
Democracy & Education

Framing Citizenship and Citizenship Formation for Preservice Teachers

A Critical Review of Prominent Trends in the Research Literature

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Abstract

Funded by Thinking Historically for Canada's Future, a research partnership supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, this article considers how, and the extent to which, contemporary research within the area of citizenship education for preservice teachers advances the creation of more genuinely democratic and socially just societies. Drawing on critical and anti-oppressive insights in education, we specifically examine themes, trends, and developments within research related to: (a) preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship, democracy, and related themes, and (b) the influence of pedagogical practices and program models on their citizenship dispositions and teaching practices. We conclude by offering a series of recommendations for future research and theorizing in the field of teacher education, including the need for studies that move away from deficiency-based research frames and expanded notions of citizenship beyond universalized liberal democratic understandings that currently dominate the field.

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THE INTENSIFICATION OF the climate crisis, growing economic inequality, the global rise of authoritarianism, calls for justice from equity deserving groups, and demands for reconciliation and decolonization from Indigenous peoples have opened important questions about whether key assumptions that have guided citizenship formation for preservice teachers in the past now need to be reexamined. Traditionally, approaches to citizenship education within teacher education programs have been predicated on liberal conceptions of citizenship organized around a meta narrative of universal rights and freedoms. Liberal notions of citizenship in teacher education, however, need to now be considered alongside a growing body of

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scholarship that advances anti-oppressive and critical pedagogies (Cakcak, 2016; Kumashiro, 2015; Reed & Black, 2006).

Along these lines, Reed and Black (2006) argued that North American teacher education programs have a responsibility to educate teacher candidates “about issues of equity and social justice, and ultimately about the oppressive role of the dominant White system and structure to which most of them belong, if public educators are to become a force for social change” (p. 35). Similarly, Kumashiro (2015) called on educators to challenge the commonsensical ideas of teaching and teachers embedded within teacher education programs that impede movements toward social justice. This body of literature accordingly challenges the field of teacher education to return to foundational questions about the nature and purpose of citizenship education, including what it means to educate “good” citizens, how privilege intersects with citizenship, and whose interests are served by the meta-narrative of universal citizenship that often permeate prominent discourses about citizenship (Tupper, 2009).

Seeking to place such questions at the center of scholarly deliberations on the future of theory and research in the field of teacher education, this article examines trends and developments within the contemporary English language literature related to: (1) preservice teachers’ beliefs about citizenship, democracy, and associated themes, and (2) the influence of pedagogical practices and program models on preservice teachers’ citizenship understandings and dispositions. Employing critical and anti-oppressive insights in education, we consider how five prominent themes within this body of research both enable and limit possibilities for the field of teacher education to advance the creation of more genuinely democratic and socially just societies. We conclude by offering recommendations for future theorising and research in the field.

Theoretical Framework

Contemporary teacher education programs, not just in North America but in a host of other countries as well, can trace their roots back to the establishment of Normal Schools more than a century ago, which sought to instill behavioral norms that would reinforce the dominant socio-ideological values of the time (Brackett, 2016; Whitford & Villaume, 2014). With a focus on helping future teachers acquire a discrete set of skills, teacher education programs continue to be informed by technical rational discourses that permeated the curriculum of these Normal Schools. In their work, Hogan and Down (1996) argued that if the underlying discourses in teacher education are technical-rational, there is a tacit assumption that the act of teaching is merely the mastery and measurement of predetermined, decontextualized discrete skills. Supporting this view, Cakcak (2016) argued that “technicist teacher education programs aim to educate teachers as passive technicians, who transmit knowledge produced by experts neither questioning its underlying purpose, validity or reliability nor assessing the situation of their own school context” (p. 122). Such understandings are reductionistic and technocratic because they reduce citizenship, and by extension citizenship education, to a series of technical skills deemed important for civic and

democratic participation within a narrowly defined public sphere which is itself not subject to critical interrogation through an intersectional lens. The continued preoccupation in teacher education programs with apprehending discrete skills in turn focuses preservice teachers’ attention on learning theories and pedagogies rather than noticing and critiquing wider modes of domination that operate within schools and systems of education (Nolan & Tupper, 2019).

This situation is further reinforced by liberal democratic understandings of citizenship permeating the field of teacher education that rely on idealized assumptions of universal citizenship abstracted from political and social reality, particularly when that reality is messy, uneven, and systemically inequitable. Of concern is what feminist political theorists have come to describe as the false universalism of liberal democratic citizenship that advances a narrative incommensurate with the lived experiences of marginalized peoples (Lister, 1998). In his critique of citizenship education, Bennett (2007) contended that traditional understandings of citizenship framed within a rights and responsibilities discourse have created a disconnection between students and their involvement in democratic processes and structures, which in turn, undermined their ability to engage in citizenship on their own terms or to understand and interrogate their own civic identities.

The field of education is replete with further critiques of liberal democratic notions of citizenship where students learn a narrative that ignores or downplays experiences of inequity, systemic racism, sexism, and colonialism within democratic nation-states (Andreotti, 2006; Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Lister, 1998; Segall, 2020; Stewart et al., 2014; Stitzlein, 2013; Tupper, 2009, 2014). Lister (1998), for example, drew attention to the ways in which the agency of women, and in particular Black women and women of color, has been constrained by oppressive political, social, economic, and cultural institutions within the welfare state. Stitzlein (2013) examined the ways in which the hidden curriculum and a testing regime in American schools suppress students’ abilities to dissent as a form of civic engagement, and in so doing, challenge the status quo. Andreotti (2006) accordingly argued that critical education must recognize and account for the dangers of imagining a common citizenship experience and a common way forward for all members of civil society, regardless of how they are positioned, and how their identities are produced within a liberal democratic framework. Only when these factors are considered will civic engagement, “[hold] great possibility for improved democratic living” because unjust norms and/or laws are identified, challenged, and changed (Stitzlein, 2013, p. 52). Taken as a whole, this body of literature suggests that anti-oppressive work can advance the creation of more democratic and social just societies as preservice teachers are invited to consider and reflect on the lived political, everyday realities that they inhabit in order that they may be equipped to challenge the structural conditions that facilitate oppression.

Targeted Search of the Literature

We used this theoretical framework as a lens to critically examine contemporary trends and developments within research in the

field of teacher education focused on preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship, democracy, and associated themes, as well as the influence of pedagogical practices and program models on their citizenship dispositions. To do this, we engaged in a targeted search of the publicly available English language research literature that has engaged with these themes over the past 15 years. Relevant articles were identified through electronic searches on the databases Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC), Academic Search Complete, and Education Research Complete. The following search terms were employed in the search:

“Citizenship” OR “Civics” OR “Civic Formation” OR “Citizenship Dispositions” and “Preservice Teachers” OR “Student Teachers” OR “Pre-Service Teachers” OR “Prospective Teachers” OR “Teacher Candidates” OR “Student Teachers” and “Beliefs” OR “Thoughts” OR “Feelings” and “Democracy”

We limited our search to academic sources involving peer-reviewed journal articles, doctoral dissertations, and books published by an academic press.

Our search yielded several results related to service-learning and study abroad initiatives. After reviewing this body of literature, we chose to exclude this research genre as these initiatives often took place through organisations external to formal teacher education programs and we additionally felt that this area of research was worthy of a separate study unto itself. Only articles that were available through open source, our institutional library system, or through interlibrary loans were included. After uploading the articles into a shared folder within the reference management system Zotero, in the first stage of the coding process, we analyzed each of the sources using a common framework where we identified the research questions each study posed, the geographic region/s or context of the study, and the major findings. We then sought to identify high-level patterns by identifying and grouping together similar and commonly held themes and findings across the various articles. Using the same process, we then analyzed these high-level patterns for sub codes based on shared findings that were apparent within each domain. After refining and solidifying our final coding schema, we chose to bring forth five significant themes that were particularly prominent within this body of literature.

Preservice Teachers' Beliefs About Citizenship and Related Themes

The Prominence of Westheimer and Kahne's Citizenship Typology

The most notable trend emerging from this body of literature concerned how Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) citizenship typology involving three types of citizens—personally responsible, participatory, and social justice oriented—has become the primary lens within the North American context to both conceptualize citizenship education as well as analyze preservice teachers' beliefs about the role and nature of citizens in a democracy. This tendency was particularly apparent within studies occurring within the U.S.

(Bellows, 2012; Castro et al., 2012; Castro, 2013; Fry & O'Brien, 2015, 2017; Gatti & Payne, 2011; Kenyon, 2017; Marri et al., 2014; Martin, 2008; Patterson et al., 2012; Ritter, 2013; Urrieta & Reidel, 2008; Vesperman & Caulfield, 2017), but it was also apparent within comparative studies investigating the beliefs of preservice teachers in Canada, the U.S., and Australia (Carr & Thésée, 2017) as well as Australia and Argentina (Zyngier et al., 2015). Even studies that drew on other ways to conceptualize citizenship, such as Gandin and Apple's (2002) notion of thin versus thick approaches to democracy that distinguish between learning about democratic processes and the deeper critical engagements needed to foster social justice (Carr, 2007, 2008; Carr et al., 2016; Zyngier, 2016), continued to draw significantly from Westheimer and Kahne's citizenship typology.

A key affordance of this heuristic for developing more genuinely democratic and socially just societies is that it highlights the limitations of both personally responsible and participatory forms of citizenship. While personally responsible citizens are honest, obey the law, and volunteer to help those in need, the participatory citizen seeks to improve society by understanding formal political structures and actively leading and organising community events and initiatives. Both these forms of citizenship practices, however, fail to engage in critical reflection around the structural conditions that reproduce social issues, inequities, and injustices over time. This stance toward citizenship stands in contrast with possibilities opened by the social justice-oriented citizen who seeks to work toward systemic and transformative change by considering collective strategies and acts of civil disobedience that can “challenge injustice and, when possible, address root causes of problems” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 241).

As part of this work, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) outlined how citizenship programs in K–12 contexts need to invite students to consider how race, social class, and other identity markers might influence, for example, prison sentencing (p. 249). This attention to the unequal and disparate ways democracy is experienced by individuals based on their social location was apparent within this body of literature (e.g., Castro, 2013; Castro et al., 2012; Fry & O'Brien, 2015). For example, Castro and colleagues (2012) argued for a need to become aware of “systems of inequity (and hegemony) that limit democratic participation for marginalized groups” (p. 101).

While this body of literature emphasized that some forms of political engagement may not be accessible to marginalized “Others,” the research studies we examined placed limited emphasis on how this dynamic might be a reality for the preservice teachers themselves. Accordingly, one of the limitations of employing Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology to examine preservice teachers' stance on citizenship is that it still operates within a discourse that thinks in terms of universality and equality rather than difference and inequity in how individual preservice teachers might be unequally positioned as citizens due to realities of race, class, culture, gender identity, ability, etc. (Tupper, 2009). Additionally, this typology does not fully account for or invite preservice teachers to consider how they themselves might be implicated in the perpetuation of injustice through

taken-for-granted privileges that shape their experiences as citizens. The ways in which the typology is understood and often taken up in preservice education may not go far enough in interrogating power, privilege, and the problematics of democracy and may, therefore, reproduce rather than challenge ideas about universal citizenship.

An Emphasis on Preservice Teachers' Deficiencies as Citizens

The second notable trend across this body of literature concerned the ways researchers persistently found and highlighted the deeply constrained ways preservice teachers viewed notions of citizenship, democracy, and related themes. Reflective of this dynamic, research employing Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology as part of their analysis consistently found that preservice teachers hold more individually focused and passive views about citizenship and democracy (i.e., personally responsible, or thin) versus more critical and active stances (i.e., justice oriented, or thick). A survey of 432 preservice teachers in Australia by Zyngier's (2016), for instance, revealed that 85% of the study participants possessed thin conceptions of democracy reflecting a belief "that children are required to learn about democracy but to not—in any serious way—do democracy" (p. 797). Similarly, Fry and O'Brien's (2015) study involving 846 elementary preservice teachers from postsecondary institutions across the U.S. found the vast majority possessed a personally responsible view of citizenship where citizens should be honest and respectful, follow the laws passed by the government, and become involved in their community. Castro's (2013) study of 15 preservice teachers enrolled at a larger university in the U.S. Midwest found that participants' definition of an ideal citizen reflected either a conservative-values-based view highlighting the importance of honesty, loyalty, and personal responsibility or an awareness-based definition that envisions "the ideal citizen as active participants, very much in the same vein of participatory citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)" (p. 230).

An emphasis on the limitations of preservice teachers' knowledge and views about citizenship was equally prominent within research that examined the beliefs of preservice teachers through alternative frameworks that did not employ Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) citizenship typology. This body of research included studies investigating teacher candidates' attitudes and views about democracy and democratic citizenship (Lanahan & Phillips, 2014; Prachagool & Nuangchalerm, 2019; Sunal et al., 2009); global citizenship (Bruce et al., 2019); as well as ecological citizenship (Lummis et al., 2017). This trend was equally apparent within research investigating preservice teachers' beliefs and knowledge about citizenship and human rights within the context of Spain (Messina & Jacott, 2013), Cyprus (Koutselini, 2008), and Turkey (Özbek, 2017).

Messina and Jacott's (2013) study in Spain, for instance, determined that the level of elementary preservice teachers' knowledge about human rights was "quite low and limited" (p. 226). In a study comparing how preservice elementary teachers in both the U.S. and Bosnia understood the nature of democracy, Lanahan and Phillips (2014) found that preservice elementary teacher participants from the U.S. have "a self-proclaimed lack of

knowledge about democracy and primarily view citizenship education as a means to teach children how to get along" (p. 394). The limitations of preservice beliefs were additionally apparent in a study in New Zealand by Bruce (2019) and colleagues, who investigated first-year preservice teachers' understanding of the purpose and benefits of global citizenship. The researchers found that most participants were "uncertain about the idea of global citizenship, sought harmony and a desire for sameness in culturally diverse relationships, and held ethnocentric, paternalistic and salvationist views about the 'Other'" (Bruce et al., 2019, p. 161).

In considering how the emphasis in the literature on the constrained ways preservice teachers viewed notions of citizenship and related issues both enables and limits possibilities for the field of teacher education to advance the creation of more genuinely democratic and socially just societies, many researchers highlighted the adverse implications of this reality. Fry and O'Brien (2015) argued, for example, that if teacher education programs do not expose preservice teachers to forms of citizenship that move beyond personally responsible stances, they will be unable to prepare their future K–6 students "to start thinking about the world around them and how each and every person can work to improve society" (pp. 429–430). Castro (2013) similarly argued that teacher educators must work to increase civic competence among preservice teachers to foster more critical and multicultural forms of citizenship that can help them question, among other things, how "institutions perpetuate inequities that limit the realization of democracy" (p. 237).

Given the assertion of such possibilities, the overwhelming focus in the literature on the deficiencies and limitations of preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship has the potential to reinforce a neoliberal discourse that locates deficiencies or limitations within the preservice teachers themselves rather than wider structural issues and realities. Notably, several studies did highlight contemporary forces and structural realities that can account for preservice teachers' constrained beliefs about citizenship (e.g., Carr & Thésée, 2017; Zyngier et al., 2015); however, this was not the case of many studies that tended to downplay such factors (e.g., Messina & Jacott, 2013; Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Journell, 2013). In contrast to such studies, the "deficiencies" of preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship need to be understood in relation to how such constraints are not individually determined, but in fact rooted in how they are socialized as citizens including the ways in which they "learn not to be involved with questions about democracy and citizenship" (Biesta & Lawy, 2006, p. 64).

The emphasis on the constrained ways preservice teachers viewed notions of citizenship, which was consistent regardless of the geographic, national, or linguistic context, can be partially attributed to the ways Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology has been deployed in the literature. While Westheimer and Kahne (2004) adopted this typology to evaluate K–12 citizenship education programs, scholars in the field of teacher education have chosen to employ this framework to assess the beliefs of preservice teachers. Due to this shift in focus from programs to individuals, preservice teachers are consistently positioned in the literature in ways that have highlighted what they lack in relation to the desired

attributes and dispositions of justice-oriented citizenship (e.g., Kenyon, 2017; Martin, 2008), as well as their understanding of thick approaches to democracy (e.g., Carr, 2007, 2008).

Recent work in teacher education has pushed against the tendency in the literature by calling for increased attention to the civic and political attributes preservice teachers do possess (Gatti & Payne, 2011; Michael-Luna & Marri, 2011). As Gatti and Payne (2011) wrote, “to re-approach teacher education in a way that centralizes the experiences and assets of preservice teachers might ideally and ultimately allow teacher educators to engage with them in more democratic, participatory, and constructivist ways” (pp. 275–276). This insight points to how comparing preservice teachers’ beliefs about citizenship in relation to universalized ideals—whether that be Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) typology or other frames—leads to a focus on naming and ultimately entrenching the characteristics and dispositions that they lack rather than what their diverse identities and lived experiences as citizens might offer the field of teacher education, and society more generally.

The Limits of Patriotic and Universal Conceptions of Citizenship

The third significant trend across this body of literature concerned an emphasis on teacher candidates’ views on patriotic forms of education and schooling practices. Within the American context, this area of focus included studies on how preservice teachers viewed the United States Citizenship test (Bohan et al., 2008) and the value and use of the Pledge of Allegiance in schools (Chiodo et al., 2011). Studies examining the extent to which preservice teachers valued patriotic forms of citizenship versus more civically and globally minded orientations were also apparent in research conducted in the UK (Bamber et al., 2018; Jerome & Clemitshaw, 2012; Sant & Hanley, 2018). While a number of these studies pointed out misgivings that student teachers had toward patriotic forms of education, they equally found that preservice teachers possessed generally conservative and nationalistic views on citizenship. Bamber and colleagues (2018), for instance, surveyed 134 primary-level preservice teachers from the north of England to determine how they felt about a new curricular mandate in Britain seeking to promote national pride and identity above other forms of citizenship. Most participants in their study were comfortable or compliant toward this nationalistic vision of citizenship education organized around fostering “British values.”

Research in Singapore (Wang & Liu, 2008) and Russia (Zdereva, 2005) highlighted the dangers of overly nationalistic forms of patriotic education, but ultimately the need for constructive or positive forms of patriotism so that civically minded forms of citizenship can flourish. Zdereva’s (2005) study examining secondary data of future teachers’ feelings about patriotism in Russia emphasized, for example, the dangers of promoting nationalistic consciousness where “universal human values are ignored or denigrated by communities” (p. 48). However, he equally asserted that “it would be accurate to define civic-mindedness as a moral and political quality, of which patriotism is a vital component” (p. 48). Wang and Liu (2008) equally asserted

that if teachers view the National Education Program created to inculcate Singaporean values in the young as government propaganda, “their scepticism will rub off on their students and they will not be able to instil the core values of the Singaporean way of life” (p. 396).

In a similar vein, several studies in Turkey (Altikulaç, 2016; Altikulaç & Yontar, 2019; Ramazan & Ezlam, 2017; Thornberg & Oğuz, 2016), and a study in Israel (Zamir & Horowitz, 2013) drew on the work of Schatz and Staub (1997) to distinguish between blind patriotism versus constructive patriotism. As Altikulaç (2016) outlined, while citizens who are blindly patriotic demonstrate unconditional acceptance and loyalty toward the state, even when the government enacts policies that are harmful to some citizens, citizens exhibiting behaviors of constructive patriotism embrace democracy in ways that uphold the rights of all citizens (p. 27).

This body of literature offered both affordances but also significant limitations for advancing the creation of more genuinely democratic and socially just societies. On one hand, this body of literature highlights the dangers of overly nationalistic and blind forms of patriotism versus the benefits of more constructive forms of patriotism that seek to uphold the rights of all citizens and think beyond blind allegiance to the state. On the other hand, what are deemed more productive forms of patriotism in literature do not generally advance the kinds of democratic practices that are willing to engage questions around our individual and collective responsibilities as citizens to critically interrogate the conditions of oppression that operate in society. As Lister (1998) noted, advancing more socially just societies is undermined by these dominant understandings of citizenship and their denial of difference, which create “a bogus universalism” that makes false promises about democratic participation (p. 71)

This body of literature was also limited in its ability to examine the differing ways citizenship is experienced by marginalized peoples and communities (Tupper, 2009). Along these lines, much of the literature, including research that took place in Singapore (Wang & Liu, 2008), Russia (Zdereva, 2005), and Turkey (Ramazan & Ezlam, 2017), continued to frame citizenship as universal. Ramazan and Ezlam (2017) argued, for example, that the “value laden concepts such as citizenship and citizenship education need to be based on a universal and a philosophical understanding which is free from departmental and ethnic presumptions and prejudices in educational process” (p. 810). Such an understanding of citizenship assumes that one’s background, lived experience, and position within the imagined community of the “nation” do not matter. Rather, it is believed that all individuals can engage in desired citizenship activities equally.

The limitations of idealized assumptions of universal citizenship abstracted from political and social realities was equally apparent in a fairly extensive body of research from Turkey exploring preservice teachers’ views and attitudes toward citizenship in relation to elements of their identity (e.g., gender and ethnicity) (Açıklalın, 2011; Dündar, 2019; Ersoy, 2010; Kayaalp et al., 2018; Kiliç, 2014; Özbek & Köksalan, 2015; Ramazan & Ezlam, 2017; San et al., 2019). Given this attention on the intersection

between preservice teachers' identities and their beliefs about citizenship issues, which was much less apparent in the North American context, these studies generally did not consider the historical and social realities that account for why particular differences existed. In the case of Ersoy's (2010) study, which found that female student teachers reported greater difficulties engaging in critical and sensitive classroom discussion, there was no interrogation of the ways the patriarchal and patrilineal culture of Turkey—and the Middle East more broadly—renders women, according to Awwad (2011), "powerless and weak in the face of cultural struggles" (p. 106). Similarly, in a study by Ramazan and Ezlam (2017) that determined Kurdish preservice teachers are much less likely to possess positive attitudes toward blind citizenship than their Turkish counterparts, the researchers failed to consider the long history of Kurdish repression at the hands of the Turkish state, ranging from "ill-treatment at schools and discrimination in the workplace to repressive measures from state bodies" (Gourlay, 2018, p. 135), that might account for this finding.

Influence of Skills and Pedagogical Approaches on Citizenship Dispositions

A Focus on Discrete Skills

The fourth most prominent theme emerging from this body of literature involved an emphasis on how affording preservice teachers' opportunities to learn about and engage with various skills, processes, and pedagogical practices can promote positive citizenship dispositions. Examples of specific skills and pedagogical practices studied within this body of literature included critical inquiry (Sanchez, 2010), critical social dialogue (Chávez-Reyes, 2012), critical literacy exercises (Marshall & Klein, 2009), digital resource selection (Lee, 2006), and historical synthesis (Westhoff, 2012). Researchers additionally noted the benefits of introducing various pedagogical approaches into teacher education courses including action and collaborative research projects (Agnello, 2007; Duffin et al., 2019); student participation (Bergmark & Westman, 2018); and issues-centered education (Kaviani, 2011).

Within a third-year teacher education course in Sweden, for example, Bergmark and Westman (2018) found that "student participation" defined as teacher candidates being active and engaged in the classroom, impacting the curriculum design of the course, and feeling a sense of belonging (pp. 1352–1353) fostered democratic values among the teacher candidates and a higher level of engagement in their learning. Equally, Chávez-Reyes (2012) in the U.S. context highlighted the benefits of introducing "critical social dialogue" (CSD) into three sections of a teaching foundations course in California involving a process of "problem posing, facilitating personal stories through silence and multimodal assignments, and positioning them for students to re-examine and re-evaluate their understanding of systems of difference" (p. 44). Through data collected both at the beginning and at the end of the course, Chávez-Reyes concluded that the ongoing facilitation of such discussions helped many teacher candidates better articulate "new considerations and understandings on social difference" in ways that fostered enhanced links "to future intentions involving fairer and more equal social interactions" (p. 57).

There was a significant focus within this body of literature extolling the various benefits of programs and practices seeking to promote active and global citizenship—evident within studies occurring in a range of national contexts including the U.S. (An, 2014; Byker & Marquardt, 2016; Marshall & Klein, 2009; Ullom, 2017); Canada (Appleyard & McLean, 2011); Lebanon (Ghosn-Chelala, 2020); Turkey (Bulut, 2019; Gögebakan-Yildiz, 2018); Israel (Fattal & Alon, 2018); South Africa (Petersen & Henning, 2018); and Australia (Bradbery, 2013; Varadharajan & Buchanan, 2017). The advantages of practices promoting global forms of citizenship was present, for instance, in a doctoral study by Ullom (2017) examining whether a sustained cross-cultural learning experience mediated through online communications technologies positively impacted the global citizen identity and development of 26 preservice teachers from the U.S. and Macedonia. Following this intervention, Ullom (2017) found that the preservice teachers' knowledge around the attributes of a global citizen increased in that participants from both groups came to further identify with the statement "I see myself as a global citizen" (p. 123).

This focus in the literature also included a growing emphasis on the benefits of experiential and community engaged forms of learning within teacher education courses (e.g., Daly et al., 2010; Gandy et al., 2009; Kopish, 2016; Miller, 2013; Oryan & Ravid, 2019; Rubin et al., 2016; Strahley & D'Arpino, 2016). Kopish (2016), for instance, facilitated cross-cultural experiential learning opportunities seeking to foster culturally competent teacher candidates in a course at a Midwestern university in the U.S. Students had the opportunity to, among other initiatives, engage in a three-hour cross-cultural dialogue session with international students from various regions including Africa and the Middle East. Kopish (2016) determined that these experiences helped the teacher candidates better understand the struggles of people from migrant communities but also led to feelings of cognitive dissonance that challenged the participants to "reflect on their own privileges and to consider the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of others" (p. 88).

Given the possibilities opened by such practices for the advancement of more genuinely democratic and socially just societies, there continues to be an assumption in this body of literature that if only preservice teachers could just learn and master particular skills and behaviors, then they would become motivated and capable of acting upon their world in democratic ways, which could in turn, position them to support their students in doing the same. However, many of the skills highlighted in this body of literature (Miller, 2013; Strahley & D'Arpino, 2016; Lee, 2006) do not prepare students to consider relations of dominance through an intersectional analytic lens. Rather, such studies run the risk of reducing preservice teacher education to an instrumental and technical-rational focus on fostering skills and dispositions within a framework of universal citizenship that does not involve any sort of critical engagement with structural arrangements and wider modes of domination that permeate schools and school systems (Nolan & Tupper, 2019). This kind of "bogus universalism" that Lister (1998) critiqued works to undermine efforts to achieve more socially just societies. Along these lines, a

focus on fostering qualitative changes in the mentalities of preservice teachers that was apparent in the literature including research promoting the dispositions of global citizenship (e.g., Fattal & Alon, 2018; Bulut, 2019; Gögebakan-Yildiz, 2018; Ghosn-Chelala, 2020) runs the risk of privileging individual change through the acquisition of discrete pedagogical skills over a focus on the need for structural transformations (Pais & Costa, 2017).

The Challenges of Enacting Skills and Processes in Classroom Contexts

A fifth substantive trend emerging from our review of literature related to approaches to citizenship formation in teacher education programs involved an emphasis on the concerns preservice teachers had around their ability to enact specific skills, conceptual models, and pedagogical processes they were exposed to in their teacher education classes once they were out in the field (e.g., Appleyard & McLean, 2011; Kaviani, 2011; Lee, 2006; Sanchez, 2010). In a U.S. study conducted in a social studies methods class, for instance, Lee (2006) determined that providing students opportunities to select Digital Civic Resources they deemed relevant for classroom use offered opportunities to foster skills of critical media literacy but also noted that students struggled to make the resources pedagogically relevant for their practice in the field. In this same vein, Kaviani (2011) argued that many students were concerned about enacting issues-centered education in their practice as they “felt overwhelmed with the perceived demands upon them” including the need to meet “Washington State standards regarding academic benchmarks for student learning” (p. 289). This same dynamic was apparent within a study by Appleyard and McLean (2011), who found that preservice teachers reported various advantages to introducing a Global Citizenship Education (GCE) model within a Canadian professional development program including the usefulness of accompanying resources that they could employ in their future practice. However, the preservice teacher participants also voiced concerns around integrating GCE into “an already demanding curriculum and being unsure of how to apply their knowledge of the program into classroom contexts” (Appleyard & McLean, 2011, p. 15).

This same dynamic was equally present within studies examining how preservice teachers navigated various concepts and practices related to citizenship education they were exposed to within their teacher education courses, once they were teaching in the field (Liggett, 2008; Pitiporntapin et al., 2016; Reisman et al., 2017; Sleeter, 2008; Urban, 2013). When asking and answering questions through a historical discussion framework, Reisman (2018), for instance, found that the teacher candidates in a mid-western US college reverted to asking questions that required a single correct answer, rather than questions that would foster meaning making and further discussion. Within a study in Thailand, Pitiporntapin and colleagues (2016) found that preservice science teachers rarely engaged in socio-scientific issues with students during their practicums due to a lack of confidence and fear that they had inadequate knowledge about these global and community issues.

A great deal of this body of research determined that, while preservice teachers wanted to carry out the vision of citizenship education they encountered in their teacher education programs, they perceived and experienced various barriers to enacting such practices once they were in K–12 classroom contexts. Prominent barriers included concerns about meeting curriculum standards and a lack knowledge, guidance, and time to enact strategies to foster richer and more engaged forms citizenship (Alfaro, 2008; Condy & Green, 2016; Gallavan, 2008; Journell, 2013; Kopish, 2016; Lee et al., 2012; Liggett, 2008; Pitiporntapin et al., 2016; Revell & Arthur, 2007). Within the context of a preservice teacher course in California where the majority of students were from low-income backgrounds and of Latino descent, Alfaro (2008) found, for instance, that the participants welcomed the opportunity to develop capacities with deliberative pedagogy and critical thinking skills in ways that could help them shift away from a one size fits all form of curriculum design. However, the 25 participants continued to report concerns around the length of time these elements took to enact in classroom contexts, and additionally questioned whether it was allowing them to meet grade level standards.

Other prominent barriers included teacher candidates not wanting to disrupt the status quo as new teachers (Michael-Luna & Marri, 2011), and rarely observing approaches to teaching citizenship they were exposed to in their teacher education courses within their field placements (e.g., Harber & Serf, 2006; Urban, 2013). In a doctoral study examining how a New York college prepared prospective secondary social studies teachers for inclusive education and democratic citizenship, for example, Urban (2013) found that a lack of models for teacher candidates to draw on, either within their own schooling experience or within their field placement, significantly hindered the adoption of more inclusive and democratic approaches to social studies. As one study participant noted: “Out of the hundred hours I observed, I have seen one time where they weren’t straight lecturing” (Urban, 2013, p. 128). Similar findings were present in a study by Harber and Serf (2006) who interviewed students in education departments in both England and South Africa to determine the extent to which their teacher education programs prepared them to educate for democracy. Noting a considerable gap between the stated democratic aims of teacher education programs and practice within the field, the preservice teachers from both countries consistently highlighted how the tendency of teachers in their practicums to adopt a lecturer-based teaching style did “not provide a good role model for the development of democratically professional teachers” (Harber & Serf, p. 998).

One of the significant affordances of this body of literature for advancing more genuinely democratic and socially just societies is that many studies highlighted the ways the challenges preservice teachers have faced in the field can be attributed to larger institutional constraints (e.g., Liggett, 2008; Sleeter, 2008; Urban, 2013). Urban (2013) concluded, for instance, that the normative structures of schools organized around standards-based educational reform, which run counter to democratic forms of education, resulted in the student teachers feeling greatly unprepared and

ill-equipped to adopt a more inclusive form of social studies practice. Sleeter (2008) similarly highlighted the neoliberal forces that have made it much harder for teacher education programs to advance equity and democracy, including a focus away from equity-oriented teacher preparation, toward a vision of teachers as technicians.

Given the presence of such studies in the literature, several studies tended to primarily locate preservice teachers' struggles with enacting pedagogical approaches in the field as a deficiency within individual preservice teachers themselves (e.g., Journell, 2013; Pitiporntapin et al., 2016; Reisman et al., 2017). Journell (2013), for example, attributed the challenges preservice teachers experienced forging connections between course content and current events, to a lack of proper intellectual dispositions. Likewise, Pitiporntapin and colleagues (2016) attributed the inability of preservice teachers to engage with socio-scientific issues to "their lack of knowledge about this teaching approach" (p. 17). With the framing of the problem as a lack of knowledge or proper intellectual dispositions, an assumption exists that preservice teachers are autonomous subjects able to enact pedagogical practices regardless of the contexts in which they work. Such explanations, however, deflect attention from the ways the successful enactment of specific forms of pedagogy is not so much about what preservice teachers know or do not know as individuals. Rather, greater considerations must be given towards the extent to which certain practices are even possible within the structural constraints of particular contexts and the modes of dominance that shape them. Thus, the constraints are not a function of preservice teachers' lack of knowledge, though they may be a contributing factor, but more a function of how institutions reproduce, reinforce, and reify power, privilege, and dominance.

Future Directions for Theory and Research in the Field

This critical reading of prominent trends and themes in the field point to possible future directions for theory and research related to the intersecting themes of preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship and related themes, as well as citizenship formation practices in teacher education programs. The failure of the literature to date to fully appreciate how gender differences, along with racial and class divisions, both shape and limit educational experiences and participation in public life, including among preservice teachers themselves, points to the need for research that interrogates the varied assumptions of universal norms of citizenship that continue to permeate the common-sense understandings (Kumashiro, 2015) of many approaches to citizenship education within the field of teacher education.

The dominance of universal notions of citizenship in the literature, including that of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) citizenship typology, also points to the need for increased attention and engagements in the field of teacher education with conceptions of citizenship that move beyond purely liberal democratic assumptions. Lister (1998) argued in this regard that "a non-essentialist conceptualization of the political subject as made up of manifold, fluid identities that mirror the multiple differentiation of groups" (p. 77) is possible when liberal democratic assumptions are

challenged. Against a backdrop of the global climate crisis, alternatives to liberal democratic notions of citizenship would include notions of citizenship that honor the integrity of Indigenous knowledge systems, which emphasize the webs of relationships, both human and natural, we are enmeshed within (Borrows, 2000; Donald, 2019). Indigenous scholars and allies (Scott & Gani, 2018; Tupper & Cappello, 2008) have additionally highlighted the need for teacher education programs to promote decolonizing notions of citizenship education that can work against cultural, civilizational, and temporal divisions that continue to bedevil settler-Indigenous relations in settler colonial states such as Canada, the U.S., and Australia (Donald, 2009). Within the territory now known as Canada, for instance, Borrows (2000) and Donald (2013) have argued that Indigenous understandings of historic treaty agreements provide viable models of how Indigenous-Canadian relations could be renewed and reimagined in contemporary times in ways that acknowledge the rights of Indigenous nations to sovereignty and self-determination within their traditional territories that were never extinguished or surrendered, and therefore, continue to the present day.

The vast number of studies that have consistently shown, regardless of national or linguistic context, that preservice teachers hold personally responsible, or thin, conceptions of citizenship demonstrate that there is little value in doing another study on what preservice teachers do not understand about the nature of citizenship and democracy. To move away from the deficiency discourses that dominate the field, there is a need to shift the focus of research from the individual beliefs preservice teachers have about citizenship to the wider context which account for the ways they have come to be socialized as citizens (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). This shift in focus would include research that considers the assumptions and beliefs about citizenship promoted in teacher education programs that, assuming a common citizenship experience and regardless of how individuals and groups are positioned within society (Andreotti, 2006), often advance narrow conceptions of citizenship that avoid sustained considerations around inequitable power relations and wider modes of domination that operate within systems of education.

This shift in focus away from the individual limitations and deficiencies of preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship would also include examining the diverse activities preservice teachers are already engaged in as citizens, as well as the social and material possibilities and limitations of their lived, discursive, and material environment. Rather than research on preservice teachers, there is need in this regard for research conducted with preservice teachers, particularly as they story themselves as citizens against a backdrop of systems of oppression that operate in discursive ways. Such research would consider not only the experiences and assets of preservice teachers bring as citizens (Gatti & Payne, 2011) but also how their very identities are produced and mediated within these larger systems and discursive structures such as personally responsible notions of citizenship that shape common sense understandings of citizenship.

Closely tied to this point, the continued emphasis in the literature on discrete teaching skills and pedagogical knowledge

point to a need for research projects that help preservice teachers foster a citizenship consciousness that can support them to notice and critique systems of oppression, and guidance on how their classroom practices might be shifted in light of these influences. Work by Smith (2014a, 2014b) has pointed to the ways such research can be conducted through autobiographical approaches to research where teacher educators focus on the theorizing that informs their praxis as critical educators. This focus was also apparent in an action research study by Fry and O'Brien (2017) designed to investigate the impact of a systematic efforts to broaden preservice teachers' citizenship consciousness to include social justice perspectives.

While some of the literature in this area worked against a neoliberal discourse that places the focus of change on individuals, rather than the need for structural transformations, there was a noted lack of attention in the literature on questions of identity and the complexity involved in shifting educational practice among preservice teachers. Theory and research from psychoanalytic currents within the critical tradition caution that helping preservice teachers orient themselves toward more genuinely socially just practices is no easy undertaking (Carson, 2005; Pitt & Britzman, 2010; Segall, 2020). One of the fundamental insights within this body of literature is that educators come to the learning scene with already established ideological assumptions, interpretive frameworks, and curricular and pedagogical commitments in their current teaching practices that are difficult to shift. As such, when confronted with the prospect of imagining and ultimately adopting new practices including critical and anti-oppressive educational practices, there may be a tendency to resist or reject such possibilities.

Pitt and Britzman (2010) described this process as an encounter with difficult knowledge involving knowledge that is incommensurate with what an individual believes and holds to be true. Educators responding to difficult knowledge may adopt a stance of ignorance, not reflective of a lack of knowledge, but rather an active refusal of knowledge that threatens familiar and institutionally supported worldviews. Thus, becoming a critical and anti-oppressive educator is not simply a matter of learning something new but rather "a matter of becoming someone who is different" (Carson, 2005, p. 6). Based on these insights, simply exposing preservice teachers to new knowledge around more critical and anti-oppressive approaches to education will not necessarily foster the kinds of shifts needed to transform their practice. Consequently, there is a need for research that implicates the identities of preservice teachers in ways that explores their "perspectives, assumptions, and desires . . . as well as their anxieties, fears, and hesitations of what owning such theories might mean both for and in their own practice" (Segall, 2020, p. 6).

Conclusion

We acknowledge several limitations of this reading of the field. First, although we attempted to identify as many articles as possible, there may have been articles and studies that were not captured in our targeted search of the literature. We also

acknowledge that our theoretical framework shaped the nature of the prominent themes and developments in the field which we chose to examine in depth. Differing interpretive assumptions would no doubt have identified other themes and trends. We also acknowledge that any interpretation of a vast body of scholarship like the one we examined, must reduce complexity for cognitive purposes. However, as a result of this process, many complexities and nuances within the literature were not captured.

Given these constraints, we see value in highlighting and critically examining prominent themes and trends within the English literature examining preservice teachers' beliefs about citizenship and approaches to citizenship formation within teacher education programs. For researchers working in particular discursive spaces, it provides an opportunity to see some of the significant developments in the field as a whole. Further, as we have tried to outline, we hope that our reading of the field can inspire new lines of research and inquiry that can push the field beyond some of the constraints we identified. We also hope that such a reading invites interrogative and productive citizenship education practices in the field of teacher education that seek to actively confront "bogus universalism" (Lister, 1998) in order to advance the possibilities for more genuinely democratic and socially just societies. In undertaking this work, we sought to present an affirmative vision around the nature and purpose of citizenship education in the field of teacher education in perilous times.

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