHL, sports, lacrosse*)	37	
Mannerisms (*nice, polite, welcoming, 'eh', sorry*)	17	
Food & Drink (*maple syrup, poutine, beer*)	17	
Brands (*Tim Hortons, The Maple Leafs)*	8	
Other: Celebrities, Landmarks, Historical event, Map	4	
Official Natural		*70*
Maple leaf	50	
Beaver	23	
Unofficial Natural		*40*
Animals (*moose, bear, salmon, geese, polar bear, wildlife*)	26	
Environmental (*the land, snow, nature, mountains, ice, maple trees, leaves*)	16	
Official Political		*30*
Canadian Flag / coat of arms	22	
Symbols of government	3	
Quebecois Fleur-de-lis	2	
Money	2	
Anthem	2	
Value / Conceptual		*28*
Freedom / Rights / Safety / Opportunity	10	
Peacekeeping / Humanitarianism	7	
Multiculturalism / Diversity	4	
International Reputation	2	
Environmentalism / Being green	2	
Equality	2	
Sense of belonging, knowing, depending on country	2	
Institutional		*23*
Healthcare	11	
Education	2	
Immigration	4	
Democracy	4	
RCMP	2	
Social welfare	1	
British reference		*6*

British Flag	5	
The Queen	1	
Indigenous Peoples reference		*4*
Igloo	2	
Totem poles	2	
French reference (repeated from above)		*4*
poutine	*2*	
fleur-de-lis	*2*	
Too Different to Tell		*1*

Note. Codes included in 'French reference' are repeated from codes of Food and Official Political above, but put together as a new category in order to compare these references to those of British or Indigenous cultures.

Table 79 *Item statistics for parameters of global citizenship and values (n = 104)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
Being a global citizen involves actively participating in international governance systems (e.g. United Nations)	3.05	1.249	-.702	.127
Being a global citizen involves living according to a particular value system	2.79	1.030	-.268	-.465
Being a global citizen involves sharing the same values as the global community	3.08	1.103	-.508	.235
We have a responsibility to stop threats to any and all nations' political independence	3.43	1.068	-.796	1.012
People should be able to emigrate anywhere they want in the world, and nations should not be able to limit this	3.16	1.301	-.364	-.550

Note. Std. Error of Skewness = .237, Std. Error of Kurtosis = .469.

Table 80 *Histograms for Canadian internationalism scale items – all respondents (n=104)*

Prompt	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
There is something about Canadians as a group that makes them distinct (different) from other cultures	1.0 *(1)*	7.7 *(8)*	20.2 *(21)*	56.7 *(59)*	14.4 *(15)*	3.76	.830
People living in Canada are too different from each other to all be called 'Canadian' as a group	11.5 *(12)*	37.5 *(39)*	29.8 *(31)*	17.3 *(18)*	3.8 *(4)*	2.64	1.023
There are values that are uniquely Canadian	0 *(0)*	13.5 *(14)*	24.0 *(25)*	51.0 *(53)*	11.5 *(12)*	3.61	.864
Canadian values are world values	1.0 *(1)*	17.3 *(18)*	40.4 *(42)*	35.6 *(37)*	5.8 *(6)*	3.28	.853

A global perspective is part of being Canadian	1.0 *(1)*	4.8 *(5)*	26.0 *(27)*	46.2 *(48)*	17.3 *(18)*	3.60	1.153

Note. Data is presented first as percentages, then as frequency counts (in italicized brackets). A further 4.8% *(5 respondents)* made use of the N/A option for the prompt "a global perspective is part of being Canadian"; of these, 3 were visiting international or long-term international students. This option was only available for this prompt.

Table 81 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth worldviews - histograms (n = 104)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
Nations don't matter any more since the world is a global community	16.3 *(17)*	48.1 *(50)*	23.1 *(24)*	9.6 *(10)*	1.9 *(2)*	2.30	.954
Nations still matter in the global community	1.0 *(1)*	0 *(0)*	13.5 *(14)*	59.6 *(62)*	21.2 *(22)*	3.86	1.092
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity	13.5 *(14)*	32.7 *(34)*	32.7 *(34)*	12.5 *(13)*	3.8 *(4)*	2.46	1.140

Note. One student chose n/a for "Nations don't matter any more...", representing a further 1.0%, 5 students did the same for "Nations still matter..." and "Being a global citizen is incompatible..." each representing a further 4.8%.

Table 82 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth worldviews Wave 2 item statistics (n = 48)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community	2.58	1.235	.225	-.460	20.8
Nations still matter in the global community	4.08	.739	-.465	.020	81.3
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity	2.92	1.302	-.081	-.761	35.4

Note. Std. error of skew = .343, and std. error of kurtosis = .647

Table 83 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth worldviews Wave 2 - histograms (n = 48)*

	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly	M	SD
Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community	18.8 *(9)*	27.1 *(13)*	31.3 *(15)*	12.5 *(6)*	8.3 *(4)*	2.58	1.235
Nations still matter in the global community	0 *(0)*	2.1 *(1)*	16.7 *(8)*	52.1 *(25)*	29.2 *(14)*	4.08	.739
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity	12.5 *(6)*	25.0 *(12)*	25.0 *(12)*	22.9 *(11)*	12.5 *(6)*	2.92	1.302

Note. For "Nations don't matter..." and "Being a global citizen is incompatible..." 1 student responded N/A, representing a further 2.0% not included in percentages above.

Table 84 *Feelings of national/global conflict in youth subjectivities Wave 2 item statistics (n = 48)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
I am a Canadian and a global citizen at the same time	3.48	1.220	-1.306	1.716	60.4
I am a global citizen more than I am a Canadian	2.96	1.148	-.092	-.021	29.2
A global perspective is part of being Canadian	3.27	1.317	-1.344	1.292	56.2

Note. Std. error of skew = .343, and std. error of kurtosis = .647

Table 85 *Feelings of national/global conflict in students' subjectivities Wave 2 - histograms (n = 48)*

	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly	M	SD
I am a Canadian citizen and a global citizen at the same time	6.3 *(3)*	2.1 *(1)*	27.1 *(13)*	45.8 *(22)*	14.6 *(7)*	3.48	1.220
I am a global citizen more than I am a Canadian	6.3 *(3)*	25.0 *(12)*	37.5 *(18)*	18.8 *(9)*	10.4 *(5)*	2.96	1.148
A global perspective is part of being Canadian	4.2 *(2)*	4.2 *(2)*	27.1 *(13)*	47.9 *(23)*	8.3 *(4)*	3.27	1.317

Note. For "I am a global citizen..." 1 student responded N/A, representing a further 2.0% not included in percentages above. For "A global perspective..." 4 students responded N/A, representing a further 8.3% not included in percentages above. Two students responded the same for "I am a Canadian citizen and..." representing 4.2%.

Table 86 *Site of moral responsibility, national and global - histograms (Wave 1): "An adult who is a good citizen…"*

	Not at all true / important	Minimally	[Not sure]	Somewhat	Very true / important	M	SD
Would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country	15.5 *(16)*	24.3 *(25)*	24.3 *(25)*	30.1 *(31)*	5.8 *(6)*	2.86	1.180
Would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence	20.2 *(21)*	18.3 *(19)*	32.7 *(34)*	24.0 *(25)*	4.8 *(5)*	2.75	1.172
Obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs	1.9 *(2)*	12.5 *(13)*	26.9 *(28)*	38.5 *(40)*	20.2 *(21)*	3.63	1.007
Lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence	1.0 *(1)*	11.7 *(12)*	42.7 *(44)*	33.0 *(34)*	11.7 *(12)*	3.43	0.881

Would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights	18.4 *(19)*	25.2 *(26)*	20.4 *(21)*	17.5 *(18)*	18.4 *(19)*	2.92	1.384

Note. For 'serve in military to defend the country', lives according to global code', and 'willing to ignore a law', n = 103, std. error of skewness = .238, and std. error of kurtosis = .472. For 'serve in military to defend another country' and ' obeys the laws' n = 104, std. error of skewness = .237, and std. error of kurtosis = .469.

Table 87 *Site of moral responsibility Wave 2 histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen..."*

	Not at all true / important	Minimally	[Not sure]	Somewhat	Very true / important	M	SD
Would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country	16.0 (8)	18.0 (9)	24.0 (12)	28.0 (14)	14.0 (7)	3.06	1.300
Would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence	18.4 *(9)*	16.3 *(8)*	24.5 *(12)*	32.7 *(16)*	8.2 *(4)*	2.96	1.258
Obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs	2.0 *(1)*	6.0 *(3)*	12.0 *(6)*	36.0 *(18)*	44.0 *(22)*	4.14	.990
Lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence	6.0 *(3)*	12.0 *(6)*	32.0 *(16)*	30.0 *(15)*	20.0 *(10)*	3.46	1.129
Would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights	34.7 *(17)*	4.1 *(2)*	32.7 *(16)*	10.2 *(5)*	18.4 *(9)*	2.73	1.497

Table 88 *Site of moral responsibility Wave 2 descriptive statistics: "An adult who is a good citizen..."*

	N	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country	50	3.06	1.300	-.173	-1.049	42.0
would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence	49	2.96	1.258	-.248	-1.050	40.9

obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs	50	4.14	.990	-1.212	1.186	80.0
lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence	50	3.46	1.129	-3.85	-.416	50.0
would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights	49	2.73	1.497	.165	-1.295	28.6

Note. Where n = 48, Std. Error of Skewness = .343, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .674. Where n = 49, Std. Error of Skewness = .340, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .668. Where n = 50, Std. Error of Skewness = .337, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .662.

Table 89 *Site of moral responsibility item correlations in Wave 1 (n = 104)*

	defend the country	defend other	ignore laws	prioritize global code	prioritize laws of residence
military to defend the country	1				
military to defend other	0.747	1			
ignore laws violating human rights	0.056	0.054	1		
prioritize global code of ethics	0.099	0.114	0.395	1	
prioritize laws of country of residence	0.096	0.068	0.134	0.381	1

Note. Full prompt language: military to defend the country = would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country; military to defend other = would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence; ignore laws violating human rights = would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights; prioritize global code of ethics = lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence; prioritize laws of country of residence = obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs

Table 90 *Communities of affiliation in student subjectivities (full sample): responses to "_____ is important to who I am" (n = 103)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% pos
a member of my local community	3.84	1.017	-0.764	0.006	70.5
a global citizen	3.77	1.077	-0.815	0.630	60.2
a member of my generation [age group]	4.04	0.985	-1.323	1.628	83.7

Note. Percept positive is sum of 'somewhat important' and 'very important' response percents. For local and global responses, n = 103, std. error of skewness = .238, and std. error of kurtosis = .472. For generation responses, n = 104, std. error of skewness = .237, and std. error of kurtosis = .469.

Table 91 *Communities of affiliation in domestic Canadian student subjectivities - histograms: responses to "_____ is important to who I am"*

	Not at all	Minimally	Not Sure	Somewhat	Very
a member of my local community	1.2 *(1)*	11.1 *(9)*	17.3 *(14)*	40.7 *(33)*	28.4 *(23)*
a resident of British Columbia	3.7 *(3)*	9.9 *(8)*	13.6 *(11)*	50.6 *(41)*	22.2 *(18)*
a citizen of Canada	1.2 *(1)*	6.2 *(5)*	3.7 *(3)*	45.7 *(37)*	43.2 *(35)*
a global citizen	2.5 *(2)*	9.9 *(8)*	27.2 *(22)*	33.3 *(27)*	25.9 *(21)*
a member of my generation [age group]	3.7 *(3)*	7.4 *(6)*	6.2 *(5)*	51.9 *(42)*	30.9 *(25)*
a member of a particular cultural or ethnic group other than Canadian	4.9 *(4)*	6.2 *(5)*	34.6 *(28)*	19.8 *(16)*	22.2 *(18)*

Note. All frequencies reported as Percent (Number of respondents). Where total percentages do not add up to 100%, a participant did not respond. Nine students responded N/A to the final prompt, "a member of a particular cultural or ethnic group other than Canadian" accounting for a further 11.1% of the total sample.

Table 92 *National pride in domestic Canadian students - histograms (n = 81)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
In my experience, Canadians are well liked around the world	1.2 *(1)*	0	4.9 *(4)*	56.8 *(46)*	37.0 *(30)*	4.28	.675
I have great love for Canada	0	2.5 *(2)*	13.6 *(11)*	53.1 *(43)*	30.9 *(25)*	4.12	.731
There is much to be proud of in Canada's history*	1.2 *(1)*	4.9 *(4)*	17.3 *(14)*	37.0 *(30)*	39.5 *(32)*	4.09	.938
Canada is the best country to live in	1.2 *(1)*	7.4 *(6)*	29.6 *(24)*	30.9 *(25)*	30.9 *(25)*	3.83	.997
Canada should be proud of its achievements through history	0	4.9 *(4)*	28.4 *(23)*	50.6 *(41)*	16.0 *(13)*	3.78	.775
Canada deserves respect from other countries for what it has accomplished	0	1.2 *(1)*	38.3 *(31)*	49.4 *(40)*	11.1 *(9)*	3.70	.679
I would prefer to live permanently in Canada rather than another country*	0	11.1 *(9)*	30.9 *(25)*	39.5 *(32)*	18.5 *(15)*	3.65	.911
Canada is a model to the world	2.5 *(2)*	16.0 *(13)*	28.4 *(23)*	43.2 *(35)*	9.9 *(8)*	3.42	.960

Note. All frequencies reported as Percent (Number of respondents).
* Reverse coded from originals which read "I would prefer to live in a country other than Canada" and "There is little to be proud of in Canada's history.

Table 93 *Salience of being Canadian for domestic Canadian students - histograms (n = 81)*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M	SD
Being Canadian doesn't matter much to me	35.8 (29)	44.4 (36)	13.6 (11)	3.7 (3)	2.5 (2)	1.93	.932
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada	0	4.9 (4)	23.5 (19)	46.9 (38)	22.2 (18)	3.79	1.008
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community	2.5 (2)	9.9 (8)	30.9 (25)	45.7 (37)	8.6 (7)	3.41	1.034

Note. All frequencies reported as Percent (Number of respondents). In each of "I feel a strong sense of belonging" and "I feel a greater sense of connection" 2 students selected N/A, representing 2.5% of the total for each item.

Table 94 *Salience of being Canadian in Wave 2 all student responses - item statistics (n = 48)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	% Pos.
Being Canadian doesn't matter much to me	2.44	1.109	.213	-.902	56.3
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada	3.48	1.399	-1.123	1.035	18.8
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community	3.42	1.235	-1.144	1.765	52.1

Note. Std. error of skew = .343, and std. error of kurtosis = .647

Table 95 *Salience of being Canadian in Wave 2 all student responses - histograms (n = 48)*

	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly	M	SD
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada	0 *(0)*	8.3 *(4)*	27.1 *(13)*	31.3 *(15)*	25.0 *(12)*	2.44	1.109
Being Canadian doesn't matter much to me	25.0 *(12)*	27.1 *(13)*	29.2 *(14)*	16.7 *(8)*	2.1 *(1)*	3.48	1.399
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community	0 *(0)*	8.3 *(4)*	33.3 *(16)*	35.4 *(17)*	16.7 *(8)*	3.42	1.235

Note. For "I feel a strong..." 4 students responded N/A, representing a further 8.3% not included in percentages above; similarly, 3 students responded N/A to "I feel a greater..." representing 6.3%.

Table 96 *Correlation tests for Wave 1 constructs*

Item / Construct	[Correlated with] test	Correlation (r) all students	Correlations (r) Domestic Canadian
W1 - Ideal Conventional Scale	Canadian youth today don't care about politics	-0.022229544	-0.043436899
	Participating in established political systems can make a difference in issues I care about	0.474571774	0.49235195
	Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	0.156971815	0.13697063
	Predicted Conventional Scale	0.215403107	0.205366042
	Efficacy Scale	0.160361012	0.160997398
	It is important for high school students to learn what it means to 'be Canadian'.	0.228471992	0.26226378
	Ideal SmR Scale	**0.689855981**	**0.711737662**
W1 - Ideal SmR Scale	Canadian youth today don't care about politics	0.135406434	0.083213207
	Participating in established political systems can make a difference in issues I care about	**0.526659594**	**0.549341585**
	Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	0.258185146	0.193691802
	Predicted Ideal Social-movement Related Scale	0.496932572	**0.506776044**
	Efficacy Scale	0.139890293	0.150215422
	It is important for high school students to learn what it means to 'be Canadian'.	0.063099475	0.146684275
W1 - Efficacy Scale	Canadian youth today don't care about politics	-0.034608962	-0.034779411
	Participating in established political systems can make a difference in issues I care about	0.328123586	0.350258284
	Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life	0.328016264	0.363812775
	It is important for high school students to learn what it means to 'be Canadian'.	0.304443151	0.261473735

Being Canadian doesn't matter to me	-0.093230124	-0.06390189
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada	-0.048113675	-0.103163155
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canadians than global	0.064472327	-0.017068863
Nations don't matter	0.120960076	0.117409095
Nations still matter	0.149442246	0.214215577
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity	-0.071089318	-0.136462301

Note. Significant correlations are highlighted in bold.

Table 97 *Correlations in Wave 1 domestic Canadian students feelings regarding national and global subjectivity belonging and conflict*

	Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community	Nations still matter in the global community	Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity
Being Canadian doesn't matter to me	0.122684955	0.032674268	0.049885928
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada	0.009846124	-0.178512208	0.082102
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community	0.05351709	0.028954244	-0.027365932
I am a global citizen more than I am a Canadian	0.301450789	0.171788643	0.171784735
I am a Canadian citizen and a global citizen at the same time	0.0653722	0.357659166	-0.151219201
A global perspective is part of being Canadian	0.253355005	0.345830489	0.105534568

Note. None of the correlations were found to be significant.

Table 98 *Wave 2 sense of responsibility item statistics: "I feel a responsibility to address political, social, environmental, issues in my ___X____ community"*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
Local	3.62	1.008	-.280	-.415
National (Canada)	3.46	1.092	-.237	-.544
International	3.64	1.102	-.371	-.798

Note. N = 50, std errpr pf skewness = .337, std. error of kurtosis = .662

Table 99 *Wave 2 models of ideal citizenship item statistics: "An adult who is a good citizen..."*

	N	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	% pos.
shows respect for government representatives (leaders, officials)	48	3.58	1.217	-.904	-.015	66.6
joins a political party	50	2.20	1.212	.530	-.788	14
takes part in activities to protect the environment	49	3.47	1.157	-.681	-.258	59.2
participates in activities to benefit people in the community (society)	50	3.82	1.137	-1.019	.473	72
would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust	50	3.26	1.209	-.671	-.518	54
follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV	50	3.44	1.128	-.601	-.497	60
engages in political discussions	50	3.24	1.021	-.389	-.249	44
takes part in activities promoting human rights	50	3.66	1.062	-1.079	1.157	66
knows about the country's history	50	3.62	1.276	-.648	-.647	62
votes in every election	50	4.02	1.186	-1.185	.628	74

Note. Where n = 48, Std. Error of Skewness = .343, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .674. Where n = 49, Std. Error of Skewness = .340, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .668. Where n = 50, Std. Error of Skewness = .337, and Std. Error of Kurtosis = .662.

Table 100 *Wave 2 models of ideal citizenship histograms: "An adult who is a good citizen..."*

	Not at all true / important	Minimally	[Not sure]	Somewhat	Very true / important	M	SD
shows respect for government representatives (leaders, officials)	10.4 *(5)*	8.3 *(4)*	14.6 *(7)*	45.8 *(22)*	20.8 *(10)*	3.58	1.217
joins a political party	42.0 *(21)*	14.0 *(7)*	30.0 *(15)*	10.0 *(5)*	4.0 *(2)*	2.20	1.212
takes part in activities to protect the environment	8.2 *(4)*	12.2 *(6)*	20.4 *(10)*	42.9 *(21)*	16.3 *(8)*	3.47	1.157
participates in activities to benefit people in the community (society)	6.0 *(3)*	8.0 *(4)*	14.0 *(7)*	42.0 *(21)*	30.0 *(15)*	3.82	1.137
would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust	14.0 *(7)*	10.0 *(5)*	22.0 *(11)*	44.0 *(22)*	10.0 *(5)*	3.26	1.209
follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV	6.0 *(3)*	18.0 *(9)*	16.0 *(8)*	46.0 *(23)*	14.0 *(7)*	3.44	1.128
engages in political discussions	6.0 *(3)*	16.0 *(8)*	34.0 *(17)*	36.0 *(18)*	8.0 *(4)*	3.24	1.021
takes part in activities promoting human rights	8.0 *(4)*	2.0 *(1)*	24.0 *(12)*	48.0 *(24)*	18.0 *(9)*	3.66	1.062
knows about the country's history	8.0 *(4)*	14.0 *(7)*	16.0 *(8)*	32.0 *(16)*	30.0 *(15)*	3.62	1.276

votes in every election	6.0 *(3)*	6.0 *(3)*	14.0 *(7)*	28.0 *(14)*	46.0 *(23)*	4.02	1.186

Note.

Table 101 *Wave 2 evaluations of coursework item statistics (n = 51)*

	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
Canadian culture and values	1.55	.642	-1.132	.219
Other cultures and value systems	1.27	.635	-.297	-.606
Canadian democratic systems	1.69	.547	-1.565	1.633
Issues of importance for the global community	1.59	.606	-1.195	.466
Issues of importance for the Canadian community	1.55	.673	-1.211	.261
How to create social or political change	1.12	.765	-.205	-1.242
World history	1.53	.674	-1.131	.095
Canadian history	1.67	.589	-1.609	1.648

Note. Response categories were “I don’t know” (0), “We didn’t address this” (0), and “Ineffective” (0), "Somewhat effective" (1), and "Very effective" (2). Responses of “I don’t know”, “We didn’t address this”, and “Ineffective” were combined into one “Not effective” category and worth 0 in calculating descriptive statistics for the sample. Std. error of skew = .333; std. error of kurtosis = .656.

Appendix B: Study materials

Figure 1 Letter sent to teachers inviting participation

Hello,

I am a local teacher and a graduate student at the University of Victoria, and as part of my Master of Arts I am conducting a study on citizenship education and student voices in our West Coast B.C. classrooms. My study will focus on grade 11 and 12 students in Social Studies and Civics classrooms, or alternative school offerings that incorporate those credits, and I am looking for teachers who are interested in offering their students an opportunity to participate.

[School Name] is particularly relevant to my exploration of rooted cosmopolitanism: how do students learn to negotiate local and global responsibilities and attachments in our highly interconnected world? The research will primarily aim to describe the thoughts of young adults in general, but this study will also compare different groups – based on family immigration, travel experiences, studying abroad, multi-lingual homes – to explore the possible associations between life experiences and vocabularies of citizenship.

Participation would involve: 1) handing out consent forms in advance so that students and parents can consider participation before the study date, 2) booking a school lab and using 30-40 minutes of one class for students to fill in an online survey (interactive debrief available in same block if desired), and 3) follow-up student focus group by invitation and arranged according to student availability at lunchtime or after school within one week of the survey.

If you and your class are interested, I am happy to provide follow-up presentations including the interactive debrief (mentioned above), or a research-focused presentation tailored to the current content of your curriculum. In further compensation for the time given over to the study, a donation of $150 per participating class will be made to your school program or charity of your class's choice, according to your curriculum focus and as arranged prior to the study date.

If you would like more information about the study, or are interested in your class' participation, please email (jelbert@uvic.ca) or call (250-588-1478).

I look forward to meeting you and working with your class, and appreciate your consideration of my research.

Jamie Elbert

Figure 2 Script delivered by teachers to students to introduce the project

You are being invited to participate in a research study that is part of a Masters program at the University of Victoria. This study is being run by a graduate student in the Faculty of Education, and aims to explore how young adults experience citizenship education in high school.

There are many theories about how schools and classrooms should teach citizenship, but not enough evidence from real classrooms, and this study hopes to fill this gap. You are being invited to participate because you are at a pivotal moment: you will be graduating and reaching voting age in the next two years.

This study will investigate how today's students think and talk about themselves as citizens in an increasingly globalized community, and will present these 'vocabularies' to teachers and researchers so that future classrooms can continue to reflect the real-world experiences and knowledge of today's students. Because the focus is an increasingly globalized community, this research will also explore how life experiences – such as family immigration, studying abroad, multi-lingual homes, or travel – are associated with different vocabularies of citizenship.

This study involves a 30 to 40 minute online survey, and possibly a follow-up focus group interview. Everyone will be invited to participate in the survey. On the consent form, or on the survey, you can express interest in the follow-up focus group. Three to 5 interested students from each school will be randomly sampled to discuss their answers in more depth during a 30 to 45 minute lunch or after-school session.

In both the survey and the follow-up focus group, you will have an opportunity to consider what citizenship means to you and how you feel about different forms of politics and participation in today's world. It is important for student voices to be heard in the world of research, and participating in this project is one way of sharing student perspectives.

It is important to note that participating in this research should be completely voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your standing in your current course and will not affect the compensation of the group. You will not be penalized in any way if you choose not to participate in this project, and you will have the option to withdraw at any time.

Because of our class's participation in this research, we may choose a school program or charity and a gift of $150 will be made in our name. Once again, this gift is based on our class's participation and does not depend on your personal choice to take part or not. Our class may choose a charity that fits our curriculum this year or choose to donate our gift to a school program's fundraising.

Today you are receiving an Informed Consent sheet. This has information about the research, and a way to contact the researcher if you have more questions. Please take this consent form home and discuss it with your parents, and if you would like to participate in the online survey portion of the study bring it back to class signed by

_____. *Only those with signed consent forms will be able to participate in the study!

Notice that right now you can sign consent for the online survey and indicate whether you would like to be contacted for the follow-up focus group. This means you will receive more information and can decide whether you would like to participate in the group discussion later. Any questions about the study or the process of consent can be directed to jelbert@uvic.ca.

Figure 3 Wave 1 Survey items

A. Demographics

1. Age
2. Gender
3. In what city and country were you born? (city, country)
4. Were your primary caregivers born in Canada?
5. Number of languages you speak
6. Primary language spoken at home?
7. Your citizenship(s)?
8. Cultures you feel strongly associated with?
9. Current grade?
10. School group
11. Previous travel and residences
12. Intended / target career
13. Anticipated interaction with other cultures through career

B. Research Question 1 -- Models of citizenship

The following prompts were developed to investigate the breadth of student conceptions of citizenship, and the level of distinction between a cultural self and legal self within this vocabulary:

14. *Short answer:* To me, citizenship means...

DISTINGUISHING CONCEPT: Citizen and Cultural group

15. There is a difference between 'being Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen'
16. Being Canadian is a legal status only, which does not impact a person's actions or values

The following prompts on conceptions of ideal adult citizenship were taken from the established constructs in International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education study (ICCS)*, providing data for comparison with international findings:*

IDEAL CONVENTIAL CITIZENSHIP ITEMS (ICCS):

17a. An adult who is a good citizen votes in every election
17b. An adult who is a good citizen joins a political party
17c. An adult who is a good citizen knows about the country's history
17d. An adult who is a good citizen follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV
17e. An adult who is a good citizen shows respect for government representatives [leaders, officials]
17f. An adult who is a good citizen engages in political discussions

IDEAL SOCIAL-MOVEMENT-RELATED CITZENSHIP ITEMS (ICCS):

17g. An adult who is a good citizen would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust
17h. An adult who is a good citizen participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]
17i. An adult who is a good citizen takes part in activities promoting human rights
17j. An adult who is a good citizen takes part in activities to protect the environment

The following prompts on personal salience of conceptions of ideal adult citizenship were taken from the in IEA's ICCS*, providing data for comparison with international findings:*

18. Predicted action: When I am an adult, I might

CONVENTIONAL PREDICTED ACTION
run in a federal election
run in a municipal or provincial election
volunteer for a political party
write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns

SOCIAL MOVEMENT RELATED PREDICTED ACTION
participate in a non- violent [peaceful] protest march or rally
block traffic as a form of protest
spray-paint protest slogans on walls
occupy public buildings as a form of protest
volunteer time to help people in my local community
run an awareness campaign online about a social or political issue
collect signatures for a petition
collect money for a social cause

VOTING INTENTIONS

19a. When I am eligible, I intend to vote in municipal elections.
19b. When I am eligible, I intend to vote in provincial elections.
19c. When I am eligible, I intend to vote in federal elections.
19d. When I am eligible, I DO NOT intend to vote in elections. (text why)

The following prompts on level of current engagement were taken from the IEA's ICCS*, providing data for comparison with international findings:*

20. Types of action already enacted.

CONVENTIONAL CURRENT ENGAGEMENT
voted in an election of any kind
run in an election of any kind
participated in political party events (e.g. rally, fundraiser)
researched political parties or candidates
attended town council meetings or other local government events
participated online in discussion or debate about political topics
participated face-to-face in discussion or debate about political topics

SOCIAL MOVEMENT RELATED CURRENT ENGAGEMENT
attended a protest
volunteered in my community
used social media to gain awareness for a cause
signed a petition

The following prompts were developed to investigate the level of connectedness and engagement felt by youth:

SENSE OF Political CONNECTEDNESS

21. Canadian youth today don't care about politics
22. Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about
23. Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life

SENSE OF INTERDEPENDENCE + RESPONSIBILITY

24. People in this group need to ACT ACCORDING TO SHARED VALUES in order to create positive change (e.g. human rights, ethical shopping, environmental action)
25. People in this group need to BE POLITICALLY INVOLVED in order to create positive change (e.g. in elections, debate, or protests)
26. I DEPEND on people in this group for career or economic opportunities
27. I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in
    my local community
    Canada
    the international community

C. Research Question 2 -- National and Global citizenship

Defining Canadian national citizenship: boundaries, symbols, values, responsibilities

28. *Short answer:* In my opinion, being Canadian means:
29. *Short answer:* The 3 best / most important symbols of Canada are:
30. *Short answer:* What do Canadians value most?

QUALITIES OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

31. Being Canadian involves actively participating in the national governance system (e.g. federal politics)
32. Being Canadian involves living/behaving according to a particular value system
33. To be Canadian a person must agree with a particular set of values
34. Being Canadian involves sharing the same values as other Canadians
35. We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to Canada's political independence
36. Canada should limit the number of new immigrants
37. Increased immigration makes Canada stronger

INTERNATIONALISM ***International aspect*** *of Canadian identity*

38. There is something about Canadians as a group that makes them distinct (different) from other cultures [REV]
39. People living in Canada are too different from each other to all be called 'Canadian' as a group
40. There are values that are uniquely Canadian [REV]
41. Canadian values are world values
42. A global perspective is part of being Canadian

PRIDE *Canadian* ***pride*** *in Canadian national citizenship*

43. Canada is the best country to live in

44. I would prefer to live permanently in a country other than Canada
45. There is little to be proud of in Canada's history
46. Canada should be proud of its achievements through history
47. Canada deserves respect from other countries for what it has accomplished
48. Canada is a model to the world
49. In my experience, Canadians are well liked around the world
50. I have great love for Canada

Defining global citizenship: boundaries, responsibilities

51. *Short answer:* To me, being a global citizen means:

QUALITIES OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

52. Being a global citizen involves actively participating in international governance systems (e.g. United Nations)
53. Being a global citizen involves living according to a particular value system
54. Being a global citizen involves sharing the same values as the global community
55. We have a responsibility to stop threats to any and all nations' political independence
56. People should be able to emigrate anywhere they want in the world, and nations should not be able to limit this

_____ *Is there conflict or confluence?*

Other ICCS items defining citizenship: compare national to global commitments

COMPARATIVE RESPONSIBILITY ITEMS:

57a. An adult who is a good citizen would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country
57b. An adult who is a good citizen would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence
57c. An adult who is a good citizen obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs
57d. An adult who is a good citizen lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the laws in his or her country of residence
57e. An adult who is a good citizen would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights

COMPARATIVE SALIENCE *Salience of Canadian and global subjectivities*

58. Is it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'?
59. Being Canadian doesn't matter much to me
61. I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada
62. I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community
63a. "My identity as a member of my local community is important to who I am"
63b. "My identity as a resident of British Columbia is important to who I am"
63c. "My identity as a citizen of Canada is important to who I am"
63d. "My identity as a global citizen is important to who I am"
63e. "My identity as a member of my generation [age group] is important to who I am"
63f. "My identity as a member of a particular cultural or ethnic group other than Canadian is important to who I am"

SUBJECTIVITY CONFLICT *Probing conflict between national and global subjectivities*

64a. Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community
64b. Nations still matter in the global community
65. Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity
66a. I am a Canadian citizen and a global citizen at the same time
66b. I am a global citizen more than I am a Canadian

D. Research Question 3 -- The school's role in citizenship education

School's role

67. Sources of learning: friends and family; school; travel; media
Canadian culture and values
other cultures and values systems
Canadian democratic systems
your desire to do something about world issues
your desire to make a difference in Canada
HOW to create social or political change

68. *Short answer* What are the best ways for high school students to learn about citizenship? What lessons or activities have you found most useful or meaningful in learning about citizenship? (These may have been on or off school grounds, in or out of the classroom, formal or informal.)

Efficacy in teachable areas

CONFIDENCE IN UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SYSTEMS

69a. I am confident in my understanding of how municipal political systems work.
69b. I am confident in my understanding of how provincial political systems work.
69c. I am confident in my understanding of how federal political systems work.
69d. I am NOT confident in my understanding of how political systems work.

EFFICACY IN IMPACT

70a. I feel able to address important issues in my **local** community
70b. I feel able to address important issues across **Canada**.
70c. I feel able to address important **international** issues
71a. It is difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in **Canada**
71b. It is difficult for young people to make a difference to **global** social or environmental issues
72a. Young people today have many ways of influencing **national** politics
72b. Young people today have many ways of influencing **global** politics

Figure 4 Wave 2 Survey items

A: DEMOGRAPHICS

Age
Gender
In what city and country were you born? (city, country)
Were your primary caregivers born in Canada?
Number of languages you speak
Primary language spoken at home?
Your citizenship(s)?
Cultures you feel strongly associated with?
Current grade?
Please indicate your school group
Previous travel and residences (please check all that apply). I have traveled to or lived
Intended / target career?
Do you think your career will require you to travel or interact with people from different cultures?

B: ABOUT CIVIC PARTICIPATION

To me, citizenship means:
When I think about being a good citizen, the most important actions / behaviours are:
When I am an adult, I might

- Volunteer time to help people in my local community
- Block traffic as a form of protest
- Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns
- Run an awareness campaign online about a social or political issue
- Collect money for a social cause
- Participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally
- Run in a federal election
- Run in a municipal or provincial election
- Spay-paint protest slogans on walls
- Occupy public buildings as a form of protest
- Collect signatures for a petition
- Volunteer for a political party

I feel a responsibility to address political, social, or environmental issues in [my local community / Canada / the international community]

I feel able to address important issues in my local community
I feel able to address important issues across Canada
I feel able to address important international issues
It is difficult for young people to make a difference to social or environmental issues in Canada
It is difficult for young people to make a difference to global social or environmental issues
Young people today have many ways of influencing national politics
Young people today have many ways of influencing global politics
Canadian youth today don't care about politics
Participating in established political systems can make a difference to issues I care about
Decisions made through established political systems make a difference in my life

An adult who is a good citizen...

- Shows repect for government representatives (leaders, officials)
- Joins a political party
- Takes part in activities to protect the environment
- Would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country
- Participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]
- Would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust

- Lives according to a global code of ethics, even when this contradicts the law in his or her country of residence
- Follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, or on TV
- Engages in political discussions
- Takes part in activities promoting human rights
- Knows about the country's history
- Would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights
- Would be willing to serve in the military to defend another country's independence
- Votes in every election
- Obeys the laws of whichever country they live in, regardless of personal beliefs

C: ABOUT CANADA

In my opinion, being Canadian means:
What do Canadians value most?

There is something about Canadians as a group that makes them distinct (different) from other cultures
There is a difference between 'being Canadian' and 'being a Canadian citizen'
Canada is the best country to live in
Being Canadian involves actively participating in the national governance system (e.g. federal politics)
Being Canadian involves living/behaving according to a particular value system
Being Canadian doesn't matter much to me
There is little to be proud of in Canada's history
We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to Canada's political independence
Canada should limit the number of new immigrants
Canada deserves respect from other countries for what it has accomplished
I have great love for Canada
I would prefer to live permanently in a country other than Canada
To be Canadian a person must agree with a particular set of values
Increased immigration makes Canada stronger
Being Canadian involves sharing the same values as other Canadians
Canada is a model to the world
Canada should be proud of its achievements through history
Being Canadian is a legal status only, which does not impact a person's actions or values

D: ABOUT GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

To me, being a global citizen means:

Nations don't matter any more, since the world is a global community
Being a global citizen involves living according to a particular value system
We have a responsibility to stop threats to any and all nations' political independence
Being a global citizen is incompatible with having a national identity
People should be able to emigrate anywhere they want in the world, and nations should not be able to limit this
I feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada
Being a global citizen involves sharing the same values as the global community
I am a global citizen more than I am a Canadian
Being a global citizen involves actively participating in international governance systems (e.g. United Nations)
Nations still matter in the global community
I feel a greater sense of connection with Canada and Canadians than I do with the global community
I am a Canadian citizen and a global citizen at the same time

A global perspective is part of being Canadian

This question asks how important shared action is at three levels: local, national, and global. Rank how important the statement is for each group.
People in this group need to BE POLITICALLY INVOLVED in order to create positive change (e.g. in elections, debate, or protests)
People in this group need to BE POLITICALLY INVOLVED in order to create positive change (e.g. in elections, debate, or protests)
I DEPEND on people in this group for career or economic opportunities

E: ABOUT EDUCATION & COURSE REFLECTIONS

If you could design courses or make policy, what would you say are the best ways for high school students to learn about citizenship?
How effective was this course in teaching you about: Canadian culture and values / other cultures and value systems / Canadian democratic systems / Issues of importance for the global community / How to create social or political change / world history / Canadian history
Is it important for high school students to learn 'what it means to be Canadian'?
Did your current course (Social Studies, Civics, IGS, etc.) change or expand your perception of what it means to be Canadian? If so, how? If not, do you see this as a problem?
Did your current course (Social Studies, Civics, IGS, etc.) change or expand your perception of what it means to be a global citizen? If so, how? If not, do you see this as a problem?
I am confident in my understanding of how these political systems work: (check all that apply)
municipal / provincial / federal / I don't know how any of these systems work

Figure 5: Debrief sheet provided to students after study during interactive presentation

DEBRIEF

"VOCABULARIES OF CITIZENSHIP"

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

Questions?
email jelbert@uvic.ca

What does 'Canadian' mean ?

By asking about Canada, its values, and whether young adults identify with a national group, this study hopes to better understand how youth think about the nation and their own civic subjectivities.

Researchers are hopeful that the fluidity and strategic nature of group identities (subjectivities) could reduce social tension: "It will become increasingly difficult to categorize 'others'…they are all children of multiculturalism" (Lee and Hebert 2006).

'Good citizenship' can mean different things to different people, but youth worldwide often speak in similar categories.

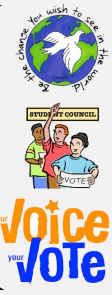
For example, in a study in Spain, adolescents mentioned:

obeying and respecting the norms, rules, laws (60%)
respecting others (53%)
not committing crimes, not stealing, not disrupting public order (38%)
keeping the city clean (33%)
care for environment (30%)
getting along with people, treating others well (23%)
helping others (18%).

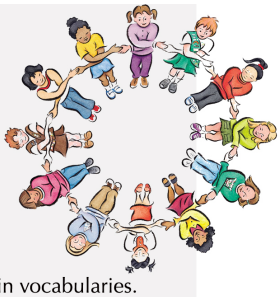
Students in Italy, Norway, and England answered similarly.

Interesting in its absence: need for citizens to understand or participate in the democratic process

What does it mean to be a 'good citizen'?



How does national citizenship relate to global citizenship?



By asking about how the nation relates to global citizenship, this study tests the theory of rooted cosmopolitanism: having an emotional attachment and a sense of responsibility for a particular history or people, but also being a 'citizen of the world' with responsibilities to the global community.

The qualitative (words) and quantitative (rankings) data from this study will be analyzed to find patterns in the ways young adults speak about citizenship (i.e. 'vocabularies of citizenship'). Furthermore, we can explore whether different life experiences are associated with certain vocabularies.

How can classrooms across Canada support students as citizens?

Teachers, administraters, and policy-makers all work to make schools into engaging and relevant learning spaces. Every province has a different curriculum! In B.C.,some programs have received negative reviews (e.g. over-saturated!), but many are doing exciting and innovative things. This research will help adults to hear the student perspective on Canadian citizenship, global citizenship, and how young adults feel empowered to be active citizens. Thank you for contributing your voice to this project!

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE BEST WAY TO LEARN ABOUT CITIZENSHIP?