Exploring how civics education in secondary schools constructs social action in a changing participatory landscape

by

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Abstract

This study explores the effect of the changing participatory landscape on the ways in which students engage in social justice. Student involvement in social justice-orientated activities via digital technology has challenged current perceptions of youth engagement. The presence of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in schools and student clubs dedicated to fund-raising for the Global South has supplemented school programs in the area of civics education. The central focus of this study is how civics education constructs social action for students in a new participatory culture. Bourdieu’s conceptual tools of “field” and “doxa” are used to question how different players in civics education structure student participation. Findings from the document analysis reveal that civics curriculum and NGO documents use the themes of citizenship and education for participation to restructure the field of civic education. The contribution of this study accentuates how the unique positioning of NGOs in schools has narrowed the understanding of social actions.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

As this research exploration began, I was first intrigued by the idea of fundraising in schools. This notion of raising money for causes that were outside of the school and its immediate community baffled me and questioned the very notion of charity starts at home. I was confronted with many philosophical dilemmas that brought issues of discomfort and uneasiness of how asking for money in schools was negotiated. I was originally unaware of the complex power structures that surrounded donations and collection of money on school grounds. Another layer of complication that amplified this social issue of fundraising in schools, was that digital technology allowed alternative avenues for student participation outside of school sanctioned opportunities.

As the research questions were beginning to be formulated, my original intention was to conduct field research and ask students about their motivations and experiences when participating in fundraising clubs. However, after careful consideration, it was decided that theoretical and foundational research had to be done to really understand how student participation was understood in the literature before fieldwork could be conducted. This study looks at how the official documents discuss how civics education is constructed for students and how such social actions as raising awareness and fundraising in schools have become the main understanding of civic duty for students.

It is evident that a changing participatory culture has forced a re-examination of civics education and that what goes without saying in the context of civics education is that schools are understood as the default educators for teaching students to participate. The importance of this research project is that careful consideration is put forth when considering all the possible influences that engage student social action participation.
I hope to accomplish a strong background for what is considered social action and to better understand how teaching social action participation currently includes asking students to fundraise on behalf of any social issue or social cause. Considering how exactly fundraising fits into this notion of civic participation within a very dynamic participatory culture, will hopefully contribute some dialogue around how different players in the field of civics education contribute to different understandings of citizenship to formulate the ideas of civic responsibility. The expectation is that this study will help to enlighten how students are taught to participate in eliminating social injustices.

The Context of the Study

Agency and participation in social issues are prevalent among youths (Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Robison, & Weigel, 2013; Kahne, 2014). This contradicts previous studies that indicated that youths disengaged from political and civic issues (Putnam, 2000). One explanation for this phenomenon is the new understanding of youth participation and new notion of politics that have been made possible by the digital world and have provided enhanced methods of participation (Kahne, 2014). The digital world has created a landscape for a new participatory culture that encourages global connectivity, spaces for content production and content distribution, and the opportunity for counter narratives to be heard and recirculated. Given this new participatory culture, the way in which students are learning and participating in social and global issues in schools is constantly in flux. This raises the question, how is student participation to be understood in this new participatory context?
The contextual background for this study uses the changing participatory landscape to highlight some of the avenues by which students are engaging with the digital world, in order to better understand what is transpiring in secondary schools in Ontario. The cultivation of skills required in the digital world (for example, filtering through information; forming opinions; and producing, circulating, and distributing narratives) has facilitated youth participation (Jenkins et al., 2013). Students are able to use digital technology to connect with other students, engage in issues of social justice, and inspire and motivate others to get involved—primarily via methods that promote global connectivity through personalized approaches.

In an era when digital technology has facilitated youth participation, educational institutions are left in a precarious position with respect to understanding what is happening in schools when it comes to youth participation in issues of social justice. Secondary schools provide opportunities for students to engage in social justice issues through a formal civics curriculum, mandatory community service hours, and non-governmental organization (NGO) supported extracurricular activities. Currently, there is a strong presence of NGOs in schools\(^1\) that offer social action participation in the form of raising awareness and fund-raising for a global cause.\(^2\) Issues such as poverty, disease, and warfare have often been sensationalized on a global scale to procure interest from the Global North; these issues often seem impossible to address and are easy to disengage

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\(^1\)I researched many secondary schools in Ontario that offer students the option to become involved in and volunteer on behalf of NGOs, which count as service learning hours. My findings revealed that many schools have policies and procedures in place to ensure the protection and safety of the students and communities involved in fundraising. Additionally, many have policies dictating the terms of a partnership between schools and NGOs.

\(^2\)I reviewed many Ontario-based school boards to determine the prevalence of fundraising in secondary schools. The presence of fundraising policy and procedure documents indicated consistency on the issue of fundraising across Ontario. The only difference among the school boards was who was responsible for approving the organization partnerships (e.g., principal, superintendent, etc.).
from because presented images of the Global South are so far from students’ day to day realities. However, with NGO partnerships in schools, the connection between local realities and global awareness serves as a new approach to civics education via the concepts of raising awareness and fund-raising. Given that students’ exposure to civics education becomes multifaceted through a varied civics curriculum and extracurricular activities, this study focuses on how social action participation has changed for students. This raises the question, how are the civics curriculum and NGO-provided resources to student clubs structuring participation for students in the context of a changing participatory landscape in schools? A changing participatory landscape implies a shift in the way students participate in social action. If youths are participating outside of civics education in schools, then the relationship between raising awareness and fund-raising is influenced by factors in addition to NGO-mandated agendas. The relationship between raising awareness and fund-raising may not be as explicit in the formal civics curriculum as it is in NGO-produced resources but both concepts offer a familiar avenue for students to connect to global social justice issues. The civics curriculum and the NGO presence in schools help define how youth participation in social justice is understood. This study investigates how social action participation is envisioned in the curriculum and NGO produced documents. More specifically, this study explores to what extent the civics curriculum and the presence of NGOs in schools with specific fund-raising mandates influence the conceptualization of social action participation for students.

The literature review addresses the current body of knowledge on participatory culture and explains how the changing participatory culture is the contextual landscape

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3Extracurricular activities such as student-run clubs supported by NGOs, run as extra curricular activities that offer volunteer hours in exchange for their participation in the student club.
for this study. The patterns and conditions for how student participation is currently perceived supports the idea that youths are engaging in social issues but differently than before. Today, engagement is positioned in the “logics of connective action” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 739). Connective action allows individuals who are familiar with everyday practices of social networking to contribute to concerted action through more personalized paths (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 752).

The main idea of this study is that there are multiple entry points that students can identify with, thereby expanding the realm of how students relate to a framed social issue. This expanding realm of participation has given new meaning to the way youths view politics. With changing definitions of politics, digital technology has managed to facilitate a shift in youth participation, thus transforming educational spaces in a way that responds to altered conditions of youth participation. The literature has stated that to maximize the efficacy of the digital world, schools must be included and must respond to the changing participatory culture (Jenkins et al., 2013; Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013). Understanding how students participate and the context in which they participate can help this study create a more contemporary understanding of youth participation in transformed educational spaces.

Within schools, civics education has evolved in terms of what the civics curriculum should include. Given the philosophical shifts that have occurred within the civics curriculum, the shift between democratic education to character education focused curriculum has dictated the purpose of modern-day schooling and has lead to heated debate. Educational spaces have been the primary sites for fostering good citizenship. Moreover, education has been a crucial site for teaching citizen participation. Reassessing
and transforming civics education by changing the curriculum has led new players in the field. NGO-school partnerships have existed since schools began to recognize the resources that NGOs could offer were not very accessible to civics educators (Draxler, 2008; Mejias, 2010). The relationship between NGOs and schools benefits both parties because NGOs get exposure to future donors and schools receive access to resources on global social issues. However, the relationship between schools and NGOs has also given rise to a troubling trend of students’ unquestioned notions of raising awareness and fund-raising as the primary forms of social action. A relationship seems to have formed between raising awareness and fund-raising, but the intricacies of the relationship have not been thoroughly considered within the field of civic education in secondary schools.

In the context of NGOs, raising awareness and fund-raising have been posited as two necessary social actions in order to support global social issues. Raising awareness requires various communication mediums to share, distribute, and circulate produced content for the purposes of engaging others in the effort to provide education on the targeted issue. The ultimate goal is to mobilize others to do the same. Raising awareness is a byproduct of fund-raising, meaning that educating others about a global issue justifies asking for money to help support a global cause. This association between raising awareness and fund-raising creates a certain perception of what donating money means with respect to helping the less fortunate and can contribute to confusing notions of what social action means. Understanding how the new participatory culture—perhaps unintentionally—has changed the way students learn and participate in social action can help clarify how to approach the official civics education discourse.
In summary, the literature review explores the idea of a changing participatory landscape to understand how students engage in social action participation. There is a strong consensus that students are engaging in social issues but in distinctive and nontraditional ways (Jenkins et al, 2013; Kahne, 2014). By explaining how students become active and mobilized and then by exploring the players that foster such participation, this study can use the concept of participatory culture to fully understand how official discourses of civics education in schools conceptualize social action.

This study investigates how official civics education documents shape the vision of the world for students when considering how the civics curriculum and NGOs influence and structure social action for students. Bourdieu’s (1977) thinking tools of “field” and “doxa” can assist with the understanding of the conceptualization of the terms raising awareness and fund-raising. The concept of field describes a structured social space with its own rules, schemes of domination, and legitimate opinions that remain independent from wider social structures where there are more complex social relationships (Grenfell, 2008, p. 222). The concept of doxa refers to learned, fundamental, unconscious beliefs and values taken as self-evident universal truths that inform individuals’ actions and thoughts within a particular field (Grenfell, 2008). Doxa tends to favor the particular social arrangement of a field, thus privileging the dominant individuals and portraying their position of dominance as self-evident and universally favorable (Grenfell, 2008, p. 223).

The concepts of field and doxa allow for understanding how the Global South has become a natural area for students to raise awareness and fundraise within a larger field of civic education. However, these unquestioned, naturalized sets of rules in the field of
civics education require exploration. The changing participatory trend in education requires questioning how the field of education operates and what the underlying logic is regarding to how the players involved in shaping civics education define the rules of this field. Questioning unspoken beliefs when considering the association between raising awareness and fund-raising and what this association means can reveal the implicit values that otherwise are unseen and are continually and automatically reinforced when students continue to fundraise.

This thesis is composed of six chapters that present the literature review, the conceptual framework, the methodology, and the analytical framework. The second chapter, the literature review, explores the contextual background of the thesis. It begins by providing an in-depth description of a changing participatory culture, highlighting an entirely new kind of culture emerging from the use of participatory media, where participants believe their contributions matter, where they feel a sense of social connection, and where they define politics using new associations (Jenkins et al., 2013). The use of digital technology has facilitated a new culture of participation and has informed an understanding of how youths are mobilized within this new landscape. After the key changes that have occurred in the civics curriculum in Ontario are explored, the intricacies of the key players in the field of civics education are presented. This offers an understanding of how NGO-school partnerships are formulated in civics education and provides the groundwork for understanding the history and challenges of fund-raising in school systems. Finally, a series of questions is offered to guide the conceptual framework for how fund-raising is conceptualized for students through different avenues of civics education.
The third chapter, the conceptual framework, presents a discussion of how the concepts of field and doxa will be used to show how key players in civics education in schools structure the space within the field of civics education. These relational thinking tools are used to understand the “conductorless” orchestration of education and the assumptions behind asking students to contribute to the common good within a pre-constructed vision of the Global South. The intention is to illustrate how official discourses are used to present a specific vision of the world to students as constructed by key players within the field of civic education. Thus, this study is aimed at questioning assumed rules in the field of civic education and how civic duty for students has become naturalized.

In the fourth chapter, the methodological approach to this thesis is described. The use of descriptive codes generated from the literature review assisted in deriving the central themes used in the analysis of educational institutional documents and NGO-produced resource documents. A thorough description of all the documents selected for this study is provided.

The fifth chapter is the presentation and analysis of educational institutional documents including the civics curriculum, Ministry of Education and school board policies on fund-raising in schools, and NGO-produced resources provided to student-run clubs. The analysis will demonstrate how different key players in civics education construct different notions for envisioning a world filled with social injustice, in which the expectations are placed on students to fulfill their civic duty.
Chapter six contains implications and recommendations for questioning the presence of NGOs in schools and offers an explanation as to why the NGOs have influenced a new brand of civic participation in schools.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review sets the context for how youth are participating in social action through the opportunities afforded by educational and digital spaces. A new participatory culture has emerged out of the growing possibilities that digital technology offers, including opportunities to develop skills, network, and communicate; access to a vast array of information on local and global issues; and the ability to produce, circulate, and redistribute personal narratives (Jenkins et al., 2013). The digital world provides a contextual landscape for a new participatory culture and has facilitated a shift in the way youths are participating in social issues. An explanation of the role of digital technology demonstrates the context of some of the conditions of the changing participatory landscape and how youth are engaged and active in social justice issues both outside and within school.

Because secondary schools have relative autonomy with respect to education, the implications supporting a new youth participatory culture must be examined to assess the learning opportunities available to students and how these are perceived in the literature.
Within educational spaces, youths are participating in social action through the opportunities provided by curriculum and extra curricular activities. Opportunities include those provided by the formal civics education curriculum and those achieved through compulsory service learning hours, which can be offered by NGO-supported student clubs.

First, this chapter explores how a new participatory cultural landscape has changed the way the student civic and political participation is considered. Then, the chapter explores studies of the civics curriculum and citizenship as presented in secondary schools. Next, there is a discussion of how secondary schools’ responsibilities and roles with respect to citizenship education are presented within the literature. The chapter articulates how civics education has evolved and the emerging conflict between teaching character education and teaching for a democratic society. The literature addresses youth engagement through digital technology and explores how such opportunities for student engagement flourish in secondary schools.

In addition, this chapter explores also how civics education has evolved in light of a new participatory culture, highlighting what these changes mean and how they affect the meaning of participation to students. NGOs’ presence in schools has allowed for the formation of a less normative definition of participation than those produced by the civics education curriculum. The result is a reduced understanding of social injustice and a formulation of an independent, instrumental definition of participation. This potentially produces conflicting representations such that NGOs represent helping the less fortunate in the form of raising awareness and fund-raising.
Exploring how curriculum and extracurricular activities depict raising awareness and fund-raising seems important to consider when grasping NGOs’ presence in schools. Further examination is needed to explore how the presence of NGOs in schools, specific fund-raising mandates, and exposure to the civics curriculum influence the conceptualization of raising awareness of social injustice. More specifically, it is necessary to explore how fund-raising conceptualizes raising awareness for youths and has become the predominant understanding of agency.

**The Changing Participatory Landscape**

The literaturesuggests that student participation in social justice issues has changed the landscape of participation. Within the context of a participatory culture, the theory of the logics of connective action explains how students use digital technology to identify within a larger collective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 749). Digital technology has changed the way students are participating due in part to their separate construction of politics, which leads to unconventional participation in social issues. Therefore, it is not a question of whether youth are engaged but more a question of how they are engaging. Given the advances in digital technology, consideration of new collectivities exemplifies alternative methods to political and civic participation, formulating a new culture of understanding, mobilizing collective efforts to enact social change, and contributing to a potential formulation of how students envision agency.

How are youth participating in society? The notion of participatory culture will help us understand their participation. Youth have become social actors who are engaged and who contribute to shaping the current participatory landscape that function through a
different type of collective, creating opportunities for actions offered through digital technology (Kahne, Middaugh, & Allen, 2014). Student engagement in agency takes place within transformed educational spaces (through the evolvement of civics education), which is enacted through personal experiences, civics education curriculum, and NGO discourses, creating global consciousness.

Participatory culture is commonly understood as a type of participation that has relatively low barriers to civic engagement and has strong support for creating and sharing narratives and other creations within some type of informal membership (Jenkins et al., 2013). A participatory culture is also one in which members believe their contributions matter and feel some degree of social connection with one another (at least caring what other people think about what they have created). This offers an avenue to measure their experience in social action (Jenkins et al., 2013; Kahne, Lee, & Feezell, 2013; Kahne, Middaugh & Allen, 2014). Through this culture, youths maintain ownership over what they choose to contribute, and there is a sense of importance placed on their contributions, which can enact change.

These characteristics make it possible for many different young individuals with varying interests and circumstances to participate in society. Recent notions of youth participatory culture hold that students engage with varying levels of commitment to an issue through personalized avenues. Consequently, participatory culture involves reworking the rules by which school, cultural expression, civic life, and work operate (Jenkins et al., 2013).

Given the definition of participatory culture, the theory of the logics of connective action assists in providing the necessary context for how youths pursue collective action
in the new cultural landscape. Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl (2005) stated, “digital media and collective action has emphasized the point that formal organizations are no longer critical for accomplishing things collectively” (p. 366). This statement realizes a shift from collective to connective action, demonstrating independence and individual agency through the accessibility provided by digital technology. The way students use technology to pursue public goods involves a wide variety of organizational structures, both formal and informal. Bennett and Segerberg (2012) termed this shift in collectivity to the logics of connective action.

The methods by which individuals engage with a social issue have changed to include mass global networks and immediate connections to issues of public concern. Connective action networks are typically far more individualized and technologically organized sets of processes that result in action without the requirement of collective identity framing or the level of organizational resources required to respond effectively to opportunities (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 750). The changing landscape of the way students are engaging with social issues has contributed to the emergence of a new participatory culture in an era when civics education is required for high school graduation.

To delve deeper into the logics of connective action, the way in which students construct interests and meaning within a collectivity is pertinent to frame alignment. Frame alignment describes a process that aligns individuals’ frame to shared meanings that are congruent and complementary to personal interests, values, beliefs, goals, and ideology (Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden, & Benford, 1986). What this means is that students can find themselves relating to different social issues outside of the educational
spaces they inhabit based on how they make meaning of their personal experiences in the context of larger social issues.

The term “frame,” coined by Goffman (1974), refers to the schemata people use to organize, perceive, and make sense of their experience in the world (as cited in Snow et al., 1986). This explains how students may decide on what issues they relate to.

“Connective action allows individuals who are familiar with everyday practices of social networking to contribute to concerted action through more personalized paths” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 752). Students can identify with multiple entry points, thereby expanding the realm of how they relate to the framing and cultivation of social issues in many cultural communities around digital technology.

Digital technology has afforded opportunities to youths in capacities that have led to many youth-led civic actions. There are a number of international organizations and online communities that have been started and run by students who have found a reason to engage in civic action. These actions include making media, campaigning, and running a business. All are fostered outside of formal educational institutions on the students’ own time (Jenkins et al., 2013).

For example, Pakistani teen Malala Yousafzia fought for women’s education even after she was attacked in 2012 by the Taliban for campaigning for girls’ education (“Shot Pakistani Teen,” 2012). The attention and support her story received created a global campaign against social injustice in Pakistan. It also promoted a type of social action from youths outside of educational institutions, representing a “counterculture” alternative to the mainstream media (Rushkoff, 2003). Digital technology enables students to participate in social networks of loose collective identities that have a wide
reach across the global world. Students using social networking platforms to engage in social issues identify with a larger frame that engages a wider cross section of individuals in a global context, through multiple avenues, on their own time, and in their own way.

The notion of participation in the changing landscape is a vital entry point into the literature, where scholars focus on concepts of mobilization and collectivities. Digital technology has facilitated more entry points for engaging in social actions. This has contributed to new types of participation in political and civic activities and the emergence of a new participatory culture.

**New Age Politics**

Complementary definitions of participatory culture include participatory politics, which aligns with youth culture, building on what youths already do—interact and use social networks that are not guided by formal institutions (Kahne et al., 2014). This provides a platform for their voices to be heard. Both participatory culture and participatory politics describe the importance of ownership over youths’ ability to produce content and distribute that content creatively in a way that mobilizes others. This has redefined youth political participation.

Conceptions of both political and civic participation in youth populations have been harder to define given youths’ engagement in an expanded perception of politics. However, with the multiple avenues for participation, more recent research has looked at social networking sites for political participation, including how individuals are engaging in digital technology to raise awareness and mobilize others (Jenkins et al., 2013).

The word “politics” in the literature has been used to describe both civic and political participation. It involves a broad array of activities undertaken by individuals
and groups including electoral behaviors (such as voting), activism (protesting, boycotting, and petitioning), civic activities (charity and community service), and lifestyle politics (vegetarianism, raising awareness, and boycotting) (Kahne, Lee, & Feezell, 2013, p. 6). This highlights how students participate in more accessible and informal forms of engagement to resist domination, to express individualized ideas, and to shift public attention to new issues (Jenkins et al., 2013). This has changed perceptions of politics, expanding them to include all types of civic and political activities. The literature does not differentiate between civic and political participation (Ekman & Amna, 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). The current literature on youth participation maintains a political determinism, indicating that participation at any level leads to enacting social change (Bimber, Stohl, & Flanagin, 2009; Harris, 2008; Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009). There is interest among youths in politics and a belief in contributing to a better society (Sander & Putnam, 2010; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Conventionally, students are not defined by society as political subjects (Buckingham, 2002). Neither are they associated with the format of traditional politics. Kahne (2014) supported this claim by arguing youth have a narrow view of traditional politics, which differs from how adults define politics. Participatory culture offers a broader definition of politics that includes how youths engage in the opportunities afforded by digital technology. The fluent and regular transition between online and offline spaces when engaging in activities has also contributed to the way students view politics. As a result, there is no longer a direct relationship to the political system.

Although the current civics education curriculum represents a strong relationship between political and civic participation (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013), this new
participatory culture has managed to integrate civic and political participation quite differently. Within the participatory culture formulated in the literature review, youths relate to politics such that they are not directly related to the formal avenues of social change. Youths enact social change through personalized pathways, raising awareness and mobilizing efforts by using digital technology to produce their own narratives for what is important to their cultural context.

Thus far, the discussion on the changing participatory landscape has revealed that different ways of engaging are emphasized through the conception of the logics of connective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). There are increased opportunities and channels for participation in which youths are engaged. Students have become social actors in the sense that they have contributed to the shaping of the current participatory culture. This shaping has taken place through the logics of connective action in transformed educational spaces and through the possibilities for action offered through digital technology. The existing conversation in the literature addresses not whether youths are engaged but rather how they are engaging in political and civic activities (Kahne et al., 2014). Defining these activities can help to explain how the school system uses these concepts to teach civics.

Students, for the most part, enter secondary schools having already been exposed to participation. Through such exposure, they have already formed their own ideas of what citizenship participation means, extending their own definitions, appreciation of, and experiences with participation. An important feature of youth participation is the creative aspect of expression and the entry points to engagement that show that their actions seem to matter.
Schools have undergone their own changes to civics education in an attempt to create contemporary citizens, where the evolution of the curriculum has shifted from an era of nationalism and patriotism to notions of an empowered individual (Meyer, Bromley, & Ramirez, 2010). With the presence of NGOs in schools, youth participation in social justice has been shaped by fund-raising activities because of how global social injustices are positioned by the Global North about the Global South (de Oliveira Andreotti, 2012). Therefore, how schools navigate fund-raising through raising awareness requires consideration. Furthermore, school sensitivity toward adjusting to how youth are participating differently contributes to a better understanding of how youths connect their own understanding of politics to their social actions.

**Education and Citizenship**

This section illustrates how citizenship is to be understood in the context of the educational system. Given that there are different ways in which schools engage with the notion of citizenship (formal curriculum and service learning via extracurricular activities), civics education can be more accurately described as it pertains to the historical changes and debates raised in the literature. Exploring what is going on in schools through the mandatory civics curriculum and extracurricular activities (for example, NGO-supported student clubs) can help contextualize how youth political and civic participation in social justice is currently defined. This section uses studies that discuss the relationship between education and citizenship to explain key findings and debates found in the literature.

Scholars have theorized about the commitment of the educational system to developing students as future, participating citizens. Mass schooling throughout history is
designed to prepare young persons for an imagined and idealized future society (Meyer & Ramirez, 2000).

The essential task in our schools . . . is to aid youth to the fullest practicable understanding of our social order; to a meaningful realization of the ways in which the individual, both pupil and adult, may participate effectively in that order; and to motivate for effective participation. (New Approaches,[Editorial Notes], 1937, p. 645)

Many scholars have reiterated that the purpose of school in a democratic society is to prepare students for active, informed citizenship (Kraft, 1992; Nathan & Kielsmeir, 1995). The public school system plays an integral role in the development of democratic citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne 2004). The broad, far-reaching influence of schools plays a central role in encouraging and sustaining civic engagement (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Branson, 2001; Gordon, 2012; Putnam, 2000). By teaching students about issues and political systems, offering opportunities to practice engagement skills, and nurturing efficacy, teachers give students the tools to participate in the public sphere (Hart & Atkins & Hart, 2002; Putnam 2000; Westheimer & Kahne 2004). This can be articulated as the importance of the educational system to teach students to participate.

In addition to exploring the central role that schools play in fostering civic engagement, studies have also shown that the experiences that youths have in their primary and secondary schooling—including participation in organizations with strong civic practices—can have lasting effects on students’ civic identity (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). In summary, active citizenship is an important educational outcome in the curricula of citizenship education across societies (Chow, 2012). Therefore,
citizenship education is essential to teaching students how to successfully and democratically participate in social and political issues.

**Evolution of the Civics Curriculum**

There is a long history of civics education—mainly because of the importance of fostering active, informed citizens. A good indication of the changes that the civics curriculum has gone through is the textbooks used to teach the curriculum. Tooth (2008) examined civics and social science textbooks from 1911 to 2007, revealing three different eras with different civics themes: the assimilation era, the community life and service era, and the multiculturalism era. The period from 2007 to present curriculum maintains active civic participation goals with a global citizenship education framework (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013).

The history of civics education and the importance of its presence in secondary school curriculum demonstrate that the emergence of a democratic and socially just society is primarily based on character education (Christou, 2013). Character education was implemented to reflect and concentrate on the ways students acted and lived on a daily basis rather than the knowledge they retained (Christou, 2013). In the 1930s (specifically, 1937 and 1938) the programs of study for students were revised so that character education, social justice, and social reconstruction within a progressivist framework became the focus of Ontario’s curriculum (Christou, 2013). Social reconstruction was a concept used by Joesph McCulley (1937) to indicate the need for

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4 The assimilation era (1911–1920) had a colonial impact such that minorities and immigrants were instructed to assimilate in order to be good citizens. The community life and service era (1921–1960) emphasized the importance of community life and an understanding of how the political and democratic systems work. The multiculturalism era (1961–2007) was characterized by ethno-cultural diversity, belonging, human rights and equality for all, critical thinking, and active civic participation. Global education and sustainable development were identified as the most current themes (see Tooth, 2002).
revisions in the way students and individuals were taught to live with each other in a
democratic state. Some claimed that the revisions in the curriculum were intimately
linked to the notion of progressive education and character education (McCulley, 1937).\(^5\)

The intent of character education was to influence the way students lived with
others in a democratic state, stressing the importance of active citizenship. R. H.
Macklem (1942) believed that forming a reciprocal service between school and
community would promote community involvement related to activities that were social
(rather than personal or individual), which would effectively promote good will and
improve the social welfare of the communities in which they were situated in. Both
concepts of active citizenship and promoting good will contributed to a “socially just
society” (Macklem, 1942, p. 656).

The themes identified in the civics textbooks indicate a shift from older
conceptions of the rights of the citizen in the national state to transnational expansion and
standardization of citizenship rights by the mid-twentieth century (Boli-Bennett, 1976).
The notion of blind patriotism asks citizens to approach their love of their nation
unquestioningly, without criticizing the past, present, or future actions of their
government and nation (Marciano, 1997). This approach to teaching the political system
created an expectation of obedience and nationalism following the era of character
education and promotion of social reconstruction.

Moving forward from the era of promoting nationalism and patriotism, Meyer,
Bromley, and Ramirez (2010) conducted a textbook content analysis indicating that
textbooks after 1994 showed a notable increase in emphasis on human rights. In the

\(^5\) Progressive education is rooted in the works of John Lock and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, using the ideas of
John Dewey. Progressive education is education for social responsibility and democracy.
1970s and 1980s there was a social movement quality to the interpretations of how human rights movements were described in the textbooks. Within the texts, the focus was on active citizens being good citizens rather than on being protagonists of social movements (Meyer et al., 2010).

Meyer et al. (2010) confirmed Tooth’s (2008) findings through their analysis of the history of social science textbooks between 1970 and 2008. They confirmed the shift in focus from good citizenship to human rights and more recently the increased emphasis on legal matters related to human rights (p. 112). The human rights and global education movement emphasizes a global society where individuals from around the world stand within a larger community through an individual-centered pedagogy (Meyer et al., 2010, p. 112). With the shift to more empowered notions of the individual, the human rights movement shifted from a legal to a more substantial educational enterprise (Eide & Thee, 1983; Ramirez, Suarez, & Meyer, 2006; Tarrow, 1992; Torney-Purta, 1987). Where the prior focus of civic education was on upholding the legal rights and responsibilities of individuals as a primary civic duty, the shift included providing more civic learning opportunities for students to engage in.

Often, textbooks idealize a future with empowered persons with the widest range of rights and opportunities. Students are taught to act on this vision. Social studies textbooks generally make out societies to be good because all societies are characterized by a common humanity that frames and gives rise to the human rights of individuals (Meyer et al., 2010). The pursuit for social reform represents an effort to understand what governments and nations do and how such actions should be challenged. This type of cooperative citizenship entails far more than memorization of facts related to the
government, civics, or morality; it requires the habit of living democratically (Christou, 2013). According to progressivists, active citizenship requires living cooperatively, with joint responsibility, which depends on individual effort, sociability, and dependability (McDonald, 1934). Themes of progressive schooling have persisted, primarily through an emphasis on active learning opportunities and a focus on individual responsibility to the larger global world.

Service learning has provided an avenue for active civic learning opportunities. Service learning primarily serves as a method to develop empathetic understandings and a working, rather than conceptual, knowledge of the common good developed through practice in citizenship activities (Barber, 2003; Battistoni, 2000; Berman, 2004; Doyle & Shenkman, 2006; Hepburn, 2000; Masyada, 2013; Parker, 2001). Service learning opportunities allow students to move beyond academic understandings and engage in practical action.

Smith and Graham (2014) studied a modified service learning curriculum based on their field research, which found service learning to be about learning outside of the classroom. Service learning programs go beyond helping charitable causes and focus more on learning skills that support democracy. Thus, it has become an important part of teaching contemporary citizenship.

Over time, civics education has shifted from an emphasis on assimilation to British norms to the importance of community and a democratic society through character education to the importance of human rights and active individual participation. This shift from era to era has changed the way citizenship has been taught. Textbooks have depicted how citizens are to act and have defined good citizens. When the
philosophical approach to the civics curriculum changes, so do the definitions of good citizenship and what society should look like. How the demands of individualism should be balanced with the expectations of the community also shifts (Masyada, 2013).

**Philosophical Shifts in Civics Education**

The confusion between civics and citizenship education has often relied on the concepts of nation building and politics. Without a clear definition of the purpose of such curriculum, it is difficult to build an accurate and consistent argument about what good citizenship is across the literature. Civics education in the context of the international educational curriculum seems to focus on national identity and establishing national boundaries for citizenship education where civic knowledge is usually focused around national civic processes with less emphasis on global structures (Kennedy, 2012). No matter whether civic and citizenship education is presented in a local or global context, the idea of fostering nationalism in a global world and building characters to contribute to the common good must occur in the framework of democracy.

**Democratic Citizenship**

The idea of teaching about democracy instead of teaching for democracy is often intertwined with ideas of citizenship education (Reynolds, 2012). Political and civic education is intensely monitored in Western democracies because education for democratic citizenship belongs to the basic preconditions of enhancing democracy (Stefancik, 2013). This implies that diverse societies with many diverse citizens can sometimes confuse what the nation state dictates as its identity with the responsibilities the nation-state institutionalizes for each individual leading to challenge traditional concepts of citizenship. Therefore, traditional citizenship no longer conforms to
contemporary citizenship in a digital world.

It has been argued that citizenship is a modern concept that has little meaning outside the context of the modern nation state despite the changing articulations of citizenship at the family, city, and global levels (Brodie, 2002). Citizenship education must continue to account for relationships between the individual and the nation-state, inasmuch as this connotes a sense of belonging and the interplay of citizenship rights and responsibilities (Harris, 2008). Public education is meant to foster the ideal of a harmonious, democratic, and morally sound nation-state where children learn to become the kind of citizens that embody the good, democratic ideal.

Civic education in Ontario in the 19th and 20th centuries was an integral tool in creating political loyalty and developing, managing and sustaining the types of myths and narratives that were crucial to national unification (Harris, 2008). Therefore, it is quite difficult to move away from the relationship between citizenship and the nation-state that is manifested through the notion of democracy education.

Character Education

Character education research is rooted in previous work that advances children’s citizenship within a framework of children’s rights (Howe & Covell, 2009; Stasiulis, 2002). This direction of research is grounded in the ideals of universal human rights and the assumption that children can—and should be allowed to—participate in decisions that affect their lives (Harris, 2008).

The resurgence of character education, fueled by the movement toward good citizenship, gained explicit interest in Western public education systems in both curricular and non-curricular educational programming (Harris, 2008). For example, in
Canada and the United States, in particular, citizenship education has undergone resurgence in the form of extracurricular programming focusing on character education (Damon, 2002; Lickona, 1993; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2008). Although there is no single method or justification for teaching character education, this form of educational programming tends to involve teaching sets of values framed as values for good citizenship (Mitchell, 2003).

In Ontario, character education was rolled out throughout the province in 2006. The Ministry of Education justified the programming as a form of education grounded in “treating students as citizens who can make a difference” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 4). Through character education, the ministry claimed it could “create a school environment where civic responsibility and academic achievement thrive” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 36). A balance must be struck between empowering students to be active citizens in their communities and using schools as an environment in which to achieve such aims. This type of active, rights-empowerment type of framework helps students grow into responsible citizens.

Many researchers have viewed the idea of good citizenship as growing out of character education. In many cases, quality citizenship education is seen as impossible without quality character education, particularly in a democracy (Masyada, 2013). Isin and Turner (2007) argued “citizenship in a globalized world remains important as an active domain of democracy and as the principal expression of being political as belonging” (p. 13). The above notes that good citizenship education is rooted in a solid foundation of character education within the context of a democratic framework.
The approach to civics education via character education centers on the importance of knowledge and the question of who is qualified to be a citizen. Less stress is placed on the community than on the expectations for the individual as a private citizen (Kerr, 2003). This shift exemplifies how character education has become the method for teaching students to take individual responsibility for their actions rather than to take collective responsibility as taught in the past.

**Global and Social Justice Education**

Although the world has become much more accessible and technologically advanced where notions of global citizenship are entertained, civics education still maintains a nation-state focus. Meyer et al. (2010) concluded that globalization has been responsible for some of the core shifts in social studies education curriculum. Education has been reconstructed toward a stronger focus on a global society and on natural reality (systemic structures of injustice). Social justice refers to providing a voice to those who traditionally have been silenced. Good citizens seek to ensure equity of opportunity and the protection of rights for those silenced within the broader community (Hinde, 2008).

Engagement with the wider citizenry and involvement with the needs of a democratic society necessitate that, good citizens be proponents of social justice. Parker (2001) emphasized understanding the role that good citizens play in the pursuit of the common good, arguing the need for students to practice democratic deliberation, critical thinking, cooperative problem solving, and active citizenship in the context of local, national, and global issues. This type of engagement is a necessary component of modern democratic civics education, reflecting a shift from teaching about citizenship in the
context of a nation-state toward global citizenship that reflects the demands of the 21st century.

Global education has been used as an umbrella term for educational approaches that advocate values connected to human rights and social justice that include a democratic or participatory component, implying global interdependence or a sense of global solidarity (Marshall, 2005). Ideas of citizenship education are changing in response to the increase in transnational practices around development, democracy, and education driven by globalization (Mejias, 2010, p. 4).

Because ideas of citizenship education have been transformed, civics educators must have an understanding of what social justice involves given that social justice is a controversial idea (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Gutmann, 1995; Heybach, 2009). The Florida Department of Education examined the state’s social studies curriculum and emphasized that teachers need to use these standards to teach students about global interactions, the role of international organizations in pursuing common goals, and the global consequences of environmental change as a result of human-environment interaction (Florida Department of Education, 2008). The shift in global education emphasizes the importance of connecting individuals as citizens to a larger global community. The global education curriculum has also afforded opportunities for NGOs to enter school systems and provide active learning experiences that help students engage with issues of social justice.

What is Good Citizenship?

The literature raises key debates about understanding what good citizenship is. First, the assumptions about citizenship impact the way citizenship is taught in the school
system and requires a working definition of what good citizenship looks like. Second, in the citizenship curriculum, the balance of democratic citizenship and character education is unclear. Challenges to citizenship education involve a clash between citizens as members of a nation-state and citizens as members of the world community (Masyada, 2013). Deciphering the best approach to teaching good citizenship involves uncovering how democratic education and character education influence one another in the civics curriculum.

Citizenship education is a necessary part of the school curriculum because of the assumption that citizenship is best learned through the school curriculum (Siguake, 2013). Teachers’ understanding of what constitutes active citizenship greatly influences how they educate for active citizenship (Cohen, 2013; Molina-Girón, 2013). For example, teachers who seek to create personally responsible citizens focus on character education and on the importance of honesty and obedience to the law (Masyada, 2013). Those seeking to create participatory citizens emphasize the importance of leadership within established institutions and addressing social and civic problems through those institutions (Masyada, 2013).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) suggested that teachers’ goals concerning the crafting of good citizens are derived from their assumptions about what a good citizen does. An additional consideration to teaching good citizenship is what it means for educators to teach social justice (Zollers, Albert, & Cochran-Smith, 2000). There is a need to celebrate civic duty orientation through teaching. This cultivates a belief that political participation is both rewarding and a responsibility while paying attention to the self-interest model of political behavior. These ideas ensure that students do not leave
class with a naïve idea of politics that sets them up for disillusionment later (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 1996). However, no matter whether educators are interested in creating a justice-orientated citizen, a personally responsible citizen, or a politically motivated citizen, a consistent pedagogical approach to teaching good citizenship is difficult to achieve.

Teaching civics education requires questioning both the methods of teaching and the content of civics education. The debate over what content should be taught when teaching good citizenship considers democratic education, with a focus on systemic faults, and character education, with a focus on individual responsibilities. Teaching politics has different objectives than teaching citizenship. Learning about politics implies an institutional structure that requires depth of knowledge to understand and navigate the power structures of policies that may be unjust or dated. For instance, justice-orientated citizens critically assess social, political, and economic structures and consider collective strategies that challenge injustice (Bigelow & Diamond, 1988; Isaac, 1992). Westheimer and Kahne (2002) stated that commitment to democracy is associated with liberal notions of freedom, is primarily about equality of opportunity, and carries an assumption that democracy is something everyone believes is desirable.

Alternatively, personally responsible citizens do his/her part by contributing or donating to an event and share the individualistic vision of good citizenship demonstrated in character education (Lickona, 1993; Wynne, 1986). Character education is based on the impression that it is the individuals’ responsibility to cultivate the necessary traits required for good citizenship. The onus on the individual to be a contributing member to the greater good reinforces the individual characteristics required to be a citizen.
(1995, 1998) made this connection between character education and citizenship in civics education by reinforcing the emphasis on individuals’ efforts to be honest and charitable (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002). Schudson (1998) described this conservative view as “colonial citizenship . . . built on social hierarchy and the traditions of public service, personal integrity, [and] charitable giving” (p. 294). This individualistic approach to good citizenship does not sufficiently support how social injustice can be contended with. Character education is not good enough if it is to include democratic citizenship because there are limitations to fostering personal traits and responsibilities (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002). Therefore, the observed shift in the educational field shows civics education incorporating knowledge of the democratic system of rights and responsibilities into character education within a global world.

**Educational Spaces**

The purpose of this section is to illustrate the opportunities for civic engagement that are afforded by educational spaces. Formal civics education curriculum and service learning are mandatory requirements for all secondary school students in Ontario. Additionally, NGOs are key players in schools through public-private partnerships, as they offer service learning opportunities to students via participation in NGO-supported clubs.

Since the inception of modern schooling, educational institutions have influenced the development of active citizens (Mann, 1855). Educational institutions have been a space for exposure to opportunities and an atmosphere for encountering positive and meaningful forms of engaging within citizenship frameworks (Youniss et al., 1997; Zaff, Moore, Papillo, & Williams, 2003). By offering students opportunities to experience
civic engagement, schools can help students discover their potential to be responsible, grasp the political process, and build a moral-ethical ideology (Gordon, 2012). Keeter, Zukin, Andolina and Jenkins (2002) suggested that young people do not just magically become engaged citizens; rather they must learn the skills and knowledge of public actors through practice (as cited in Gordon, 2012). Gordon (2012) claimed that if society is to hope to influence young people’s civic engagement, schools must be a powerful part of the equation.

Hashimoto (2007) used the term “education for social transformation” to illustrate the responsibility of educators to motivate, prepare, and support individuals in actively participating in the process of social transformation and to identify and alter oppressive relationships and practices that exist within the educational system. The expansive role of education is clearly “significant in motivating and supporting individuals to address global crises and transform society” (p. 19). These opportunities that are presented demonstrate the potential influence that carefully crafted education can achieve.

Educating students for participation has become a priority as demonstrated by Jenkins et al. (2013) that state student learning in the 21st century is primarily fostered through active engagement afforded by the current participatory cultural landscape. The goals set to get students to become fully responsible, ethical and creative participants in their participatory cultures requires teaching skills for students to reach their fullest participation level (Jenkins et al., 2013). Students being “apart of a participatory culture opens up new opportunities and changes participants’ expectations about how to approach a range of activities including creative work, learning and civic and political participation” (Kahne et al., 2014, p. 8). This type of culture trains students to learn from
opportunities that influence and participate in the creation of culture products that they had a hand in producing (Kahne et al., 2014).

Educating students to be full participants is a responsibility of the stakeholders that influence student learning (teachers, administrators, students, parents, and communities) (Jenkins et al., 2013). Jenkins et al. (2013) acknowledge that students acquire key skills and competencies on their own by interacting with popular culture but policy and pedagogical interventions are required to ensure that all students have access to the skills and experiences needed to become full participants. More specifically, full participation means students are able to articulate their understanding of how media shapes perceptions and have been socialized into the emerging ethical standards that shapes their practices as media makers and participants in online communities (Jenkins et al., 2013, p. 3). Nurturing these types of skills and cultural competencies requires the systematic approach from the educational system because civic learning opportunities include a collection of diverse approaches with differing outcomes (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013). Freire (2000) cautioned against the implications of formal institutions taking on the role of educating for participation. Educational institutions are subject to criticism because of intrinsic biases that may exist in the production of ministry directives and curriculum; therefore requiring consistent reevaluation of pedagogical practices is suggested.

Traditionally, civic education has been addressed in social studies classes (Gordon, 2012; Grant & Vansledright, 1996; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007; Kira, 1997). Initiatives such as mandatory service learning hours and student-run clubs in the form of extracurricular activities support such research. Research on service learning
programs shows positive effects on youths’ concern for social issues, respect for
diversity, concern for others’ welfare, and commitment to service (Billig, Root, & Jesse,
2005). Other examples are illustrated through school-wide policy reform and governance
models surrounding school problems, proving that students, when given the opportunity,
do get involved in political activities such as policy-making implementation and review
processes (Brasof, 2014). Therefore, the opportunities provided by schools for students to
care for active involvement prove to be effective in teaching citizenship, either through learning
about the political process or alternative opportunities offered through extracurricular
activities.

Whether students learn about democracy and the opportunity to participate freely
in the governing process or experience active engagement in volunteer work, ultimately
political actors ensure that government policies and practices are effective and reflect
is pertinent for schools to teach students how to think about politics and engage
politically within the school structure and curriculum.

While there are concerted and effective efforts to get students to pay attention and
talk about the political world around them, there is less institutional effort aimed
at getting young people actively involved in politics. (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina,
Jenkins, & Carpini, 2006, p. 153)

Gordon (2012) found that most political work and learning about how to make
systemic change occur outside of school hours, disputing the very nature of NGOs
presence in schools. Although the civics curriculum has a political focus, this does not
necessarily mean that political participation is provided for and taught. Therefore, critical
thought and problem solving within a political framework ultimately enact the social change proposed by social justice-orientated activities.

School-NGO Partnership

How is the presence of NGOs understood within schools? The curriculum is by no means the only feasible form of citizenship education, as extracurricular activities have been primarily responsible for contemporary citizenship education (Harris, 2008). The presence of NGOs in schools offers a different approach to civics education. NGOs that have specifically partnered with educational institutions are called public-private partnerships (PPPs) in education (Robertson, Mundy, & Verger, 2012). In the late 1980s, the diverse range of PPPs caused a resurgence of research as they began to invoke new or additional roles for private actors in public spheres of action (Bexell & Morth, 2010; Bull & McNeill, 2007; Rosenau, 2000; Wettenhall, 2003). The rising influence of transnational corporations in the global political economy has increased pressure on international organizations to expand PPPs (Draxler, 2008).

The entry of NGOs into schools has made it quite difficult to discern between the public and private parts of the educational system. The public portion of the educational system has a responsibility to contribute to the common good, whereas NGOs’ private interests have the potential to be integrated into public spaces (Robertson et al., 2012).

NGOs originally entered the educational system during the 1960s, when the education of the former colonial powers was considered important. Key African leaders argued that 10% of aid money should be spent on educating the first world public about the actual causes of poverty (Adamson, 2013). Later, NGOs were brought into schools by using experiential methods to teach service learning. This suggested that experiential
education is the catalyst needed to teach social change (Berv, 1998). The way in which NGOs enter the school system, partner with school boards, and initiate local programming exemplify how such partnerships are created and fostered and have become resident fixtures in schools.

Benefits of the PPPs include helping local communities in an effort to support the larger organizational agenda, offering experiential learning models in schools, making curricular connections to the civics curriculum, and reinforcing the need to make connections between the content and real-life situations. NGOs have become common fixtures of society, moving away from the supply side of delivering services toward the demand side, helping communities advocate for their needs (Clark, 1995). There are driving forces for schools to work with NGOs because established NGOs carry resources, often for free (Draxler, 2008) and connect school members to the community via their established networks.

Most significantly, NGOs are known for their contributions to development education through their educational resources and expertise on the issues for which they advocate. There is evidence that NGOs are contributing to the formal educational curriculum (Mejias, 2010). As issues regarding global development and human rights are often viewed as politically sensitive or contentious, NGOs have broached such topics in an effort to promote their own agendas. Consequently, NGOs frame learning about human rights in terms of contributions aligning with curriculum goals (Mejias, 2010). Such consideratios of NGO-invested agendas represent the conflict between private interests and public goods (Kamat, 2004; Levin, 2000).
When the context of globalization is considered, the debate between public and private roles in education becomes more complex because of the manufacturing of global knowledge. Therefore, the additional roles that the private sector takes on when entering the educational system generate concerns in these partnership arrangements regarding who wins and who loses and who has the power to decide (Robertson et al., 2000). Concerns regarding school-NGO partnerships consider who benefits from such services learning and school partnerships (Baillie Smith, Laurie, Hopkins, & Olsen, 2012; Edge, Frayman, & Lawrie, 2009) and how the power of the young person is elevated to that of a global savior via an ethnocentric approach that reduces the Other to passive gratitude (de Oliveira Andreotti, 2012). The way that students are positioned against the Other creates underlying assumptions, where students are presented this vision of the world that formulates a one-sided vision. This vision of global relationships has the potential to be perpetuated as a fortunate versus unfortunate narrative.

Research that cites the challenges and dangers of NGOs partnering with schools has explained that neoliberal school systems and more critical and progressive forms of education promoted by NGOs create confusion about human rights among school community members (Mejias & Starkey, 2012). Such confusion can affect the way civics education is delivered. de Oliveira Andreotti (2012) analyzed the key concerns with the NGO sector entering the classroom. One of de Oliveira Andreotti’s findings illustrates the representation of the developing world in both the curriculum and in NGO material (Myers, 2006; Phillips, 2001; Robinson, 1987). Often, the images of the Other were designed to satisfy the viewer. Essentially, social activism in the classroom has been reduced to a salvation rhetoric about solving the Other’s problems and changing the
world via individuals’ good, instead of assessing what structures keep these global inequalities in place (de Oliveira Andreotti, 2012; Freeman, 2008). Therefore, some of the challenges and dangers of NGO-school partnerships involve unsettling the representations of the unfortunate, generating the notion of individual benevolence when helping the unfortunate, and using emotion manipulation to consolidate learning.

Unsettling the representations of the unfortunate is essential to challenging the social structures that create such inequalities. Tallon (2012) argued that within global education “the radical and disruptive voice of the Other, their thoughts, opinions, anger or accusations is silent, unless mediated through the NGO” (p. 10). Even positive images carry limitations because they maintain “subtle evidence of the sufferer’s gratitude” and provide the promise of transformation outside of any understanding of the complexity of global divisions (Chouliaraki, 2011, pp. 112–113). Therefore, representations presented to students in NGO-sponsored student clubs must be dissected. As long as solidarity with those who are suffering is connected to assistance and aid, then the inequality of the West’s social position will never be dissected (Jefferess, 2008). NGO material can send messages about global relationships that support or challenge the prevailing narrative (e.g., whether the West/Global North is equal or superior to the rest of the world) and thereby can create confusion (Tallon, 2013). The citizenship education framework must work to appease these two conflicting views. Otherwise the dominant imagery of the fortunate and unfortunate will be perpetuated.

Another pitfall of school-NGO partnerships is the use of NGO marketing and practices in North America to generate notions of being good and self-fulfillment through

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6 See de Oliveira Andreotti’s (2012) work on his critical literacy tool for examining global education initiatives, called HEADS UP.
the individualization of benevolence, often using consumer-orientated tactics (Jefferess, 2012). Also, the problem with development marketing is the way meaning from the image is extracted and the way development discourse shapes the meaning of that image for the Western-situated viewer (Jefferess, 2013). A moral obligation is created for the fortunate to aid the unfortunate, reinforcing a tainted relationship between the two. The framework that is created between the Global South and the Global North is that the poor need help. This produces a hierarchy of superiority/inferiority embedded with oppression, reinforcing the images of normality and good intentions (Tallon, 2013).

Lastly, NGOs have used emotional manipulation and guilt to consolidate learning (Orgad & Vella, 2012; Todd, 2003). Researchers have thoroughly studied how NGOs rely on emotion-orientated appeals such as pity, guilt, and empathy when asking for support of their charity or organization (Chouliaraki, 2011; Dylan, 2009; Tallon, 2012; Tremonti, 2012). Jefferess (2013) reiterated the notion of how contemporary humanitarian marketing contains the troubling paradox of the need to help the Other because they are human beings and the degrading images and narratives used to represent the Other. These images reflect a static, fixed experience and are used repeatedly for generating donations (Jefferess, 2013, p. 74).

**Youth and Fund-raising**

There have been political divisions and tensions related to NGOs in formal educational settings, where campaigning and educational material have been paired with the constructed and maintained global divisions of the fortunate and unfortunate (Gyoh, 2008; Henderson & O’Neill, 2011; Smith, 2004). Mejias (2010) found that although the intent of the NGO-school partnership was to increase human rights education, the project
was part of a larger effort to meet the needs of consumers and overall school performance. A possible explanation for such NGO fund-raising directives may be related to the significant competition for government funding and private donations, which force NGOs to distinguish themselves in order to receive popular exposure—a key for successful fund-raising (Cottle & Nolan, 2007). Consequently, fostering a present and future donor population and adding a competitive feature to school fund-raising sends a very different message to students involved in such projects.

As early as 1977, Jorgen Lissner identified the inherent problems with NGO fund-raising and using specific educational activities to teach students about the Global South. By the late 1970s and 1980s, the term “development education” covered the work that NGOs and government agencies did to raise awareness among young people (Mannion, Biesta, Preistley, & Ross, 2011). Often, the presence of NGOs within the classroom of the developed world is contested and received differently depending on the reception of school leadership and alignment with the curriculum (Tallon, 2013). School leaders will often decide which charities to support. Usually, these charities are a mixture of local, regional, and international causes selling the commodity of poverty and injustice alleviation (Hutnky, 2004; Jefferess, 2002). Fund-raising has become an integral part of the NGO presence in schools since the 1980s, and fund-raising for locally oriented, small-scale overseas projects has made it much easier to raise awareness of these projects rather than of wider global structural inequities (Tallon, 2013). This introduces how the notions of raising awareness and fundraising have historically been related to one another.

Smith (2004) pointed to the concerns of UK teachers who were skeptical of
NGOs’ educative role in the classrooms. They pointed out that fund-raising continually entered the discussion of citizenship and social justice. Often, NGOs are faced with having to bench initiatives that challenge systemic structures that promote inequality in order to stick to the priority of bringing in money and adhering to more traditional ways of viewing the world (den Heyer, 2009; Jefferess, 2008; Tallon, 2013). Beattie (2001) conducted field research, interviewing educators and students and conducting a content analysis of textbooks and NGO-supplied resources. Beattie (2001) found that student conceptions of Eurocentric concepts of development and civilization were embedded in their minds and that development education did nothing to challenge the discourse of development. Therefore, NGO-supported activities in schools that offer participation through notions of fund-raising and raising awareness complicate the real issues of inequity when such discussions occur in schools according to the framework provided by NGOs.

Me to We is an organization that involves students outside of schools in fund-raising and exemplifies how NGOs brand themselves to student consumers by amassing “symbolic capital” (Bourdieu, 1977). Those who participate in Me to We achieve social distinction by being good citizens (Jefferess, 2012). Craig and Marc Kielburger characterized their foundation as an international movement that empowers young people to make a difference and that frees young people around the world from the idea that they are too young to bring about positive change (Free The Children, n.d.). The Kielburgers stated that their organization was about spreading positive messages, letting voices be heard, stirring souls from complacency, embracing shared humanity, and thinking globally (Free the Children, n.d.).
When the Kielburgers speak of giving money, they package fund-raising into the philosophy of consumers having the potential to be powerful citizens by choosing how they spend their money. Their aim is to transform consumers into socially conscious world changers by blending the best of business and charitable practices (Me to We, n.d.). Social networks outside of schools also have the ability to offer opportunities for participation in fund-raising and raising awareness. However, the same challenges are met when there is no mediator for disrupting the images and narratives created on behalf of the Other.

Both educational and non-educational spaces have formulated this relationship between helping the Other by generating donations through raising awareness about the Other. The literature has established that regardless of where such salvation rhetoric or representation of the Global South is presented, student construction of the relationship between raising awareness and fund-raising is still misunderstood. The accepted truths about school-NGO partnerships are that there is tension between education and charity work. NGOs have considerable power in representing the South, but what remains unknown is how this affects young people in the North who are the key audience for NGO marketing (Tallon, 2013).

The school-NGO relationship maintains the understanding that NGOs are responsible for aiding the less fortunate by raising awareness. Therefore, donations are used to form a connection between the Global North and the Global South, reinforcing the salvation rhetoric and avoiding the need to unsettle such representations and associations. The following section explores how current information about NGO positioning in schools contributes to the construction of the relationship between raising
awareness and fund-raising in schools.

**Participatory Culture in Educational Spaces**

The literature has illustrated that the main sources of civics education in schools are formal civics curriculum, service learning and NGO-supported extracurricular activities. It is unknown how these opportunities for participation interact with each other given this new form of participatory culture. Given the all-encompassing definition of political and civic participation in the context of participatory culture, it is important to understand what student participation in social justice looks like in schools. Further, what is the current participatory culture of the students? And to what extent does the presence of NGOs in schools with specific mandates in fund-raising and exposure to the civics curriculum influence the conceptualization of raising awareness of social injustice? More specifically, how does fund-raising conceptualize raising awareness? By analyzing the participatory landscape of high school students from the perspective of the school environment, mandatory and voluntary opportunities in civics education can help illustrate the conditions leading to a changing landscape and contributing to a changing culture of youth participation.

Schools have traditionally been the primary place for cultivating informed, contributing, employable citizens in society (Battistoni, 2000; Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005; Branson, 2001; Gordon, 2012; Levin, 2000; Macklem, 1942; Mann, 1885). The educational system has the means to create a vision that social change is possible. Educational institutions are not the only sites that offer counter narratives to the assumed norm of social issues. Digital technology also has facilitated access to such narratives. This condition of participatory culture allows students to engage in social justice issues.
Participatory culture involves engaging youths as social actors. The current participatory culture functions through the “logics of connective actions,” taking place within a transformed educational space, enacted through experiences, curriculum, and NGO discourses. The meaning of such changes in youth participatory culture and how these changes affect the meanings students attribute to participation contributes to the predominant understanding of what agency means.

There is a gap in the research related to how raising awareness and fund-raising are constructed in schools given the new landscape of participation. There is an assumed association between fund-raising and raising awareness, but given the circumstances that these assumptions form, this relationship is highly complex. NGOs both contribute to a definition of participation that is less normative (at least potentially) and at the same time reduce actions on social injustice to an instrumental definition. Such conflicting representations have potential implications for how raising awareness and fund-raising relate to one another in schools and become predominant in students’ understanding of their agency.

When thinking about participatory culture in terms of this study, how the changing landscape has changed the way students participate in social issues and what knowledge is constructed for them needs to be explored. The context of this exploration is that there are two key players in civic education where both players offer different spaces for student social action participation to occur. The way students choose to engage is quite dependent on the avenue that lends itself to the participatory culture, thereby creating the context in which to approach the document analysis with.
CHAPTER 3
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The purpose of the literature review was to emphasize how the new youth culture of participation has penetrated the school system. Participatory culture provides a context for appreciating the dynamics of youth engagement in social issues. The digital world presents a way for students to learn about and participate in global issues. However, the new context of youth participation raises questions about schools’ sensitivity to changes in youth participation. The literature review explored perceptions in the research about how civics education has evolved in high schools and the learning opportunities that new players in the field of education have made available to students. Changes in civics education and the conditions of youth participation have created a troubling phenomenon related to how civics education and NGOs in schools formulate the participation of
students in social action. The conceptual framework used in this study incorporates Bourdieu’s notions of field and doxa to investigate assumptions inherent in official civics education and NGO documents, as well as how institutions structure the field of civics education to shape students’ vision of the world, given assumed notions of social action participation.

**Thinking Tools**

Bourdieu used the concepts of field and doxa to relationally define each other in the context of power relations and competing agents. Bourdieu’s concepts assisted this study in showing how the presence of NGOs in schools has challenged the current understanding of the field of civics education. By using Bourdieu’s notion of field to explore the changing trends in civics education through different players, this analysis sought to unveil how key players in civics education influence and shape the rules for how students envision the world. By probing the rules within the field that shape how students perceive “helping,” this study examined the underlying logic of the field of civics education.

The context of civic duty has become normalized for students. The actions of civic duty are produced and reproduced by key players in the field, embedded in the expectations inherent in civics education. Bourdieu’s notion of doxa assisted in questioning the naturalized state of which students raise awareness and fund-raise on behalf of NGOs for the Global South. Thus, Bourdieu’s thinking tools can help in examining how key players compete for positioning within one field and how this positioning challenges and changes existing unquestioned rules of the civics education field.
Field

In Bourdieu’s relational sociology, the notion of field is not understood as a fixed or external reality. Rather, the idea of a field is conceived as a structured space of positions connected by capital7 with autonomous spheres at play (Wacquant, 1998). As such, the space may be competitive or conflicting (Wacquant, 1998). Forces or rules within the field impose specific determinations upon all those who enter it. Each field has its own rules, regularities, and forms of authority (Wacquant, 1998). Bourdieu (1985) used the term “force field” to describe “the fluidity of spaces with boundaries that exist that are clear and unclear” (as cited in Hodkinson, Biesta, & James, 2008, p. 10). This particularly applies to the field of civics education, where relatively clear boundaries in the delivery of civics curriculum transitions with factors instituted by NGOs that have less clear boundaries.

Each field of interaction has its own system of practice that is commonly understood. This system maintains a balance and understanding of how key players define civic participation and how they are defining what is at stake within one field. How does civics education work within a transformed participatory culture and what effect does the interaction of key players have on formulating civics education?

A field carries characteristics that define the configuration of the positions of the agents in that field (e.g., individuals, groups of actors, and institutions) struggling to maximize their position (Maton, 2005). A battlefield serves as a metaphor for how

7 Bourdieu defined capital as the system of dispositions people acquire depending on the successive positions they occupy in society (as cited in Wacquant, 1998). Capital comes in three principal species: economic (material and financial assets), cultural (scarce symbolic goods, skills, and titles), social capital (resources accrued by virtue of membership in a group), and symbolic capital (which designates the effects of any form of capital when people do not perceive their inherited capital as such—for example, how lofty moral qualities are attributed to members of the upper class when they donate money to charities (Wacquant, 1998).
conflict may arise between key players because within one field, each player maintains different positions. These positions are dictated by the values that each player holds and thereby control the field and define the rules within the field.

The question of autonomy is central to understanding the structuring principles of the field of civics education. The field of civics education does not have full autonomy because of the influence of NGOs and the way students interact in the new culture of civic participation. Even though each field as a whole is relatively autonomous from the fields of economic and political power that dominate society, each exhibits features that are homologous to the wider social structure and has its own specific structure and logic (Maton, 2005). Therefore, consideration of a field’s autonomy refers to the influential presence of NGOs in civics education and the impact of the new digital participatory culture on student participation. The new rules and regulations that have come from key players in the field of civics education must be studied to fully understand how their interaction has penetrated participation within the school culture.

Bourdieu’s notion of field considers how key players in the field of civics education dictate and shape the field by structuring their particular space within the field through their actions. Questioning the implied rules that keep the field balanced and considering the positions that each player holds illustrate how the autonomy that the field of civics education once had, has shifted. The presence of NGOs in schools and their influence in shaping the rules of civics education has shown that schools do not have full autonomy over civics education. Additionally, the way students participate has swayed the balance of the force field, narrowing the field of education in such a way that it is heavily influenced by NGOs.
Doxa

Doxa as a thinking tool asks, “what are the implicit values and social order in a field (Bourdieu, 1997)?” Bourdieu used the term “doxa” to describe the beliefs of an individual as “a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization [with which] the natural and social world appears as self evident” (as cited in Throop & Murphy, 2002, p. 188). In other words, doxa is the process by which socially and culturally constituted ways of perceiving, evaluating, and behaving become accepted as unquestioned, self-evident, or taken for granted (i.e., “natural”; Throop & Murphy, 2002, p. 189). The traditional and nontraditional norms and beliefs of doxa are unstated, taken-for-granted assumptions that are considered common sense (Bourdieu, 1984). The phrase “it goes without saying” encapsulates doxa, as it explains the unquestioned, shared beliefs within a field. These automatic assumptions are never disturbed because people accept them to be true without challenging them (Bourdieu, 1977).

When thinking about student participation within the field of civics education, there are normalized conceptions formulated within the field that shape the vision of the world for students (Bourdieu, 1977). Civics education players who are influential in shaping the field of civics education use their actions to structure the field. As such, raising awareness and fund-raising have become predominant social actions utilized by NGOs. Doxa allows for understanding how rules in the field are formulated and where the rules exercise limiting influence on the potential courses of action of agents in the field. Furthermore, doxa as a thinking tool can explain the underlying logic of the
documents used in this study to demonstrate how the field of civics education has undergone restructuring by key civics education players.

**Underlying Characteristics in the Field of Civics Education**

This study uses the concepts of field and doxa to show how key players in civics education in schools structure the space of the field. Within the field of civics education, the assumptions contained in documents produced by key players articulate the underlying logic of the field and structure it such that the assumed knowledge that shapes the vision for a better world also implicates students’ assumed knowledge about what it means to be responsible for helping to create a better world. Theories of subjective experience assist in understanding how youths formulate assumed constructions. Questioning the assumed rules in civics education ultimately leads to a better understanding of how a particular way of envisioning civic duty has become naturalized for students so that civic behaviors are also reduced to naturalized actions.

Like the educational system, which has a social responsibility to educate students, social structures shape students’ perceptions of the importance of responsible citizenship and the possibility for social change. Depending on whether the knowledge that informs students’ vision of a better world is presented as their civic duty, their feeling of responsibility for being involved may be inherently carried or may be engrained in the produced and reproduced narratives formulated through civics education and other influential players in civics education. This subjective experience is based on individuals’ interaction with their lived reality and construction of meaningful interactions (Wacquant, 1998). These interactions are most often formulated unconsciously (Grenfell, 2008). Internal structures (e.g. influences from family, community, and personal
experience) sway and shape the way in which social structures impact preconceived internal structures of individuals, affecting daily participation.

For the purposes of this study, the underlying logic of the ministry-designed curriculum and NGO-produced resources will illustrate how discourses influence perceptions of civic participation and contributions to the global world. This study problematizes the inclusion of NGOs in civics education in schools. These NGOs position themselves within the single field of civics education as originally formulated by the civics curriculum to construct participation for students. Using the documents produced by each of the key players in civics education can help explain the rules in the field of civics education.

The concept of the “conductorless orchestration” of society explains how the assumed rules within the field of education manage to construct civics education for students in a specific and constrained way. The civics curriculum, mandatory service learning hours, and presence of NGO partnerships in schools all encourage student participation in the local and global world. The result is the construction of a global citizen who is responsible and who participates in the world. This construction shapes a vision of the world for students that is produced and reproduced every day to create a context of reality that becomes automatic and is buried beneath the way schools function. These reproductions of automatic understandings are complicated when fund-raising is introduced to students as a method for helping.

Although the civics curriculum holds certain assumptions that shape students’ vision of the world, NGOs also assist in shaping the rules within the field of civics education. The presence of NGOs in schools with specific fund-raising mandates
conceptualizes raising awareness of social injustice for students through unquestioned enduring assumptions about the Global South. Specifically, NGOs use raising awareness and fund-raising to formulate a specific vision of the world for students that focuses on individual agency.

The introduction of fund-raising on behalf of NGOs in schools has reformulated civic duty. Money is used to help those who are less fortunate under the assumption that money will help create a better world for the needy. NGOs have always incorporated money into the idea of helping others in need because money is the Global North’s currency. The reality is that money is necessary to accomplish initiatives. Therefore, it is not the collection of money but what giving money suggests to students when making sense of what their contribution means. When citizens donate, they feel that they are doing their part; giving money to a cause implies the unspoken assumption that donating is a way of contributing to and being responsible for a world that needs help. Therefore, students’ understandings of participation are subject to influence when institutions offer different avenues for constructing responsible citizens who raise awareness and funds.

The transforming participatory landscape has created a new understanding of student participation. Conditions of such participation can help to formulate how the association between raising awareness and fund-raising has become automatic and therefore remains unquestioned. The relational concepts of field and doxa assisted in determining what social values are carried within the field of civics education and how these values create assumptions about the inherited moral obligations to civically act. Field and doxa can also be used to consider how digital technology has transformed the
way students participate in social action, penetrating the school culture in new and ever-changing ways.

**Conclusion**

This study investigates how key players in the educational field influence how civics education shapes a particular vision of the world for students. Both the civics curriculum and NGOs contribute to the restructuring of the field of civics education and the challenging and redefinition of the rules of social action participation. Both players have carved a unique space within the larger field of civics education in order to manage how they position themselves to students.

Students who work with NGO-sponsored extracurricular activities carry assumptions about raising awareness and fund-raising. Although it is widely accepted that raising awareness and fund-raising are associated, it is unclear how this association is deconstructed for students within the larger field of civics education? Embedded in this association are values that are unseen; yet the association persists and is continually acted upon. Therefore, it seems that NGOs have managed to restructure the space of civics education, challenging the existing rules of civics education, and redefining the power they hold within the field.

Therefore, the selected official documents used in this study assisted in deciphering the knowledge that is constructed and how this knowledge informs what participation in social action means to the development of students’ vision of the world. The doxic assumptions that are constructed in official documents were investigated to determine how social injustices are framed and advertised and to scrutinize how the field of international aid is penetrating the field of educational institutions. Finally, the doxic
assumptions that accompany responsible citizenship shed light on the conditions that make this concept achievable in official documents.
CHAPTER 4
QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research methods were chosen for this study because of the nature of the research questions and conceptual framework. The field of qualitative research is defined by a series of tensions, contradictions, and hesitations between postmodernists, traditional positivists, postpositivists, and poststructuralists (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 15). Qualitative approaches to research deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive methods, always seeking better ways to make worlds of experience more understandable (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The social sciences have become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom, and community (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In the context of this study, it was appropriate to use qualitative research to explore the complex nature of student engagement in a new participatory cultural landscape.

Document analysis was the technique used for the study. The documents selected represented the two key players that currently occupy the field of civics education. A document analysis helped to demonstrate how each key player in civics education shapes student understanding of civic duty in a local and global world. Coding was used to organize the data in the selected documents (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). If the construction of knowledge in the educational and NGO-produced documents differed, then it became important to consider how this impacts student learning about social action participation and what predicaments propagate from such conflicting discourses. This could be accomplished by using Bourdieu’s thinking tools of field and doxa.

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8 Denzin and Lincoln (2011) defined positivists as those who contend that there is an external reality to be captured and studied, whereas postpositivists argue that reality can never be fully apprehended, only approximated. Poststructuralists and postmodernists have attempted to incorporate the missing subjective account by stating there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual.
Analysis

This study closely followed Strauss’s (1987) philosophy of coding, which begins with open coding using predetermined codes and then moved to a more refined process of using categories to generate broader conceptual frameworks (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 48). A list of predetermined codes from the literature review was used to conduct the first reading through the data. The predetermined codes used in this study were as follows: participatory culture, student participation in social action, politically informed/democratic education, civic participation, character education, and fund-raising for charity work. These six predetermined codes were used to complete the first level of coding. The first level of coding looked at how the pre-determined codes were distributed across the documents and described what was presented in the data. This first level of coding illustrated the data that corresponded to the pre-determined codes in the documents.

The second level of coding consisted of organizing the data into large segments to help visualize how each document presented its content (Coffey & Atkinson, 2009). Physically grouping all the data segments across the documents generated two broader themes or categories: citizenship and education for participation, which represented the second level of coding in my analysis. The themes of citizenship and education for participation stemmed from the outcome of discussions within the documents of how students’ vision of the world is shaped by key players in civics education.

In this study, the themes of citizenship and education for participation allowed for the reorganization of the codes that eventually led to a consolidated codes list. The sub-

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9 Qualitative researchers Matthew Miles and A. Michael Huberman explained the method of creating a “start list” (a code list assembled prior to reading the data) consisting of preselected or predetermined codes from the literature review in the form of key variables or concepts (as cited in Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).
codes of rights and responsibilities of citizens, sites for participation, and the purpose of individuals’ contributions as active citizens reinforced the notions of the larger category of citizenship. The sub-codes of institutional structures, politics, education, and the participatory landscape reinforced the category of education for participation. This condensed codes list solidified the themes (categories) and allowed for an analysis of what these themes meant to the context of this study to occur. This trimmed codes list had to embody the underlying logic of each set of documents. Therefore, the codes had to assist in explaining the purpose of each of the documents and the inherited assumptions within each set of documents that help each player position itself differently within the larger field of civics education.

The analytic phase of this study used the connections, comparisons, and consequences of how the documents interacted with each other were correlated back to the literature. When observing social phenomena through texts, the materials collected allow the researcher to interpret, make sense of, and construct meanings from the data (Denzin, 2004). The viewer of the phenomena puts the sequences together into a meaningful whole (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The process of interpretative analysis in this study described how official discourses construct the vision of the world for students and the connections to the underlying logic of how the rules within the field of education characterize participation for students.

The Documents Selected for the Study

The selected documents include civics curriculum, teacher resources, educational institutional policy documents on fund-raising, and NGO-generated resources for student fund-raising in extracurricular clubs. One way of studying human behavior unobtrusively
is through written texts in the form of documents, regardless of the medium in which they are produced (Esterberg, 2002). This method is considered unobtrusive because the documents are stable and “objective” (Merriam, 2009, p. 155). The documents obtained for this study were from the Ministry of Education, a district school board, an educational publisher, and an NGO. The documents selected accentuate the materials and resources used to instruct students on civic participation and duty. Both the curriculum and textbooks for civics education guide educators with the content necessary to teach the mandatory Grade 10 civics course. The NGO-produced documents underscore the mandates and responsibilities required for students to run their clubs as extracurricular activities. Interpretations of citizenship and education for participation positioned within both discourses are equally important to analyzing how civics education is primarily responsible for shaping a particular vision of the world for students.

**Ministry of Education Civics Curriculum Document**

The Ministry of Education is responsible for the production of all official curriculum documents that guide course content for each grade and subject. The Ministry of Education develops the curriculum documents and makes them publicly available on its website, where they are updated frequently to reflect the changing dynamics of the current social and political environment. Although some subjects require regular updates, the curriculum documents are meant to give consistency to the delivery of the curriculum to all students across the province.

The curriculum document for the Canadian and World Studies Ontario curriculum for Grades 9 and 10 highlights the discourse used to explain how the educational system

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10 See Appendix A for a complete list of documents and the rationale and purpose of each document retrieved.
approaches civics education for students growing up in diverse communities and speaks about active participation at the local, national, and global levels (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013). The relevant portions of the Canadian and World Studies curriculum document to this study included the preface, introduction, and civics (politics) course description with the relevant curriculum expectations. The overall vision of the Canadian and World Studies curriculum, which is based on the Citizen Education Framework that extends through all the courses, exemplifies how civics education extends past the civics course.

Vision: The social studies, history, geography, and Canadian and world studies programs will enable students to become responsible, active citizens within the diverse communities to which they belong. As well as becoming critically thoughtful and informed citizens who value an inclusive society, students will have the skills they need to solve problems and communicate ideas and decisions about significant developments, events, and issues. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 6)

This vision of the overall curriculum formed the foundation of the coding process and the process of acquiring the overall themes. The emphasis of the curriculum was on students’ responsibility for being active and informed and their obligation to the larger community.

The Civics Textbook

The civics textbook used to teach the civics course in secondary schools captures how civics education is delivered to students. Chapter 1 of the book is titled “The Good Citizen.” The text includes activities and case studies to focus on the main ideas of the
chapter: responsibility to society, power structures, and democratic decision making. This teacher resource was accessed from the local public library. Chapter 1 was chosen for coding because it provided a good overview of what civics is and illuminated the skills needed for social action.

The remaining chapters focus on the parliamentary system, political participation, and global citizenship and do not capture the themes of citizenship and education for participation as well as the first chapter does. The idea of being a responsible and active citizen and the skills needed to ensure this type of citizenship expanded the codes and categories used in the second level of coding. The civics textbook stresses,

A course on civics involves the study of government, democratic decision-making, and what it means to be an informed, active, and responsible citizen in local, national, and global contexts. (Gordon, MacFadden, & Watt, 2006, p. 5)

By using as wide a variety of sources as possible, you can filter out the biases and obtain the information necessary to evaluate an issue in civics. (Gordon et al., 2006, p. 21)

These two concepts of being active and being informed are important for cross-comparison coding of the NGO-produced documents. How NGOs approach civics and skills for action indicates how these discourses interact with one another.

**Ministry of Education Fund-raising Guidelines**

The Ministry of Education published a fund-raising guidelines document that is publically available on its website. The document highlights the ministry’s stance on fund-raising in schools and what it means to partner with non-educational institutions. This document was first created in 2012 to establish province-wide standards for fund-
raising in schools (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2012a; Service Ontario, 2012). The intention of these fund-raising guidelines is to ensure the protection and safety of schools when partnering with NGOs. The guidelines were written mainly in response to the large number of schools starting to fund-raise more to supplement government funding cuts.

The fund-raising guidelines were produced to help create greater transparency for how fund-raising is utilized by schools and to give school boards a clear understanding of how fund-raising and partnerships are formed. In summation, partnerships with NGOs are allowed as long as their philosophies align with the visions of the Ministry of Education. Partnerships with schools have certain conditions in terms of the purpose of fund-raising, the philosophy behind fund-raising, protecting the voluntary nature of fund-raising, and making sure the raised funds are used appropriately.

The following describes the Ministry of Education’s definition of fund-raising:

Fund-raising activities can benefit schools and their communities by fostering stronger community and school partnerships, increased student and community engagement and by providing support for student or charitable organizations. The contribution of the school community towards these benefits is of value to schools. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2012b, p. 2)

The purpose of including this document in the analysis was to show how NGOs enter the school system and incorporate fund-raising mandates. The way the document describes fund-raising was used in the coding to illustrate the ministry’s philosophy of fund-raising. This philosophy states that such activities have beneficial outcomes when students and the school community are involved, educating and supporting students to participate with the idea of social change.
District School Board Fund-raising Guide

The Fundraising Resource Guide was originally produced by the district school board in 2001 based on an extensive system-wide consultation that gathered input from ward councils, student, and parent councils. This document, found on the district school board website, explains the school board’s policies and procedures on fund-raising in schools. This policy is more specific than the Ministry of Education’s fund-raising guidelines in the sense that it highlights different forms of fund-raising. The district school board guidelines describe what the money raised may be used for and provide resources that assist schools in capitalizing any fund-raising initiatives they may take on. This resource provides a full-service guide to fund-raise and maximize efforts.

Fund-raising, as defined by the district school board, highlights the benefits of increasing student and community engagement but also stresses how fund-raising can enhance school programming, going beyond the money raised.

Fundraising A local school activity that is a collaborative effort among parents, students, school staff and the school community to raise funds to enhance the school program and support school initiatives. (District School Board Fundraising Guide, 2013)

The use of this document helped with coding and created consistency in terms of how the ministry views and supports fund-raising when it comes to its potential to enhance community work.

International Nongovernmental Organization

The NGO selected for this study was chosen based on its presence in many secondary schools across the district school board. The NGO-produced resources
included service project program guides, information sheets on the Global South, and
student leadership leaflets that were all published as online resources. These NGO
resources and published papers gave pertinent clues about how the organization functions
and informs current popular culture and public opinion.

The selected documents were sourced from the NGO’s website and their auxiliary
global service project campaign website. These two websites are operated by the
international NGO and have a resources section that houses their published documents.
The first website is the NGO’s main website. It contains resources that support student-
run clubs in secondary schools and operates under the mandate of the official NGO. The
second website is a subsidiary website that is specifically dedicated its global
campaignservice project. Both websites contain primary sources that included overall
mission statements, intentions, and the purpose of the NGO’s work.

Each of the documents provides for replicable and consistent delivery of the
organization’s mission and goals. Therefore, they directly impact the way the student
clubs are supported, creating an overall picture of how the student-run clubs operate. The
published resources for this organization appear to have been developed as early as 2008,
and the organization has been continually adding to its list of resources since then.

This particular NGO was chosen for this study’s document analysis for the
following reasons:

- Its international presence gives the organization credibility to enter and partner
  with school boards.
- The NGO promotes both serving and fund-raising, which is the basis for student-
  run clubs in secondary schools.
The NGO’s international status means they have resources to produce published documents that can be globally circulated, can aid subsidiary organizations, and can assist local student-run clubs.

The NGO has the resources to produce publications and research reports that are used to record the organization’s triumphs.

An overall summary of this organization includes the following:

- It has been an international organization for more than 90 years.
- It has partnered with other international organizations to participate in global campaigns and has provided resources to participate in service projects that help local communities.
- Its network of subsidiary clubs spans multiple countries and continents. The youth club initiative spans 250,000 members in over 5,000 clubs in over 30 nations.
- It is a global volunteer organization and dedicated to serving children around the world.
- It includes many different aspects, such as leadership programs, service projects, volunteer opportunities abroad, and teacher service-learning opportunities.

Examining how official documents produced by the NGO speak about raising awareness for their global cause was the starting point to exploring how students serve their local and global communities. This informed the coding as it pertained to the themes of citizenship. The resources provided to support student-run clubs speak to the theme of education for participation and how it relates to the skills needed to mobilize others to participate.
NGO-Produced Documents

The following descriptions of each NGO-produced document contextualize the documents chosen and present the key components found in the documents to rationalize their selection. They also indicate a potential relationship to how each document relates to the others.

- The “Service Project Student Club Toolkit” is a step-by-step guide for student-run clubs where topics within the toolkit describe how to create their club, create awareness about the service project, and recruit membership. This document highlights some of the language used around raising awareness and fund-raising. It complements the “Creating Purpose for Your Club” document.

- The “Social Media Toolkit” assists student clubs in effectively using social media to advertise to club members. This speaks to the changing participatory culture of students and how social media can be an effective tool for recruiting membership and spreading the club’s message. This is a support document to the “Student Club Toolkit” and complements the language used around raising awareness.

- The document “Service Project Model Club Guide” specifically speaks about how to fund-raise as a student club and how to meet targets set by the NGO to contribute to the overall global campaign. This highlights how the NGO frames the purpose of fund-raising and focuses on the planning, leading, and running of fund-raising activities within the school community. The purpose of this document is to provide the NGO discourse on fund-raising and clearly illustrate the theme of education for participation. Students receive specific support to build the club’s presence in and contributions to the local community.

11 See Appendix A.
• The “Service Project Pocket Guide” is a document for students to refer to when raising awareness or being asked about the service project they are fund-raising for. The guide includes facts about the service project and answers questions regarding the purpose and rationale for fund-raising money. The definition of fund-raising that is formulated in this document can be cross-referenced to the ministry and district school board definitions. This speaks to educating for participation within the local school community and how it is connected to issues in the Global South.

• The purpose of the “Creating Purpose for Your Club” document is to help student leaders teach students about connecting to the club's community and making their purpose well-known in the community. To some extent, this is how the NGO may promote raising awareness. This support tool for student-run clubs supplements other toolkits that help to start clubs and maintain their presence in the school and community.

• The “5 Critical Elements of Thoughtful Service” document is a leadership tool provided to student club leaders to build membership and support membership retention. This document highlights how the NGO inspires students to engage in the issues presented by the organization and its particular service project. The language may or may not align with how the Ministry of Education speaks about volunteering, but it speaks to the theme of citizenship and how becoming active can inspire others to engage in the community.

• The “Qualities of a Volunteer” document explains the qualities required to volunteer on behalf of the service project. This provides a comparison to how
ministry documents define volunteering and active participation. The skills necessary for social action fall under the theme of education for participation. The way in which volunteering is presented to students can affect future participation based on how the vision of the world is shaped.

These NGO-produced documents provide an overall picture of how the organization supports local student-run clubs and their philosophy for serving their local community.

Given the rationale for and purpose of the selection of the documents, considerations for the analysis include how these two sets of documents are used to position each player within the larger field of civics education. Also important is the underlying logic within the discourses, which dictates the intentions of each player. More specifically, the differences highlighted between both players lead to questioning how raising awareness is envisioned by both the civics curriculum and NGO documents and how NGOs with specific mandates in fund-raising conceptualize raising awareness about social injustice when the field of civics education supports a new participatory culture.
CHAPTER 5
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The definitions of participatory culture in the literature review shows how youth are engaging in social action participation and have the agency to mobilize and become active in social issues. The logics of connection theory demonstrate multiple ways students can engage in local and global communities using various avenues such as digital technology and civic and political actions. In light of the use of participatory culture as the context for this study, a deeper analysis of how the field of civics education has been restructured reflects the influence of educational institutional documents and NGO-produced documents on students. The purpose of this study was to answer the question “How do the documents idealize what it means for a student to be an active and informed citizen in the changing field of civics education and how does the participatory culture impact this field?”

Educational institutions have demonstrated the potential to create engaged citizens through the civics curriculum and through service learning opportunities. Present-day student participation and the evolution of the civics curriculum have transformed how students understand citizenship. Through a transformed civics curriculum and the presence of NGO-school partnerships, the notions of raising awareness and fund-raising have become prominent fixtures in the field of civics education. The key players in civics education were identified as the ministry, which dictates the civics curriculum expectations and NGOs that partner with schools to provide service learning and extracurricular opportunities for students.

Through an analysis of the chosen texts in the form of a document analysis, the themes of citizenship and education for participation emerged and were used to explore
how the documents interact with each other to devise a site of struggle within the field of civics education. The findings from the documents highlight the explicit and implicit rules and values within the field of civics education that informs the current constraints applied by the key players in the field.

**Unveiling Key Messages in the Documents**

This analysis aims to challenge how each player influences the field of civics education separately to emphasize how social action is framed. The analysis also scrutinizes how NGOs are penetrating the field of civics education and how they position themselves differently than the civics education documents. This informs the doxic assumptions that accompany responsible citizenship in the underlying logic of each set of documents. It also locates the defining features that carve out a particular space for each player within the larger field of civics education.

**Educational Institution Documents: Curriculum and Textbook**

The civics curriculum was selected because it dictates what is taught to students in the Grade 10 mandatory civics course. The curriculum illustrates the current pillars of civics education in secondary schools. In conjunction with the textbook, it paints a clear picture of the intention of the civics curriculum. These two documents demonstrate how the school system presents civics education to secondary students and uses the themes of citizenship and education for participation to construct a vision of citizenship that prepares students to be informed citizens who participate in the institutional structures and democratic society in which they exist.

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12The ministry and district school board fund-raising policies and procedures guides were originally considered for the document analysis. However, they did not contribute the most salient information to use in the analysis based on the research question. Therefore, they were excluded.
The vision and goals of the Canadian and World Studies, as reflected in the curriculum document, were central to outlining the Ministry of Education’s definition of citizenship. The citizenship education framework was used to magnify the definition of citizenship using the following four tenets: identity, attributes, structures, and active participation. The importance of this framework is to give “students opportunities to learn about what it means to be a responsible, active citizen in the community of the classroom and the diverse communities to which they belong within and outside of the school” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 9). The Citizen Education Framework is the foundation of this new curriculum and is applied across all curricular expectations with the intention of developing the knowledge, skills and attributes associated with responsible citizenship and connecting the curriculum to citizenship education.

The textbook, which is used as a teacher resource, was chosen to highlight its congruencies to the ministry documents. Chapter 1, “The Good Citizen” underscores the importance of building skills for social change, awareness of one's rights and responsibilities to contribute to the community, the importance of action for social change, and the possibilities for change. Both the curriculum and textbook reiterate the three strands of the civics curriculum: political inquiry and skill development, civic awareness, and civic engagement and action. Students’ contributions to their community involve being informed and being aware of social issues that give them the built-in capacities to actively participate. Therefore, the educational institutional documents stress

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13 Political inquiry and development develop students’ ability to use the political inquiry process and concept of political thinking when analyzing issues and events. Civic awareness focuses on beliefs, values, rights, and responsibilities associated with democratic citizenship and governance and how these influence civic actions. Civic engagement and action explore ways in which people in different communities express their beliefs and values, voice their positions on issues of civic importance, contribute to the common good, and assess whether the perspectives and contributions of different people are equally valued (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 141).
the importance of being informed. Once individuals are informed, they then can develop the skills necessary for social action. Being informed requires a formal understanding of the political system and how it functions. Thus, active participation constructs a citizen who is politically informed (Smith & Graham, 2014). The following section illustrates how the curriculum and textbook construct civics education for students.

**Importance of Being Informed**

The curriculum and textbook stress the importance of being informed as a necessary component to becoming civically active. Becoming informed requires the skills to acquire and assess the information obtained. Once the necessary information is obtained, action for social change can take place. The logic of the curriculum and textbook require educational institutions to be responsible for teaching skills for becoming informed.

For example, the 2013 revised civics curriculum aims to reflect the current global climate and the proficiencies necessary for students to be actively engaged.

[The] revised curriculum recognizes that, today and in the future, students need to be critically literate in order to synthesize information, make informed decisions, communicate effectively, and thrive in an ever-changing global community.

(Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 3)

The content of the document addressed the importance of teaching students to become informed prior to participation. Therefore, students need to be equipped with the competencies to actively participate. Being informed requires access to information, critically filtering through the information, and then, sharing this information with other networks. The skill set required to become and stay informed is built within the
infrastructure of digital technology (Jenkins et al., 2013; Kahne, 2014). A specific expectation in the civics curriculum supports the above claim by stressing the need to build such skill sets.

C2.3 Describe various ways in which people can access information about civic matters (e.g., websites of governments, political parties, NGOs, or other groups and/or institutions; social media; meetings organized by elected representatives; newspapers or newscasts), and assess the effectiveness of ways in which individuals can voice their opinions on these matters (e.g., by contacting their elected representatives, being part of a delegation to speak on an issue under consideration by city council, organizing a petition, voting, making a presentation to a commission of inquiry, participating in a political party or interest group; by expressing their views through the media, including social media, or at a town-hall meeting; through court challenges; through art, drama, or music). (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 157)

Content accessibility, distribution, and production allow for student voices, especially in a participatory culture that heavily relies on digital technology. The curriculum does not focus on the nature of the participatory landscape but rather stresses the avenues for becoming informed and how being informed can be critically conveyed to others. This particular skill set to becoming informed demonstrates different levels of citizenship (Ekman & Amna, 2009) and speaks to the particular skills required to critically assess the information obtained (Kahne et al., 2014).

Seeking knowledge is something that the curriculum and textbook assume to be the underlying logic of understanding student participation in a democratic system. The
textbook reiterates how young people “want to know more about their rights and responsibilities . . . and understand how government works in a democratic society, and how they can try to change things for the better” (Gordon et al., 2006, p. 6). The theme of education for participation stresses the importance of teaching skills for social change because of student interest in participation (Sander & Putnam, 2010). The responsibility is placed on the schools to develop and nurture these skills. Both the curriculum and text imply that teaching students to be informed will develop contributing members to a democratic society. The educational system provides students with the tools to participate because of its’ political based civics curriculum and opportunities to practice engagement skills (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Gordon, 2012; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Skills Necessary to Be Informed

The curriculum and textbook specifically outline the necessary skills required for becoming informed. With the specific skills outlined and the sense of responsibility that comes with the acquired skills, students can go on to participate in social action. The overall vision for the Canadian and World Studies curriculum for Grades 9 to 12 emphasizes acquiring the necessary skills required to participate.

As well as becoming critically thoughtful and informed citizens who value an inclusive society, students will have the skills they need to solve problems and communicate ideas and decisions about significant developments, events and issues. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 6)

Skills like problem solving, effective communication and decision-making proficiencies, ensure effective civic and political participation. To become informed, the following necessary skills are specifically outlined:
Develop the ability to investigate, evaluate information and evidence to make judgments, develop skills and personal attributes that are needed for discipline-specific inquiry and that can be transferred to other areas of life, build collaborative and cooperative working relationships, use appropriate technology as a tool to help them gather and analyze information, solve problems and communication. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 12)

These skills emphasize that schools have a responsibility to invest time and resources into teaching students how to participate effectively. The textbook similarly states, “The skills required to build consensus in a democratic society are negotiation, mediation, arbitration and conciliation” (Gordon, et al., 2006, pp. 15–16), underscoring the importance of learning how political and institutional structures reflect these skills. The textbook states that certain skills are required to ensure that citizens are working toward the common good. This inherent responsibility comes with the rights and responsibilities that make individuals part of a community. Citizenship stresses that citizens are responsible for becoming informed in order to contribute to the greater good.

They should uphold human dignity, respect the rights of others, work for the common good, and have a sense of responsibility for other people. Taking part in public discussion and debate on civic issues is another important responsibility of the democratic citizen. (Gordon et al., 2006, p. 12)

Citizenship involves implicit responsibilities, which include the moral obligation to be informed. Therefore, citizenship education builds skills in individuals to become future contributing members of a larger society, maintaining the important educational outcome of active citizenship (Chow, 2012).
**Being Informed Means Understanding the Political System**

The purpose of the civics curriculum is for students to become well versed in the political aspects of the social issues they investigate. This involves understanding how the political system functions and where inequalities exist. Understanding such inequalities can lead to taking ownership of one’s community and acting on behalf of a common good. Armed with this information, individuals can make efforts to enact policy reform, which is what the curriculum and textbook define as real social change.

The theme of education for participation stresses the importance of students understanding the structures and powers that dictate how social change happens, as stated in the expectations of the civics curriculum:

Students will analyze the roles, responsibilities, and influence of citizens in a democratic society and explore ways in which people can make a difference in the various communities to which they belong. (Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 12)

When students try to identify or connect to a social issue, they serve the greater good. To understand the purpose behind an individual’s contribution, there needs to be an understanding of how the system works and recognition of the inefficiencies that generate social injustices.

The core of the curriculum is focused on understanding the overall theme and the intricacies of the political system. “Politics involves the study of how societies are governed, how policy is developed, how power is distributed, and how citizens take public action” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 12). Learning about the institutional structures that act on behalf of the common good helps to explain how
change can happen if the functioning of that particular system no longer represents the greater good.

Discover[ing] more about government . . . will give you a basic understanding of how democracy functions and how you can change things. Canada needs citizens who understand how government works at all levels, who participate actively in their communities, and who contribute their knowledge and skills to make Canadian society better for all its citizens. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 6)

The textbook emphasizes the rights and responsibilities expected of a citizen in a democratic society.

A democratic society . . . possess[es] the following elements: rule of law, human dignity, political equality, common good, personal freedoms, political freedoms, being informed and getting involved, respect. (Gordon et al., 2006, pp. 15–16)

The civics curriculum and textbook teach students about political participation by exploring the power to build consensus within political structures when enacting change.

Students determine the importance of things such as government policies; political or social issues, events, or developments; and the civic actions of individuals or groups. Political significance is generally determined by the impact of a government policy or decision on the lives of citizens, or by the influence that civic action, including the civic action of students, has on political or public decision-making. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 142)

The curriculum requires students to approach social issues within a political inquiry framework. Learning how social change can manifest requires a paradigm shift of
student thinking. Students analyze ways in which various institutions, groups, or individuals resist or support change and how a variety of factors, including civic action, can contribute to change or stability.

A1.5 Use the concepts of political thinking (i.e., political significance, objectives and results, stability and change, political perspective) when analyzing and evaluating evidence, data, and information and formulating conclusions and/or judgments about issues, events, and/or developments of civic importance (e.g., use the concept of objectives and results when analyzing the intended and unintended impact of a community-planning decision; use the concept of stability and change when analyzing the results of an election). (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 150)

The focus on political thinking is tied to the theme of education for participation and how important the investment in student education is to the future of a community. This follows a similar framework that global education uses to emphasize the importance of individuals from around the world contributing to greater good of a global community (Meyer et al., 2010). When students receive the tools to think politically, the expectation is that they will use these tools to make informed decisions in issues they choose to engage in, in the future. Approaching social issues with this framework arms the student population with the language and acumen of traditional politics (of systemic structures and power imbalances) in order to support the possibility of change. Education for participation becomes an imperative outcome of the civics curriculum in order to ensure students are able to participate through avenues fostered from political and democratic
understanding of the systems they choose to participate in (Reynolds, 2012).

**Understanding How Society Functions for Participation**

The curriculum and textbook construct a particular formulation of how social action occurs. Once students are informed about the way the political system works and the way society functions and once they possess the skills necessary for social change, they can begin to participate via contribution. Contribution involves actions that lead to generating the greatest impact, such as actions that contribute to political reform or actions that reflect social responsibility—for example, purchasing power. These actions are individually driven and hold an ingrained sense of responsibility so that the outcome will help the greater good.

The notion of citizenship encompasses particular characteristics that rely on knowing one’s rights as a citizen and what responsibilities are engrained and required of each citizen. Citizen rights include the assumption that students should be allowed to participate in the decisions that affect their lives (Harris, 2008), whereas, citizen responsibilities include teaching values for good citizenship (Mitchell, 2003). The values taught within character education instill a sense of moral responsibility to contribute. For example, in the following passage, the responsibility for contributing only becomes effective when the connection between purpose and contribution is made.

C1.3 Explain how various actions can contribute to the common good at the local, national, and/or global level (e.g., *engaging in a non-violent protest can heighten awareness of an issue and pressure for change; buying fair trade products helps ensure that producers are fairly compensated for the products they produce; donating to a development NGO can help improve the lives of people affected by*)
Contributions in the form of social action include engaging in protest, using buying power to make socially responsible decisions, raising awareness, and fund-raising on behalf of larger social issues. All of these examples focus on contributing to a common good, where actions in the form of time and resources require individual contributions. The implied moral obligation to contribute is strongly associated with the idea that if students are equipped with the information about something that is inequitable, then it is morally irresponsible not to act.

Participating effectively requires students to be educated and armed with the skills to enact social change in a way that maximizes one’s contribution to the common good. “The responsible, active citizen participates in the community for the common good. Citizenship education provides ways in which young people are prepared and consequently ready and able to undertake their roles as citizens” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 9). The textbook also emphasizes a similar message: that every citizen is to contribute to the common good. It is this expectation that makes a citizen responsible. “Democratic citizens should work toward the common good (what will make the most people safe, secure, and happy). They should have a sense of responsibility and caring for others” (Gordon et al., 2006, p. 22). This assumes that each individual’s responsibility is to be an active citizen, contributing toward the belief that the purpose of contribution is to create a better future where the common good is cared for.
The curriculum and textbook stress that each citizen has a responsibility to contribute to society. The curriculum tells students to be informed, to know the political system, and to understand how to make decisions and how to build consensus in a diverse society. It is heavily based on political acumen. If students understand the structural makeup of the political system, potential systemic injustices can be identified and targeted social action can lead to systemic change. The textbook stresses such concepts of “democratic society, consensus building and skills for democratic decision-making skills” as necessary to understanding how society functions (Gordon et al., 2006, p. 17). Both the curriculum and textbook seek to inform students about how the political system works so that they can be informed citizens who make informed decisions and believe in the possibility of change when equipped with the right skills.

The themes of citizenship and education for participation are prevalent throughout the curriculum and textbook documents, focusing on students becoming informed citizens within a structured democratic society. Both documents demonstrate an all-encompassing approach to citizenship. The world is presented such that for students to be part of a better future, they must be responsible, contributing members of society. There is an implied moral responsibility for citizens to contribute to the common good, creating the belief system that social change is possible if citizens are informed and politically aware. Character education stressed the expectations of the individual citizen to use their knowledge of their rights and responsibilities to ensure equitable opportunities for others (Hinde, 2008; Kerr, 2003). The theme of education for participation describes good citizens as ones who have the skills to participate. It is the school’s responsibility to invest in teaching students the skills to participate; fostering the belief that skill
acquisition for contributing to the greater good is a citizen’s responsibility (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

**NGO-Produced Documents**

The purpose of the NGOs’ presence in secondary schools is to offer civic action in the form of volunteer opportunities in extracurricular activities or in addition to service learning hours. The rationale for the selection of the NGO-produced documents was to illustrate what resources are readily available to students who were participating in the student-run extracurricular activities supported by this study’s selected NGO. NGO-produced documents provide resources to students running the clubs in an effort to support students acting on behalf of the NGO. The NGO documents were selected to compliment the notions of citizenship and education for participation highlighted in the curriculum and textbook, as the two sets of documents are used to teach civics education to students.

The selected NGO documents highlight the way that this particular NGO formulated participation in local and global communities for students. In a tip sheet provided to students who lead a student club, the document emphasizes how meaningful participation can be fostered:

If new members find value in the service they do, they are more likely to stay active and serve throughout their lifetime. For community service projects to have value and meaning, they must include five critical elements: assessment of community needs and members interest, education, meaningful action, reflection and evaluation. (*Think Before You Serve*, n.d., p. 1)
This document reflects the message found in the other selected NGO documents, that participation is meant to be meaningful, that raising awareness is important for involving others, and that contributions must be made in a measureable way. The documents carry the key message that participation can happen immediately when individual contributions are made through raising awareness and fund-raising. Using the immediacy and accessibility of multiple social networks allows individuals to connect, share, and spread the messages required for mass mobilization and social change as defined by NGOs.

**Participate Immediately**

The key message in the NGO documents underlines how accessible participation is. Participation as a social action can happen immediately and does not require massive preparation to engage in social issues. The embedded messages of what contributions can do stress that immediate action can make a difference. Additionally, becoming educated about what an individual’s contributions can do is an essential component of participating. The “Service Project Model Club Guide” and “Service Project Toolkit” documents frequently underscore how immediate contributions lead to possibilities for change. “You can accomplish great things by preparing, educating, and asking” (“Service Project Model Club Guide,” 2013, p. 7). “Every dollar changes lives for women and children in places that are remote, impoverished and invisible to the world” (“Service Project Model Club Guide,” 2013, p. 14). “We are uniting to make a positive difference in the world on behalf of children” (“Service Project Pocket Guide,” 2012, p. 1).

Social action for change as illustrated in the above quotes show the immediacy of one’s contributions and creates a vision of possibility to contribute to global changes. The
current participatory landscape maintains transient borders for the actions that NGOs are requesting of students, localizing global issues for students to access information and networks in pursuit of raising awareness and fund-raising.

The NGO documents stress the importance of becoming educated to illustrate what individual student contribution will do. This means that students are pressed to understand how their fund-raising efforts will translate to immediate contribution. This form of education allows students to understand their own contribution and then extend their understanding to other students to similarly participate. The “Service Project Toolkit” explains this relationship of education to fund-raising on the first page of the toolkit: “Here is how you contribute: 1. Educate yourself about the campaign and share the message with your community. 2. Give and encourage others to do the same. 3. Serve those in your community” (“Service Project Toolkit,” n.d., p. 1).

This type of directive to students explicitly states how they can contribute instantly. Service project-type documents describe how contributions are the responsibility of the individual and that once the decision is made to participate, actions to influence change can happen immediately.

Similar documents that describe and support student participation are resources that support student leadership, build club membership, and maintain the club’s purpose. Reinforcing why students decide to volunteer and explaining that their service makes a difference in reinforcing the qualities necessary to volunteer convey the message of the purpose of contributing. “Objective of Achieving Club Excellence: Establish members’ commitment and passion to pursue your club’s purpose in the community” (“Creating Purpose for Your Student Club,” n.d., p. 1). “Members should know their contribution
has made a difference in a measurable way, and that their time was well used. Without this, people will not want to continue their service” (‘Think Before You Serve,’ n.d., p. 1).

As a volunteer, you are entitled to:

- Be evaluated and recognized for your work.
- Gain both personal and professional experiences from the volunteer position. Enjoy and learn from your volunteer efforts.
- Know your service is valued and meaningful. (Qualities of a Volunteer, n.d., p. 2)

These quotes utilize the theme of citizenship in a way that emphasizes the importance of commitment to contribution, which requires a voice to bring about social change and incorporates the theme of education for participation. Commitment to contribution within the framework of the NGO reflects how representations of those that are being helped are mediated through the NGO (Tallon, 2012); therefore, directing the required student voice that is necessary to bring about social change (Chouliaraki, 2011).

**Contributing via Raising Awareness and Fund-raising**

Raising awareness has been presented in the form of education about social issues in terms of what money can do to contribute to social issues. In order to participate immediately, donors must understand what the money will be used for and give fund-raisers immediate access to their money. The action of raising awareness and fund-raising is formulated as the type of contribution that NGOs utilize as the primary method for acting on behalf of their global campaign. Therefore, there is an association created
between raising awareness and fund-raising that maintains particular nuances about what it means to contribute to a social action.

Participation is immediate within the space of NGO-school partnerships. Before explaining what individual contributions can do, the “Service Project Club Guide” uses the language of quickly making a difference by emphasizing each individual’s personal responsibility. “It starts with you!” (“Service Project Model Club Guide,” 2013, p. 3). “We have the power to save or protect millions of lives and to be a part of a meaningful global commitment” (“Service Project Model Club Guide,” 2013, p. 4). “You can accomplish great things!” (“Service Project Model Club Guide” 2013, p. 7). There is an implied discourse of student responsibility to contribute. This could infer moral obligation to contribute as a citizen. By committing to serve, students accept the power to make a difference.

Raising awareness and fund-raising are used collectively to demonstrate that it is necessary for both to occur simultaneously, reinforcing the idea of immediate participation. “Without education, people won’t give” (“Service Project Model Club Guide,” 2013, p. 13).

Campaign timeline includes:

- Lead to recruit and train campaign leaders
- Inspire by broadening support, announcing progress and planning upcoming fundraising
- Participate in continuous fundraising
- Achieve by engaging in intensive fundraising activities and announcing progress
• Celebrate the campaigns success. ("Service Project Pocket Guide," 2012, p. 2)

This excerpt conveys to students that they need to educate people as they ask people for money. This is accomplished through “local service for global fundraising” ("Service Project Toolkit," n.d., p. 2). The NGO constructs a space for fund-raising where local student-run clubs can choose to act locally while fund-raising for a global campaign. The action of contributing to the greater good is a global effort, showcased through the two actions of raising awareness and fund-raising.

**Contribution Needs to Expand Across Multiple Networks**

“The support of our strong global network is essential to conducting a successful campaign” ("Service Project Pocket Guide," 2012, p. 1). The “Social Media Toolkit” supports the Service Project Guide by describing how students can capitalize on raising awareness and club presence by using social media. The “Social Media Toolkit” describes how student clubs can get other students involved in the global campaign:

We need to engage people in valuable service and fundraising efforts. We need to share stories, news and inspiration—about the Project and about our own clubs’ efforts. We need to interact with friends, family members and people throughout our communities. That’s where social media comes in. It’s fast, it’s free and it’s everywhere. Social media channels like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube are the perfect way to generate interest. They’re also a great tool for encouraging people to explore online giving. ("Social Media Toolkit," n.d., p. 1)

The “Social Media Toolkit” goes on to outline three steps for students to get connected: join (connectivity and accessibility), share (content distribution), and tell
Students can use the organization’s established Web pages and social media pages. This is a familiar participatory landscape that students are already accustomed with.

The “Service Project Pocket Guide” uses language and actions that students already use, making campaign growth possible. The possibility of campaign growth also compliments the idea of the possibility for change, reiterating that immediate action leads to meaningful contribution. “A successful campaign will raise the project’s visibility” (“Service Project Pocket Guide,” 2012, p. 1). The project’s visibility reflects the cultural participatory landscape that students recognize and are most comfortable with.

The organization’s “Global Campaign Pocket Guide” similarly provides facts to students about how the campaign should be shared across online platforms, such as by posting the organization’s successful past efforts, the organization’s partnership with other global recognizable organizations, and the organization’s strong global network of supporters. This form of education included in the NGO documents builds a particular skill set for social change, in the sense that there is a direct relationship to the education learned is for the purpose of productive fund-raising. Additionally, education for participation is emphasized in a way that recognizes the importance of understanding the content that is being shared across networks.

The NGO-produced documents present quite different ideas about the skills necessary for citizens to be active. There is very little consideration for the political system, understanding how decisions are made, or how to overthrow the system. The focus of civics education in NGO-produced documents gives the impression that by
raising awareness and fund-raising and getting others to do the same, students can enact social change and make a difference.

NGO partnerships in schools build a notion of citizenship such that an individual’s contribution can happen quickly and can gain momentum by spreading information through online and offline networks. This carries the assumptions that a difference can be made immediately so that NGO documents fit into a familiar context of participatory culture for students by simplifying civics education to the ideas of raising awareness and fund-raising.

The themes of citizenship and education for participation were present in the NGO documents, but used in a narrower scope in comparison to the civics curriculum documents, showing that immediate participation transfers to actions of contribution, which take the form of raising awareness and fund-raising. Fund-raising has maintained a permanent presence in the work that NGOs do, which translates the message to students that raising money is much easier than tackling global inequities (Tallon, 2013). This form of citizen contribution can be expanded across multiple platforms, demonstrating an abridged version of the possibility for social change and using the theme of education for participation to formulate the necessary information networks for students to continually show the club’s presence and utilize fund-raising efforts.

**Restructuring of the Field of Civics Education**

The document analysis demonstrated that the themes of citizenship and education for participation were present in both sets of documents. In the following section, both sets of documents are compared to illustrate how both players have uniquely carved out a separate space for themselves within the larger field of civics education.
The findings are based on the themes of citizenship and education for participation to show that the educational institution and NGO documents maintain different conclusions and that the association between raising awareness and fund-raising is unique to NGO documents. These findings restructure the field of civics education to include two key players positioned in one field, forming a site of struggle that redefines civics education.

**Citizenship**

The theme of citizenship is presented very differently by the selected educational documents and the NGO documents. The rationale within both sets of documents constructs the notion of citizenship to describe the intention of contribution and purpose of contribution in distinct terms. Therefore, social action participation is presented to students in different terms within the field of civics education, creating a site of struggle for students to confirm their understanding of social action participation.

The underlying logic within the educational documents expresses that every citizen has a moral responsibility to contribute through active participation, being politically aware, and believing in the possibility of a better world. More specifically, citizenship means the individual must be politically informed and is a necessary component of being active. The curriculum and textbook stress that individuals crave to be informed. Therefore, this supports their mandate of the importance of being informed.

For the civics curriculum, being informed is the most important feature. The knowledge gained can apply to serving the common good. There is a process to learning about the society one inhabits. Once individuals are proficient in understanding the political structures and systemic power structures, they can then contribute to being
responsible and active citizens. This demonstrates the idea that effecting real change requires an understanding of the systemic structures within a democratic society, which is best learned through the school curriculum (Siguake, 2013). The assumption that is taken for granted here is that if an individual does not understand the political structures of a given community, then participation cannot take place in the field of civics education created by curriculum and educator. The educational documents seem to create a separate space within the larger field of civics education to define how citizenship is to be presented to students and to shape a certain vision of the world for students.

Conversely, in the literature, youths appear to be turned off by the conflicting and seemingly ineffectual nature of the political process. They express, for example, less interest in elections (voting and working on a campaign) and in the traditional political debates about state institutions engaged in by politicians, interest groups, and elites (Bennett, 1998; Dalton, 2008; Zukin et al., 2006). These scholars argue that youths are motivated by the power of direct action, and they express interest in a range of direct forms of lifestyle politics, community-based work, and politics that emphasize self-expression and self-actualization (referred to as “little p” politics) (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013, p. 420). Utilizing this understanding of how youths understand politics indicates the influence of participatory culture on the construction of what it means to be an engaged, active, and responsible, which NGOs seem to tap into.

The NGO documents use citizenship in the context of a changing participatory culture that creates different patterns and conditions for students’ participation as active citizens. The new participatory landscape allows students to be active in their own way, under their own circumstances, within their comfort level. Avenues to participation in
dialogue locally, nationally, and globally have become significantly more accessible because of digital technology.

Participatory culture has changed the way knowledge is gathered, packaged, repackaged, and distributed. This freedom of content production and content redistribution is a type of participatory culture that is constantly changing. Youths are finding new ways to share ideas on platforms built for dynamic networks of discussion, creating other imaginable types of democracy that extend beyond what is taught in the civics curriculum. Online activity has allowed individuals to engage in multiple issues without adopting a group ideology. This shift from group to individualized societies is accompanied by the emergence of flexible social “weak-tie” networks (Granovetter, 1973) that enable identity expression and the navigation of complex and changing social and political landscapes (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 744).

Exploration of identity and expression allows individuals to have a voice that is handcrafted. In this participatory culture, having a voice is manifested in many different ways, including online and offline measures (Jenkins et al, 2013). When individuals are informed, they have a strong voice for sharing their message and persuading others to become involved that is accomplished through avenues that are personal and most preferred (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

The site of struggle that the civics curriculum and NGO documents explore is attributed to the way citizenship is presented to students. Citizenship is understood as individuals’ responsibility for contributing to the greater good, which follows the logic that the contribution must be informed to be meaningful. Thus, the two players within the field of civics education construct citizenship differently.
Contribution, a central component of citizenship, is framed by both educational and NGO documents as the responsibility to contribute to a greater good. The difference is that the civics curriculum frames contribution as in individual responsibility and moral obligation that is strongly associated with the idea that if individuals are equipped with information on inequitable social issues, then it is morally irresponsible not to act. The curriculum uses raising awareness and fund-raising as examples of contribution. But the act of contribution is not as important as the purpose of the contribution to the common good.

While NGOs also consider fund-raising a possibility for students to do something that can contribute to the greater good, raising awareness necessitates understanding what the money raised will be used for. The way raising awareness and fund-raising are framed by the NGO indicates that students can be active while becoming informed, which demonstrates the immediacy of social action. The rationale that raising awareness and fund-raising (helping by giving money) can solve global issues creates a representation that the Global South requires saving, reinforcing a global salvation rhetoric (de Oliveira Andreotti, 2012).

Lack of consideration of NGO-produced materials entering classrooms strengthens the notion that giving money to the Global South will solve its problems but keeps existing global inequalities in place (Tallon, 2012). The way in which fund-raising is framed as a contribution can make students feel as though they are contributing members and are active formulating a new notion of citizenship. Therefore, the definition of what it means to be a contributing citizen involves the way youths understand politics and the way NGOs have associated contribution with fund-raising. Given that both sets of
documents hold a unique interpretation of citizenship, the conflicting representations force students to identify with one representation over another. This creates a site of struggle within the field of civics education where two key players assist in formulating civics education to influence the theme of citizenship.

**Education for Participation**

The theme of education for participation stems from a conceptual approach to the importance of incorporating civic education in the overall educational experience of students in secondary (Kraft, 1992; Nathan & Kielsmeir, 1995). By becoming educated on and informed about what these obstacles are, students find opportunities to make informed decisions and influence social change in an enormous capacity.

Within this study, the theme of education for participation is relevant because it speaks to how civics education builds the necessary skills within the student population. Education for participation gives students lasting skills to educate people and instills the importance of active involvement. Thus, when participation unfolds, it is meaningful and has lasting impact on future social action (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Gordon, 2012; Putnam, 2000).

The curriculum and textbook heavily focus on education for participation in terms of skill development for meaningful participation in a democratic society. The underlying logic illustrates that in order to participate, students must have an understanding of democratic societies. The intention of civics education is based on the preconditions of enhancing democracy (Stefancik, 2013). Therefore, accounting for the relationship between the individual and the nation-state is paramount to teaching citizenship rights and responsibilities (Harris, 2008).
The public educational system promotes the ideals of a harmonious, democratic, and morally sound nation state. The moral obligation of the educational system is to ensure that students are informed with the knowledge required to politically act in order to increase citizenship and the number of contributing members to society. Citizenship education holds that the functioning of a good citizen in a democratic society requires character education to express one’s political belonging (Isin & Turner, 2007; Masyada, 2013). Therefore, the skills that the educational documents determined were key to participating in social change highlighted the investing of resources and time into educating students to become future political members.

The skills highlighted within the theme of education for participation by the NGO documents were differentiated from those expressed in the educational institutional documents. The NGO documents represented education for participation in the context of a changing participatory culture that facilitates different avenues for students to participate. The landscape of participatory culture and digital technology has changed such that students are connecting and learning about issues, which requires a unique skill set. The technologies themselves empower individuals to take part in the creation of new narratives (Rushkoff, 2003, p. 2). Individuals may still join actions in large numbers, but ‘their identity is derived more through inclusive and diverse large-scale personal expression rather than through common group or ideological identification’ (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 744). This “personalized communication” is important in large-scale connective action formations (e.g., student-run fund-raising clubs) and can be described as a personalized idea of political content that is easily framed to persuade, reason, and
reframe issues and bridge differences with how others feel about a common problem (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 744).

The skill set required to actively engage is unique in a participatory culture. Therefore, the NGO focused on building skill sets among student members of the fund-raising clubs to use multiple social networks to “join, share and tell.” It emphasized the skills needed to access, distribute, and produce content, where these skills became the necessary education required to participate.

In order for the NGO to reinforce its underlying logic, its documents about immediate participation and contribution through raising awareness and fund-raising demonstrate an understanding of how students operate within the current participatory landscape. Whether intentionally or unintentionally orchestrated, NGOs use various communication technologies that enable sharing social issues through personalized frames (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 744). The way in which these personal action frames are shaped and shared with friends are powerful examples of viral communication referred to as memes. These symbolic packets travel easily across large and diverse populations because they are easy to imitate, personally adapt, and broadly share with others (Dawkins, 1989).

Memes are network-building and bridging units of social information transmission that travel through personal appropriation and then through imitation and personalized expression via social sharing to help others appropriate, imitate, and share in their own way (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 745). In this interactive process of personalization and sharing, communication networks may become scaled up and stabilized through the digital technologies people use to share ideas and relationships.
with others (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 746). This form of communication and access to information creates an understanding for students that digital technology can influence their perceptions of change. The way that being informed is positioned within the context of the new participatory culture elucidates multiple opportunities to participate while knowing very little or a lot about any one particular topic. This ease of entry into participating sets students up to become contributing citizens and builds the skills required for students to continue to participate.

NGOs have capitalized on the rich network of connections that advertises visibility and resourcefulness, promoting buy-in to individuals who are not yet involved. The personal communication technologies (social media) that the NGO teaches students to use offer avenues to self-educate, to filter information, and to critically analyze the information sourced. These skills are necessary for encouraging student engagement that is conducive to their notion of politics (Kahne, 2014). The participatory landscape facilitates new ways to access knowledge, escaping the confinements of formal institutions (Kahne et al., 2014). Therefore, the abilities built within the system of student participation that the NGO has fostered creates an alternative space within the field of civics education and challenges existing notions of education for participation that the educational system attempts to construct. These differing notions also create an additional complexity related to the site of struggle identified earlier in the theme of citizenship.

**Civics Education Redefined**

Each set of documents creates its own space within the larger field of civics education using the themes of citizenship and education for participation. The field of civics education has become a site of struggle for the two key players in civics education,
who have managed to position themselves differently based on how their documents present the themes of citizenship and education for participation. The educational institutional documents define the field of civics education in a way that focuses on the political knowledge required to understand how society functions, whereas the NGO documents structure the field to represent the immediacy of participation in the form of raising awareness and fund-raising. Since these two main players in the field of civics education converge on students’ understanding of citizenship, two differing sets of rules compete in structuring the field of civics education.

The underlying competing logic within the field of civics education implies differing assumptions about the concepts of student participation. The values presented in the curriculum assert that students need to understand the democratic system in order to participate in their fullest potential. However, this automatic understanding fails to consider the change in patterns of student participation. These explicit and implicit values in the field of civics education can be disrupted in order to explain that the hierarchy used in political structures does not relate to the way participatory culture works for students. Students function in informal associations, especially online, and have implicit hierarchical rules within their field of participation.

Alternatively, NGOs have narrowed the field of civics education so that raising awareness and fund-raising function as the main avenues for students to contribute. This requires no hierarchy or political understanding. The current social order within schools has conflicting spaces because the civics curriculum presents a type of participation with which students no longer identify.
The field of civics education maintains two players that contribute to civics education by defining the field in their own way. This presents competing ways of defining social action participation for students. When both players converge into one field, the logics of competition can be defined as students clarify their own understanding of what is being presented. How does this conflict affect students? The clarification within the conflict forces students to align with one representation over the other. The findings clarify why the NGO method of participating is more attractive to students than the alternative form of participation suggested by the civics curriculum. The narrowed field of civics education that the NGO implicitly creates connects to a form of participation that is efficient and constructed in a particular social reality that students identify with.

It seems that the field of civics education as presented by the curriculum uses politics as an object that has become so common, it has been taken for granted. Thus, it is exactly what needs problematizing (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 238). Politics and informed citizenship carry the doxic assumptions of a type of civics education that no longer identifies with youth. However, the educational system has a social responsibility that requires teaching students about how society functions, which includes understanding the political structures within a democratic society. This very enormous approach to social action infers that the idea of change is difficult to achieve because a process is required for participation and contribution.

The NGO documents create a unique sensibility toward participation and contribution. The complication is that NGO-school partnerships influence the same field of civics education, as the civics education documents exist in competing discourses that
converge on students. Students align with the familiarity and logics of the practices of the NGOs.

Within the field of civics education, students have become sensitized to the narrowed conceptions produced by the NGOs based on their representations of ease, accessibility, and familiarity. This narrowed field that NGO discourses have created has reduced citizen contribution to two acts of participation: raising awareness and fund-raising. The way in which these acts of participation are formulated attaches immediacy to the social action. The act of raising awareness and/or fund-raising creates an immediate impact. This structures the space of action for students such that it is attractive for students to engage with NGO-produced initiatives.

Consequently, recognition of how these key players in civics education are navigating this new structured space for students still requires exploration. The NGOs have managed to utilize the efficiencies ingrained within the transformed student participatory culture, whereas the educational institutional documents acknowledge technology as a useful tool. There is an underlying assumption that social change is only possible when inequities in systemic infrastructures are fully understood. NGOs have become influential players in the field of civics education, and their influence in restructuring the field of civics education offers an explanation as to what is happening in the field.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Implications

Civics education has become a prominent fixture in the educational system, as demonstrated by the influence of character education, democratic education, and global social justice (Harris, 2008; Masyada, 2013; Parker, 2001). It has become the way in which students are taught to envision the world, given the understanding that their civic contribution can make a difference. Educational institutions count on civics education to create, develop, and anticipate programming and measures to ensure student engagement and participation.

This study introduced two key players that shape civics education for students. The civics curriculum and NGO-produced documents both assist in structuring participation for students in the context of a changing participatory landscape in secondary schools. These key players engage in shaping the way students envision the world by influencing the way students understand civics. Based on this intention, it is important to engage with official discourses to determine if those influencing and interacting with students carry consistent messages.

The findings of this study show that educational institution and NGO discourses have constructed two competing views by which the field of civics education is being structured. The context of a new participatory culture shows that students gravitate toward the NGO style of civics education because the method of delivery is more relatable and more conducive to students’ understanding of politics and participation. This separate approach to citizenship and education for participation has restructured the field of civics education and in turn has narrowed students’ understanding of social
action. The relationship between schools and NGOs has also given rise to the troubling trend of students’ unquestioned notions of raising awareness and fund-raising as the primary forms of social action that the NGOs are responsible for introducing. The findings demonstrate that NGOs have reduced students’ understanding of social action to an association between raising awareness and fund-raising. These two actions have come to represent citizens’ contribution to the greater good, informing a vision of what social action participation can do to build a better future, locally and globally.

The analysis suggested how the field of civics education has been structured. The underlying logic of the official discourses presents a specific vision of the world to students by defining citizenship and by indicating the skills necessary to build potential within local and global communities to ensure consistent and future contributions. The purpose and intention of each set of documents has contributed to two separate sites within the larger field of civics education. NGO-produced documents have illustrated how they challenge the current understanding and autonomy of civics education as defined by educational institutions. Therefore, the NGO is not only challenging the existing rules in the field of civics education but also is formulating their own set of rules, holding the more prominent position in the field of civics education.

The field of civics education has narrowed because the rules being made by the NGO are transforming education in ways that impact students’ understanding of social action participation. Because the field of civics education is being reshaped by NGOs, two concerns have arisen. What are the implications of NGOs ruling the field of civics education when schools try to maintain relative autonomy over student learning? Secondly, what are the implications if the association between raising awareness and
fund-raising is the main conduit for shaping a particular vision of the world for students as the main method of social action participation?

The implication of NGOs ruling the civics education field represents a shift in power within the field, creating a site of struggle. This site of struggle is produced from the narrowed definition of social action participation that is formulated for students. The NGO interpretation of civics education becomes the default understanding of citizenship for students because of how the NGO utilizes the nature of the new participatory culture. The field of civics education has become a configuration of relations between positions objectively defined by each player in their existence and in the determinations they impose on the students in the schools (Bourdieu, 1996). The assumptions that are imposed and constructed in the field of civics education are constrained by the social reality of the students within the field. The sites within the field hold their individual identity but also interact with other fields as well (Hodkinson et al., 2008), blurring the boundaries of exactly what rules and regulations dictate the actions of each of the players, resulting in an automatic understanding of what citizenship and social action participation are.

NGOs have redefined the automatic and naturalized understanding of citizenship and have managed to narrow the field of civics education to an association between raising awareness and fund-raising. Raising awareness and fund-raising for the Global South imply that money can be used to fix global issues. Using the notion of doxa in the form of symbolic power refers to those exposed to social and cultural representations where the legitimacy of these representations goes unquestioned (Deer, 2008). This suggests a natural way of accepting one’s social reality exactly how it presents itself, just
as the Global South is presented to youths in the Global North through curriculum and NGO-produced resources. This complicates the notion of how students have been traditionally taught to help their local and global communities. The concept of helping the Global South seems to have become automatic and ingrained in daily civic participation, such that the symbolic power of youth participation reinforces any misrepresentation of the Global South and maintains misrecognition of power relations between the Global North and Global South.

The way in which NGOs raise awareness about social injustice in the Global South can educate people on the issues present in countries worldwide, forcing individuals to examine their ignorance and confront their misconceptions. If doxa is considered an inherent way of knowing things to be true, then how can individuals confront what they already know to be true? Bourdieu (1977) stated that it is necessary to be confronted with a crisis in order for the questioning of doxa (or challenging existing assumptions) to occur. The representations of the Global South are one-sided versions of what that crisis may be. Regardless of the how such new knowledge is constructed, individuals must be receptive to questioning their existing assumptions before known truths can be confronted. Therefore, education, by default, becomes the field in which such existing assumptions should question how key players shape the realities of helping the Global South (Wacquant, 1998).

**Conclusion**

Consideration of how the notion of raising awareness is envisioned in each instance was explored to get a better understanding of the importance of being informed in the social actions one participates in. A potential complication and consideration of
this study was determining to what extent the presence of NGOs in schools with specific mandates in fund-raising influenced the conceptualization of awareness of social injustices. The problem that these questions sought to explore was how are two key players in the field of civics education negotiating the shared space responsible for shaping the vision of the world for students within a context of a changing youth participatory culture. In light of the implications of schools’ relative autonomy as a space of learning while sharing the space with another influential player of civics education, how does each player support the changing youth participatory culture? This raised two key questions: What are the implications if NGOs rule the field of civics education? and what are the implications for associating raising awareness and fund-raising as the main method of social action participation?

The purpose of this study addressed the importance of understanding how social action participation is taught in schools by explaining how social action is constructed in a field of civics education. The literature review suggested the context of participatory culture was necessary to exploring the way students engage in social issues. More specifically, participatory culture highlights a new kind of culture in which participants engage multiple digital platforms, characterizing a culture where participants believe their contributions matter (Jenkins et al., 2013). Generating the context for how civics education has evolved over time has contributed to a better understanding of how the literature currently defines civics education and the purpose of its presence in schools.

The theoretical framework provided the necessary thinking tools of doxa and field to explain the inherent assumptions in the chosen official documents and to understand how two key players in the field of civics education share the space within the field and
exert their own particular influences to control the space they inhabit. The document analysis found that competing discourses structured the field of civics education.

The analysis established that the two series of documents produced competing discourses that separated the field of civics education into competing views in which students were positioned. This created a site of struggle for defining citizenship and education for participation. The main finding illustrated that the discourses provided by two key players in the field of civics education created a site of struggle for students, positioning themselves in the field to offer alternative methods of understanding where the NGO capitalized on the understanding of student participation in a new participatory landscape. This understanding leads to a narrowed site of civics education within the larger field and reduces social action to raising awareness and fund-raising.

The significance of these findings highlights how the NGO has positioned itself against the educational institution in the field of civics education to overpower the rules and regulations exerted on students. The implications that require answering relate to what happens when the NGO is in a position of power that overrides the position of educational institutions and how reducing social action participation in raising awareness and fund-raising has impacted student understanding of contribution as a citizenship. Recommendations require a reexamination of NGO-school partnerships and closer assessment of the NGO-produced documents that influence student understanding of citizenship and education for participation.

**Future Considerations**

Future considerations for this field of study include scrutinizing NGOs’ presence and NGO documents in schools. It is recommended that schools carefully consider the
materials that student-run clubs are exposed to. It is the responsibility of the educators who oversee student-run clubs to review documents provided by NGOs and the civics curriculum and look for consistency in messages that influence student understanding of citizenship. This requires appropriate dialogue with students to consider what necessary skills are needed for present and future contributions and how this impacts education for participation within local and global communities.

Strategic discussions with students in fund-raising clubs should occur to highlight some of the relevant concepts that educational institutional documents cover. Igniting such discussions with students from diverse backgrounds can help to explore their personal connections to social issues and work toward comprehending how such issues are framed to other populations. This study is not meant to deter participation with NGOs but rather to caution educators who are engaging with these organizations to consider the danger of asking for money on behalf of others in an educational setting.

For advancement of this research on youth participation in a changing landscape, future considerations must contribute to comprehending the tendency to oversimplify social action to students who are taught to consider a social issue without questioning what lies behind “what goes without saying” (Bourdieu, 1977). The implied relationship between raising awareness and fund-raising carries inherent assumptions that construct a paradox of empathy used to engage student participation by implicating donating money as a way to help save the Other. This assumption creates a growing separation between the local and global worlds, where money raised to help others translates to problem solving.
Consideration of how students who donate money demonstrate participation in social action requires the context of the new participatory culture. The concept of global citizenship in this new participatory culture can assist in illuminating the motivations of student participation in global social action. Given this expanding landscape of student participation, the concept of the global citizen is an interesting concept to position within the new participatory culture of social action participation. Within the realm of the changing participatory landscape that stages the context of this study, encompasses the advancements and capabilities of digital technology. This study does not address this issue, but further research in this area is imperative because digital technology has changed the way in which youths are using technology, allowing for new means of production and circulation through do-it-yourself (Deibert, 2014) or “networked individualism” avenues (Raine & Wellman, 2012).

Recent global social uprisings have demonstrated a hybrid approach to how individuals can engage in social justice issues. Lim (2013) used the Tunisian uprising as an example of how global boundaries connect and converge, bridging geographical and class divides in both online and offline capacities by finding personalized paths to contribute to social issue in three ways. Digital media have provided an avenue for citizens to act globally. Global social action in which technological networks can mobilize cross sections of individuals to raise awareness of global injustices can assist in creating global citizens. Considering students’ motivations when working within the global citizenship framework and how schools work within the parameters of the digital world to create global citizens is key for moving forward.
The motivation to participate in social action poses an interesting layer to the contemplation of a global citizen. What is the motivation to participate in a global issue when the outcome has no direct impact on the local realities? Social participation has the potential to engage students in massive issues that are easy to disengage from and are often seen as insolvable. Understanding the motivations behind the participation can assist in making space for imagining the possibilities of a better future. There are many newer examples of social action participation in a contemporary participatory landscape, such as ethical consumption, signing an online petition, looting the streets during the G20 summits, or commenting on a post on Facebook (Banaji & Buckingham, 2010). These push the current understanding of social action participation. In order to define what social action participation is, it is necessary to know the motivations behind the action to decipher the understanding of the action.

Explaining the relationship between motivation and participation may demonstrate if students from diverse backgrounds have a greater inclination to engage in social action if their frame of reference is already positioned within an ideology of oppression. Such an exploration can occur by pursuing field research to investigate and consider if motivation is a decisive factor for participation. The internal connection that is made with the social justice issue connects students’ individual diverse experience to their individualized understanding of what it means to help those who are less fortunate. The individual frame of reference is altered when the choice is made to participate in social justice issues, therefore shifting perceived and learned realities. This only promotes forward progress to potentially mobilize others. Students’ perceptions need to be
researched in order to demonstrate the full potential of student participation in a global world where everyone is considered a contributing member to society.
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New approaches to the social studies [Editorial notes]. (1937). *The School, April*, 645-646.


## Appendix A – Document List

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<th>Pg. No.</th>
<th>Location of Retrieved Document</th>
<th>Rationale for choosing this document</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Formal Institution</td>
<td>Ministry</td>
<td>Ontario Curriculum for Canadian History and World Studies</td>
<td>3 to 17, 141 to 146, 147-158.</td>
<td>Ministry of Education Website.</td>
<td>Curriculum will highlight the discourse used to explain how the educational system approaches citizen education for students growing up in diverse communities and how the document specifically speaks about active participation at local, national and global levels.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Formal Institution</td>
<td>Educational Publisher</td>
<td>Civics Now Text book, Chap 1</td>
<td>9 to 32</td>
<td>Toronto District School Board.</td>
<td>This is a resource used to teach the Civics Course in secondary schools. Chapter 1 is titled &quot;The Good Citizen&quot; which is described through text, activities and reflection questions.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Formal Institution</td>
<td>Ministry</td>
<td>Fundraising Guideline Ministry of Education</td>
<td>1 to 6</td>
<td>Ministry of Education Website.</td>
<td>This document explains the Ministry of Educations' policies and procedures on fundraising in schools/school boards.</td>
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<td>Formal Institution</td>
<td>School Board</td>
<td>Fundraising Guidelines TDSB</td>
<td>6 to 27, 30 to 31, 54 to 56</td>
<td>Toronto District School Board.</td>
<td>This document explains the Toronto District School Boards' policies and procedures on fundraising in schools.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>International Organization</td>
<td>Service Project Student Club Toolkit</td>
<td>1 to 16</td>
<td>This document is from the Service Project Website under Resources, titled Club Toolkits. This is a step-by-step guide for the student club (their members and staff supervisor) to learn how to create their club, create awareness about the service project etc. This document will highlight some of the language used around raising awareness and fundraising.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>International Organization</td>
<td>Social Media Toolkit</td>
<td>1 to 9</td>
<td>This document is from the Service Project Website under Resources, titled Club Toolkits. This document explains to the student club how to effectively use social media to advertise their club.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>International Organization</td>
<td>Service Project Model Club Guide</td>
<td>1 to 14</td>
<td>This document is from the Service Project Website under Resources, titled Club Toolkits. This document specifically speaks about how to fundraise as a student club and meet targets set by the organization. This will highlight how the International Organization frames the purpose of fundraising.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>International Organization</td>
<td>Service Project Pocket Guide</td>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>This document is from the Service Project Website under Resources, titled Club Toolkits. An easy guide that all the students in the club can carry around to refer to the international organizations' facts about the service project and answers to questions regarding purpose and rationale to fundraise money.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>International Organization</td>
<td>Creating Purpose for Your Student Club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Resource is located under Achieving Student Club Excellence. This document explains how students are to create purpose for their club in the community. This talks about connecting to the club's community and making their purpose well known in the community. To an effect, this is how the international organization may be promoting raising awareness.</td>
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### Table 1: Qualities of a Volunteer

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<td>Organization</td>
<td>5 Critical Elements of Thoughtful Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>International Organization</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Qualities of a Volunteer</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Institution includes both formal and informal institutions. As defined by Oxford Dictionary, an institution is a society or organization that is founded for social, educational, religious etc. purposes.*