

International Journal

# Citizenship Teaching and Learning

Special Issue: Canadian Perspectives on  
Democracy, Diversity and Citizenship Education

Guest Editor:

Alan Sears, University of New Brunswick, Canada

Volume 5 Number 2  
December 2009



**iCea** Children's  
Identity &  
Citizenship  
European Association

A journal of citizED  
[www.citized.info](http://www.citized.info)  
in collaboration with CiCea



## **Citizenship Teaching and Learning**

Editor - Professor Ian Davies, Department of Educational Studies, University of York,  
YO10 5DD, UK. E-mail: id5@york.ac.uk

Book Reviews Editor – Professor Mark Evans, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada

### Chief Regional Editors:

Africa - Professor Penny Enslin (University of Glasgow, UK)  
Asia - Professor Kerry Kennedy (Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong)  
and Professor Wing On Lee (Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong)  
Australia - Professor Murray Print (University of Sydney)  
Canada - Professor Alan Sears (University of New Brunswick)  
Europe – Professor Concepcion Naval, University of Navarra, Spain  
South America - Rosario Jaramillo Franco (Ministry of Education of Colombia)  
USA - Professor Judith Torney Purta (University of Maryland)

### Editorial Committee:

Professor John Annette, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK  
Professor James Arthur, University of Birmingham, UK  
Professor Jon Davison, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK  
Dr. Ruth Deakin Crick, University of Bristol, UK  
Dr Bernadette Dean, Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan  
Dr. Elizabeth Frazer, University of Oxford, UK  
Professor Márta Fülöp, Institute for Psychology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences,  
Hungary  
Professor Carole Hahn, Emory University, USA  
Professor Yvonne Hébert, University of Calgary, Canada  
Professor Cathie Holden, University of Exeter, UK  
Professor Norio Ikeno, Hiroshima University, Japan.  
Professor David Kerr, National Foundation for Educational Research, UK /  
Birkbeck College, University of London, UK  
Professor Will Kymlicka, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada  
Professor Mitsuhara Mizuyama, Kyoto University of Education  
Professor Audrey Osler, University of Leeds, UK  
Professor Walter Parker, University of Washington, USA  
Professor Graham Pike, University of Prince Edward Island, Canada  
Professor Alan Reid, University of South Australia, Australia  
Professor Christine Roland Levy, University of Rheims, France  
Professor Alistair Ross, London Metropolitan University, UK  
Don Rowe, Citizenship Foundation, UK

## **About citizED**

citizED is funded by the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) in the UK. citizED is a collaboration within higher education organised principally around citizenship education in primary, secondary, cross curricular, post 16 and community involvement contexts. It is working in partnership with a wide variety of individuals and organisations including the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT).

citizED's Director is Professor James Arthur of University of Birmingham. The Deputy Directors are Professor Ian Davies of the University of York (Tel +44 (0)1904 433460, email [id5@york.ac.uk](mailto:id5@york.ac.uk)) and Professor Jon Davison of the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (Tel +44 (0)207 612 6567, email [j.davison@mac.com](mailto:j.davison@mac.com)). The project administrator is Roma Woodward at Canterbury Christ Church University. (Tel +44 (0)1227 782993, email: [roma.woodward@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:roma.woodward@canterbury.ac.uk)).

citizED's website may be found at <http://www.citized.info>

## **About 'Citizenship Teaching and Learning'**

Formerly published as 'The International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education', the Journal is now renamed 'Citizenship Teaching and Learning' reflecting our interest in citizenship teaching and learning in all contexts, for all ages within and beyond schools; international, global and cosmopolitan with a commitment to academic excellence within diverse democracies.

Citizenship and civics education are diverse and contested fields encompassing, amongst other matters, social and moral considerations, community involvement and political literacy. The Journal appeals to those large academic and professional populations within the field of social studies education. The Journal exists as an international forum in which researchers, policy makers, administrators and practising professionals in a range of local, national and global contexts and age-related phases within and beyond formal educational institutions report and discuss their on-going or completed work.

Previous issues can be downloaded for free from <http://www.citized.info/e-journal>.

Linked to the Journal is an international conference on citizenship education – an annual conference that takes place at venues across the world drawing together experts on citizenship education from across the globe.

## **Citizenship Teaching and Learning**

**Volume 5, Number 2 December 2009**

### Contents

Editorial - Ian Davies

Editorial – Alan Sears , (Guest Editor) page 1

Articles –

YVONNE HÉBERT: Responsibility and Citizenship Education:  
Shifting Meanings, Policy and Curricula page 4

MARK EVANS, LEIGH ANNE INGRAM, ANGELA MACDONALD  
AND NADYA WEBER: Mapping the “global dimension” of citizenship  
education in Canada: The complex interplay of theory, practice,  
and context page 16

JEFF ORR AND ROBYN RONAYNE: Indigeneity Education as  
Canadian First Nations Citizenship Education page 35

KRISTINA LLEWELLYN AND JOEL WESTHEIMER: Beyond  
Facts and Acts: The Implications of ‘Ordinary Politics’ for  
Youth Political Engagement page 50

CARLA PECK :Peering Through a Kaleidoscope: Identity, Historical  
Understanding and Citizenship in Canada page 62

OTTILIA CHAREKA: Who is In and Who is Out? The Politics of  
Inclusion and Exclusion in the Democratic Processes of Canada  
as Perceived by Recent African Immigrants page 76

### **Citizenship Education in the Era of Globalization: Canadian Perspectives**

Michael O'Sullivan and Karen Pashby (Eds.). Published in 2008 by Sense Publishers,  
Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

### **Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship**

Ali A. Abdi and Lynette Shultz (Eds.). Published in 2008 by State University of New  
York Press, Albany, New York.

### **Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education: Cross-cultural**

**Perspectives** Joseph Zajda, Holger Daun and Lawrence Saha (Eds.). Published in  
2008 by Springer, Dordrecht.

### **Who We Are: A Citizen's Manifesto**

Rudyard Griffiths. Published in 2009 by Douglas & McIntyre, Toronto, Canada.

## *Editor's Editorial*

### **Introduction**

This special issue of *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* is published at a crucial point in the Journal's history. The next issue will be published by Intellect, an independent academic publisher of scholarly books and journals. Intellect's mission is to publish original thinking, providing a vital space for widening critical debate in new and emerging fields. It would be hard to imagine an approach which better complements our work in citizenship education. From the very beginning the editorial committee, authors and reviewers of the Journal have promoted the best thinking about citizenship education. We have been greatly privileged to publish 'ordinary' issues with articles from leading international scholars as well as special editions. The latter have included work from Asia; Reflections on the IEA Civic Education Study 1995-2005; and, on Young People's Voice on Civic and Global Issues. The current special issue on Canada is an invaluable addition to our work.

The Journal began as the *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education* with a successful launch at the University of Toronto in 2005. Since that point one of the 2 issues produced each year have been launched at international conferences which have taken place at Oxford, Sydney, Cambridge and Hong Kong. The 2010 international conference will be held at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland and at that point we will see the first issue under our new partnership with Intellect.

We have always published the best thinking from across the world, working inclusively so as to include a wide variety of perspectives about citizenship education. We have always been determined to operate collegially and with administrative efficiency. This would not have been possible without the professional dedication of a large number of people. A particular mention must be made of the huge benefits that are resulting from a development of the original work by citizED with a very creative and dynamic partnership with the European higher education association CiCea (Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Association).

It would be impossible to mention all the individuals who have done so much to achieve success but my appreciation of their input is boundless. We move on to the next stage of our work strongly anticipating that we will maintain our standards of scholarship and expand our readership.

*Correspondence:* IAN DAVIES, Department of Educational Studies, University of York, YO10 5DD, UK

## *Guest Editor's Introduction*

ALAN SEARS, *University of New Brunswick, Canada*

### **Introduction**

Fifteen years ago, just about at the beginning of my scholarly interest in citizenship education, I published an extensive review of the literature in the field in Canada (Sears, 1994). I concluded that the body of research knowledge about citizenship education in the Canadian context was extremely sparse and, that although some good work had been done, much of the scholarship was of poor quality. Over the years since, I have sometimes continued to lament the slow pace of scholarship, policy development, and programme implementation in the area in Canada. Just three years ago a colleague and I wrote that in comparison to developments in citizenship education in a number of other jurisdictions, Canada was a mere dabbler in the field and not a serious player (Hughes & Sears, 2006).

There have been, however, glimmers of hope and signs of progress over the years. One significant development was the formation of the Citizenship Education Research Network (CERN) in 1998; a consortium of university based researchers and public policy makers working in areas related to citizenship education. In addition, a number of individuals and research teams across the country began sustained programmes of research and scholarship. This special edition of Citizenship Teaching and Learning brings together a small sample of some of that work and I believe the collection presents some unique and valuable Canadian perspectives on the broad field of citizenship education. Some of the key themes explored in the papers published here include:

- *The tensions often felt in citizenship education between developing openness to and respect for diversity and promoting social cohesion.* A recent exploration of policy and practice in civic and citizenship education across 12 states found this issue to be a ubiquitous concern across all jurisdictions (Reid, Gill & Sears, 2010). As Kymlicka (2003) points out, over the past several decades the trend across virtually all Western democracies has been toward greater recognition and accommodation of diversity in several ways: increased autonomy for national minorities; a move away from policies of assimilation of immigrants toward integration; and greater recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. Canadian policies have largely followed these trends and have not been particularly unique. However, "Canada is distinctive," he argues, "in having to deal with all three forms of diversity at the same time" and "in the extent to which it has not only legislated but also constitutionalized, practices of accommodation" (p. 374). A number of the articles in this collection address Canadian educational approaches to all of these

types of diversity. Both Carla Peck and Otilia Chareka, for example, examine features of the immigrant experience with citizenship education in Canada; Yvonne Hébert looks at recent reforms in civic education in provinces representing Canada's two official language communities; and Jeff Orr and Robyn Ronayne explore the often ambiguous relationship between Canada's Aboriginal Peoples and citizenship education calling for a rethinking of approaches to civic education centred in the concept of Indigeneity.

- *The implications of the "cognitive revolution" (Ireson, 2008: 14) for citizenship education.* This revolution, emanating from the work of Piaget, Vygotsky, Bruner and others, has as a central tenet that that people come to any learning situation with a set of cognitive structures that filter and shape new information in powerful ways. Howard Gardner (2006: 76) calls these structures "mental representations" and argues they underlie the fact that "individuals do not just react to or perform in the world; they possess minds and these minds contain images, schemes, pictures, frames, languages, ideas, and the like." Good teaching depends to a large degree in paying attention to the narratives students already possess in any given subject area. Kristina Llewellyn and Joel Westheimer take up this theme demonstrating that students' conceptions of citizenship and civic engagement may not always conform to conventional thinking in the area, but they are often more sophisticated than we might assume and provide a potential starting point for enhancing civic understanding and practise. As well, Peck and Chareka both look at the ways in which students' cognitive frameworks shape how they understand areas related to citizenship in the Canadian context.

- *Clarifying the conceptual field of citizenship education.* It has become almost a cliché to say that citizenship is a contested concept. That is because it is true. Both citizenship and its constituent concepts such as rights, participation, responsibility, due process, etc. are often used as slogans to promote particular agendas rather than convey precise meanings. Character educators, for example, often use the language of citizenship and civic engagement to advance an inherently conservative approach to education inconsistent with contemporary trends in citizenship education (Smagorinsky & Taxel, 2005). Global education, global citizenship, and cosmopolitanism are key ideas in the field that have often suffered from a lack of clarity. Mark Evans and his colleagues provide a rich exploration of these concepts including identifying the core learning goals and teaching practises generally common to them. They take this conceptual analysis one step further by examining how these ideas have been manifest over time in Canadian policy and curricula. Hébert undertakes a similar project with regard to the concept of responsibility and the various ways it is used in curriculum documents across the country as do Orr and Ronayne with regard to Indigeneity. This kind of analytical/conceptual work should further much deeper dialogue about what curricula intend and whether that is consistent with what we really desire for citizenship education.

Some might ask why a journal like *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* would dedicate a special issue to Canada, or any other particular jurisdiction for that matter. Mark Evans and his colleagues from the University of Toronto provide a simple answer in their article on the global dimensions of citizenship education: "context matters!" Although democratic citizenship shares common features across the world it is not generic but always located in a particular context which shapes both the institutional and social forms it takes. Part of understanding and refining our own approaches to democratic citizenship and citizenship education is appreciating how they are similar to or different from approaches in other places. The articles in this



collection provide a rich sense of work on citizenship education in Canada; it is my hope they will foster both good thinking and productive conversations about work both in that country and elsewhere.

*Correspondence:* ALAN SEARS, Faculty of Education, University of New Brunswick. PO Box 4400, Fredericton, NB E3B 5A3, Canada

## REFERENCES

- GARDNER, H. (2006). *The Development and Education of the Mind: The Selected Works of Howard Gardner*. London and New York: Routledge.
- HUGHES, A. S., & SEARS, A. (2006). Citizenship Education: Canada dabbles while the world plays on. *Education Canada*, 46(4), 6-9.
- IRESON, J. (2008). *Learners, Learning and Educational Activity*. Oxon: Routledge.
- KYMLICKA, WILL. 2003. "Being Canadian." *Government and Opposition* 38(3):357-385.
- REID, ALAN, JUDITH GILL AND ALAN SEARS eds. 2010. *Globalization, the Nation-State and the Citizen: Dilemmas and Directions for Civics and Citizenship Education*. New York: Routledge.
- SEARS, A. (1994). Social Studies as Citizenship Education in English Canada: A Review of Research. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 22(1), 6-43.
- SMAGORINSKY, P., & TAXEL, J. (2005). *The Discourse of Character Education: Culture Wars in the Classroom*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.

## *Responsibility and Citizenship Education: Shifting Meanings, Policy and Curricula*

YVONNE HÉBERT, University of Calgary

*ABSTRACT* Examining the programmes of studies in three Canadian provinces, I explore the notion of 'responsibility' in its individual and collective curricular manifestations, taking up the views of Seligman who embeds the notion in community and authority. The shift of meaning in the new civic curricula reflects both the dominance of neo-liberalism in an age of globalisation and the return of education for democracy. *Introduction*

### **Introduction**

Understanding responsibility is probably the defining issue of life today (Seligman, 2000). In contemporary citizenship, responsibility is fundamental to participatory and deliberative approaches, now the prevailing paradigm for policy making and curriculum development. In order to participate and deliberate in a democratic project, citizens of all ages call upon their sense of responsibility towards others. Yet we live in an era of rational choice and consumerism wherein self-interests are supreme, an era in which education for democracy is back on the public school agenda. At first glance, these twin realities appear to be contradictory.

What then does responsibility mean in a changing postmodern knowledge-based, pluralist society, driven by global economics? The answer to this question is complex as the intense, rapid processes of contemporary globalization are accompanied by a double movement towards standardisation and diversification which deeply affects Canadian society (Mercure, 2001; Elbaz and Helly, 2000). With the development of consumerism in a globalizing postmodern context, the possibility of individuals opting out of citizenship commitments is increasingly probable (Bottery, 2003; Osborne, 1996). So convincing is the idea that markets constitute the very essence of social and political relationships, that there is little place in the radical market neo-liberal discourse for the concepts of responsibility or democracy. Nonetheless, the concepts of rights and responsibilities are essential to a healthy society as the former maintain individual autonomy and the latter sustain the community that provides such rights. Moreover, the political organisation of society is a relationship between an individual and a polity in which each individual is endowed with some rights in exchange for assuming some responsibilities.

What is most relevant to curriculum reform today is that the driving sectors of the economy rest upon knowledge, which has direct educational policy implications at all levels. Education is of crucial importance to the creation of a willing work force, the knowledge base of the global economy, and a polity that is knowledgeable, reasonable, deliberative, participatory, and which has a clearly defined sense of belonging, a national political identification and a capacity for

ethical action. This necessitates clarification of the concept of responsibility for the democratic citizen to best inform curricular policy.

In this paper, I seek to explore the notion of 'responsibility' in its individual and collective curricular manifestations within programmes of studies in three major Canadian provinces: Alberta, Ontario and Québec.

### **Shifting Meanings of Responsibility in Philosophical and Educational Thought**

Responsibility is at the very heart of citizenship. Yet, responsibility has been understood in many ways (ex., Barber, 1984; Galston, 1991; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000; Macedo, 1990; Young, 2000). There are nonetheless two major aspects of responsibility to be examined, each in term of its contribution to citizenship:

Individual responsibility which focuses upon individual moral qualities or characteristics; what is in question is its relevance to citizenship; and

Collective responsibility which involves being responsible to another, a group of some sort, be it a youth's best friend, hockey team, theatre club, cultural or religious community; what is in question is the differentiation of affiliations and adherence to a larger political state.

Power relations between groups and the integration of minorities are therefore at the very heart of collective responsibility. Let us consider both individual and collective understandings of responsibility in light of their relevance to current curriculum policy.

On the individual level, the tense debate about the meaning of responsibility sets virtue theory and character education in opposition to one another. What is at issue philosophically and practically is the very nature and relevance of pedagogical relationships to create the link between the moral and the political. One side of the debate assumes that it is possible to instil virtues through direct teaching by addressing these systematically and explicitly, as in character education. The other side calls for caring pedagogical relationships which support the discussion of moral and democratic values at relevant moments for the learner as well as a social curriculum with the potential to bring positive and long-term satisfaction with peaceful solutions in a complex and diverse world (Mosher, 2006; Bickmore, 2006). Arguing for the teachable moment, Noddings (2002) favours the use of conversation in caring pedagogical relationships which address deeply meaningful questions of life, such as: Why am I here? Where do I stand in the world? What might I become? What has my life amounted to?

On the collective level, confusion between 'plurality' and 'public/private' compounds the debate on the meaning of responsibility. Referring to interest groups, Barber (1984) insists that responsible citizens cannot be concerned only with their private interests and must transcend particular affiliations, commitments and needs, taking up what might be termed a 'universal' approach. Deconstructing this stance, Young (1998) and Gutmann (2003) argue that, instead of a 'universal' approach to citizenship that obliterates difference and diversity, what is required is an understanding of responsibility situated at the intersection of group-differentiated citizenship involving a heterogeneous public. Interestingly, this understanding of collective responsibility requires a very profound recognition of each other. According to Honneth (1995), it is the establishment of significant relationships of mutual recognition that are critical to the formation of differentiated identities in a pluralist country and to the dignity of all individuals and their equitable status as pre-condition to the development of self-esteem and self-reference to vital and sustainable communities.

Collective responsibility critically involves notions of community and authority. According to Seligman (2002), in modern societies, we accept the authority of those in power and the coercion of our will because, in the long run, it is usually in our best interests. This traditional economic reading of society assumes that this ‘inner, subjective justification is at the heart of the phenomenon of authority’ (p. 4); and has led to social choice and rational choice theory. This gives us the modern self as an autonomous, atomistic, secularized, and self-regulating moral agent endowed with rights, and yet, most members of modern liberal societies experience difficulty understanding authority in social and community settings (Seligman, 2000; Shorris, 2004; Eisenstadt, 2000). The notion of collective responsibility goes against the neo-liberal, secular vision of the autonomous individual, i.e., the unencumbered self upon whom is located the idea of the new global economy. Moreover, the basic assumption of an autonomous individual contradicts the powerful notion of a knowledge-based society, as it is within relationships among ‘knowers’ that new knowledge is created, when that knowledge is personally and experientially relevant (Polanyi, 1962). Hence, a living curriculum policy for citizenship education would build upon these philosophical and pedagogical articulations to produce responsible citizens who know how to live together democratically and peacefully.

### **Shifting Meanings of Responsibility in Curricular Policy**

In Canada where education is a provincial responsibility, most provinces have renewed their curriculum policy dealing with social, democratic and moral knowledge. In most provinces, the reforms involved the programme of study in Social Studies. At the secondary level, it is History in Ontario, and Histoire et éducation civique au Québec. The phrase, ‘informed, active, and responsible citizens’, prevails in the new Social Studies and History programmes. In addition to legal and constitutional responsibilities, the new programmes encourage students to be well-informed citizens, to respect diversity, human rights, and natural world, as well as to take more active roles in communities locally, nationally, and globally. This represents a shift of understanding of individuality as autonomy and at the same time, encapsulates a greater understanding of the collective nature of responsibility.

The notion of responsibility encapsulated in the passive conception of citizenship is precisely that represented in the 1989 version of the Alberta Social Studies documentation:

*RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP is the ultimate goal of social studies. Basic to this goal is the development of critical thinking. The “responsible citizen” is one who is knowledgeable, purposeful and makes responsible choices. Responsible citizenship includes: Understanding the role, rights and responsibilities of a citizen in a democratic society and a citizen in the global community;*

*Participating constructively in the democratic process of making rational decisions;*

*Respecting the dignity and worth of self and others;*

*Citizenship education is based on an understanding of history, geography, economics, other social sciences and the humanities as they affect the Canadian community and the world. However,*

*knowledge is changing rapidly. These changes bring into focus the need to provide the knowledge and skills necessary to meet the challenges and keep pace with an ever-changing world. Therefore, emphasis is placed on learning social studies facts, concepts, generalizations and skills that are useful for lifelong learning and responsible citizenship (Alberta Education, 1989: 1).*

A decade and a half later, across all jurisdictions, responsibility as programme goal had changed, transmogrified at the policy level from a passive notion to a much broader, more diffuse, deeper sense, which is both individual and collective, intended for the common good. Concordant with Sears' and Hughes' (1996) fourth conception of citizenship, the most active one, this active sense of responsibility for the collective good is typical of all new programmes of Social Studies across the land and is well codified in an Alberta example:

*The dynamic relationship between citizenship and identity forms the basis for skills and learning outcomes in the programme of studies. The goal of social studies in Alberta is to provide learning opportunities for students to:*

- Understand the principles underlying a democratic society;*
- Demonstrate a critical understanding of individual and collective rights;*
- Understand the commitment required to ensure the vitality and sustainability of their changing communities at the local, provincial, national and global levels;*
- Validate and accept differences that contribute to the pluralistic nature of Canada; and*
- Respect the dignity and support the equality of all human beings.*

*(Alberta Education 2005: 3-4).*

Greater attention is given to issues of collective responsibility but without using the term. Although unmentionable, this understanding of responsibility responds to the emergence of social and cultural rights, embedded in the politics of recognition, in cognizance of the importance of power relations between peoples in a pluralist society.

The acceptance of collective responsibility is important in Canada regarding the treatment and acceptance of Aboriginal peoples, Francophones in all provinces and territories, ethno-cultural migrant groups, and religious and racialized peoples. In Canada, young people may wonder if they are responsible for the prejudices and discriminations of previous historical times. Although present-day citizens may not be legally liable, they are nonetheless responsible for righting the wrongs of previous centuries. Turning to narrative, Carl James (2006), the anti-racist educator and scholar, tells it like this: If you inherit Grandfather's house, you are very proud, for it is a tall house, in good condition, with many fine memories, large rooms and an established garden, but then the kitchen is not so good, so you fix the kitchen.

### **The Responsible Learner**

The notion of the 'responsible learner' emerged in the early 1980s (Galison, 1980). As with other educational notions that flow from the adult corporate sphere to the educational system, the term is predicated upon efforts of systemic reform and

economic efficiency. The 'teacher-as-facilitator' ascertains the learners' prior knowledge, organizes the materials, incites the learners' interest and motivation, plans the groups' specific objectives and tasks, oversees the interactions, and evaluates the outcomes, much like a corporate manager. With time, the learner supposedly becomes increasingly autonomous.

The learners are not entirely alone in shouldering new responsibilities. Teachers in the school system face cutbacks of most support staff, especially teacher aides. Teachers find themselves responsible for students with special needs within the regular classroom, clerical and administrative tasks as well as the roles for which they were initially hired, with new responsibilities being added with each new pressure on the school system, without clear evidence of the effectiveness of corporate reforms in education (Harrison and Kachur, 1999). Thus are the embedded learner and teacher, as two peas in a pod, gradually stripped of their supportive contexts so as to become duly unencumbered, thus, utterly compatible with the prevailing dominant economic paradigm.

### **Individual Responsibility in Provincial Programmes of Study**

The recent policies for citizenship education assume that the learner is autonomous and solely responsible for her own learning, within the context of the school and with a teacher-as-facilitator, as illustrated below with quotations from Alberta, Ontario and Québec programmes of studies. The foundational section of the new Alberta curriculum policy specifies, for kindergarten through grade 12, a role for learners who are constructivist, autonomous, capable, pro-active, and engaged:

#### **Social Studies: Learners and Learning**

Students bring their own perspectives, cultures and experiences to the social studies classroom. They construct meaning in the context of their lived experience through active inquiry and engagement with their school and community. In this respect, the infusion of current events, issues and concerns is an essential component of social studies. Social studies recognizes the interconnections and interactions among school, community, provincial, national and global institutions. The Alberta programme of studies for social studies provides learning opportunities for students to develop skills of active and responsible citizenship and the capacity to inquire, make reasoned and informed judgments, and arrive at decisions for the public good.

*Students become engaged and involved in their communities by:*  
*asking questions*  
*making connections with their local communities*  
*writing letters and articles*  
*sharing ideas and understandings*  
*listening to and collaborating and working with others to design the future*  
*empathizing with the viewpoints and positions of others*  
*creating new ways to solve problems.*  
 (Alberta Education, 2005: 5).

The Ontario curriculum (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 2004; 2005a; 2005b) delineates the roles and responsibilities in Social Studies (grades 1-6), History and Geography (grades 7-8) and Canadian and World Studies programmes (grades 9-12) for students, parents and teachers. The following quote

casts students' autonomy in terms of responsibility, effort, self-motivation, mastery, commitment and achievement:

*Students have many responsibilities with regard to their learning in school. Students who are willing to make the effort required and who are able to apply themselves will soon discover that there is a direct relationship between this effort and their achievement, and will therefore be more motivated to work. There will be some students, however, who will find it difficult to take responsibility for their learning because of special challenges they face. For these students, the attention, patience, and encouragement of teachers can be extremely important factors for success. However, taking responsibility for one's progress and learning is an important part of education for all students, regardless of their circumstances. Successful mastery of concepts and skills in Canadian and world studies requires a sincere commitment to work, study, and the development or strengthening of appropriate skills (2005b: 6).*

Québec's new competency-based programme actualizes the principles that the school must take into account the particular characteristics of the students, that learners are agents of their own learning, as well as the principle of equality of opportunities for all.

*It is important that students at the same time develop the competencies that will enable them to use their learnings to better understand the world in which they live, to construct their personal identity and to interact in a variety of situations.*

*At the elementary level, learnings should be qualifying in the sense that they enable students to solve problems that correspond to their ability and provide them with appropriate preparation to continue their education. The school must enable all its students to obtain the best possible education and to reach as high a level of achievement as possible. This entails ensuring high-quality teaching and support for students, an appropriate progression of learning situations and high but realistic requirements for each learning cycle. Learnings are also qualifying insofar as they help students to discover and develop their strengths, and thus begin to orient them towards a career choice.*

*In this perspective, learnings have to be differentiated in order to meet individual educational requirements. Particular attention must be paid to each student; the approach used must build on his or her personal resources and take into account prior learnings and interests.*

*Many aspects of the Québec Education Program, particularly those related to the development of competencies and the mastery of complex knowledge, call for practices that are based on the constructivist approach to learning. This approach sees learning as a process and*

*the student as the principal agent in that process. The situations that are seen as most conducive to learning are those that present a real challenge to students by obliging them to re-examine their learnings and personal representations.*

(Gouvernement du Quebec, M. d. l. E. d. L., et du Sport, 2001: 3-5).

Thus, in the three major educational reforms cited above, the account of the learner's responsibility for learning can be understood to respond to the extreme view of the autonomous individual, who makes rational choices for personal advantage, eschewing the common good, in favour of her own benefit. As Seligman stresses, the current penetration of economic reasoning into the individual decision-making assumes a world of discrete individuals making informed choices throughout the progression of their lives (2000, 19). This means that political action is the product of a calculus of costs and benefits as an outcome of rational choice theories that focus entirely on individual choices, thus undermining collective responsibility (Whiteley, 2005; Seligman, 2000; Kymlicka, 2002).

### **Collective Responsibility in Provincial Programmes of Study**

Drawing from new programmes of study in three provinces, Alberta, Ontario and Québec, I examine these in terms of their social representations and their specific objectives governing the type of knowledge-making tasks required of learners with respect to a diversity of communities. For the Alberta and Ontario comparison, the selected outcomes in the boxes below deal with Canadian expansion, including Confederation, Western development, and migration.

Table 1: Ontario: Curriculum Social Studies Grade 1 to 6; History and Geography Grade 7 and 8 (2004)

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Specific Expectations: Understanding Concepts By the end of Grade 8, students will:</b>
<b>Confederation</b>	Identify the roles of the key individuals (e.g., Sir George-Etienne Cartier, Sir John A. Macdonald) & main events leading to the signing of the British North America Act (e.g., Charlottetown, Quebec, & London Conferences; coalition government in the Canadas); and the reasons for the exclusion of certain groups from the political process (e.g., First Nation peoples, women, the Chinese and Japanese)
<b>The Development of Western Canada</b>	Describe the everyday life of various groups (e.g., Aboriginal peoples, Europeans, Métis) in western Canada in the late nineteenth century; Analyse how treaties & the Indian Act of 1876 transformed the lifestyles of First Nation peoples in the Canadian west; Describe the causes & results of the Red River Rebellion of 1869-70 & the North West Rebellion of 1885 & explain the role of key individuals & groups (e.g., Louis Riel, Gabriel Dumont, the North-West Mounted Police, Thomas Scott, Big Bear, Poundmaker, General Wolseley, Catherine Schubert); Explain the effects of post- Confederation immigration, new wheat strains, & Klondike gold rush on the on the expansion of



Theme	<b>Specific Expectations: Understanding Concepts By the end of Grade 8, students will:</b>
	Western Canada & British Columbia (e.g., the development of prairie towns, the entry of the Yukon Territory into Confederation, the growth of Dawson City)

Table 2: Alberta Social Studies (2005), Grade 7: Canada: Origins, Histories and Movement of Peoples. 7.2 Following Confederation: Canadian Expansions

<b>Specific Outcomes</b>	<b>Knowledge and Understanding</b>
<p><b>7.2.4</b> Students will critically assess the role, contributions and influence of the Red River Métis on the development of western Canada by exploring and reflecting upon the following issues:</p>	<p>What factors led to Louis Riel’s emergence as the leader of the Métis?                      How did the government of Canada’s response to the Red River Resistance and the second Métis uprising solidify Canada’s control of the West?                      To what extent were the Red River Resistance in 1869 and the second Métis uprising in 1885 a means to counter assimilation?                      How was the creation of Manitoba an attempt at achieving compromise between the Métis, First Nations, French and British peoples?                      To what extent were the Manitoba School Act and evolving educational legislation in the Northwest Territories attempts at imposing a British identity in western Canada?</p>
<p><b>7.2.5</b> Students will evaluate the impact of Confederation and subsequent immigration on Canada from 1867 to World War I by exploring and reflecting upon the following questions and issues:</p>	<p>How did changing demographics resulting from Clifford Sifton’s immigration policies affect the collective identity of Francophones in communities across western Canada?                      How did Asian immigrants contribute to the development of Canada (i.e., Chinese railway workers)?                      What strategies were used by the government to encourage immigration from Europe?                      What strategies were used by religious communities and missionaries to encourage migration and immigration to western Canada from eastern Canada and the United States?                      What impact did immigration have on Aboriginal peoples and communities in Canada?                      How did communities, services and business established by Francophones contribute to the overall development of western Canada (i.e., health, education, churches, commerce, politics, journalism, agriculture)?                      How did immigrants from Eastern Europe contribute to the development of western Canada (i.e., health, education,</p>

Specific Outcomes	Knowledge and Understanding
	churches, commerce, politics, journalism, agriculture)?

Exemplified by outcomes that require students to outline, describe, analyse and explain, Ontario takes up an approach that gathers and processes knowledge whereas Alberta expects students to critically assess or evaluate by exploring and reflecting upon questions and issues. Continuing the long established tradition of dominant voices in the curriculum, Ontario's policy includes First Nations and Métis as groups of 'Others'. In comparison, the incorporation of multiple perspectives in the Alberta Programme of Studies is the first such attempt in Canada, requiring agile articulation of outcomes. Of interest here is the fact that students may be in Aboriginal, or Francophone school systems which dwell upon collective identity work, or in mainstream schools where the identity work is informal, unacknowledged, and universal. The same curriculum policy documents are to guide all students and teachers, requiring all to develop openness to others and/or to construct or enhance their own collective identifications, without compromising constitutive elements of minority identifications, in order to enter into deliberation and participation in civil society for the public good.

Based on three broad competencies of which the third one focuses on the construction of consciousness of citizenship through the study of history, as proposed by Peter Seixas (1997, 1993), the Québec programme for History and Citizenship Education at the secondary level (2004) differs from those of the other provinces considered. It expects students to develop a conscious understanding of social and democratic history, without providing lists of student outcomes or study questions. As curricular policy, the Québec documentation provides a rationale, an overview of the three competencies, as well as useful illustrated charts of conceptual content and of the research process (pp. 295-324). Taken overall, the content consists of a survey of the development of rights, freedoms and responsibilities over centuries, with a focus on relevant European history as well as American, Canadian and world history to meet programme goals. It is within the programme content that responsibility is featured, emerging as part of the contribution of Humanism to the development of Western ideas (2004, p. 317).

Taken together, these curricular policies attempt to deal with collective identifications in a pluralist society. Nonetheless, collective identifications with an ethnic or cultural group remain complex and are often reinterpreted and reinvented, for example, the new ethnicities from a postmodern perspective (Hall and du Gay, 1996), diaspora ethnicities (Anderson, 2001; Werbner and Modood, 1997), and new modes of becoming (Hébert, Wilkinson, Ali & Oriola, 2009). With the emergence of a new global culture, English as the world language and rapid internet communication, ethnicity, race, religion and culture are revived as sources of symbolic and collective identifications. Lodged in complex interrelationships within globalization, transnationalism and migration, identifications remain fluid and transformative, negotiated in a recursive creative process of transculturation (Hoerder, Hébert and Schmitt, 2005).

## Discussion

The notion of responsible learner is an understanding of the individual who is not fully autonomous, but who is capable of re-invention, with imagined, perceived and

lived links to other, community and authority. The ensuing new educational policy generally expects responsible learners and teachers to be sensitive to and understand the complexities of identity formation, shaped by multiple personal, social, linguistic and cultural factors, in the Canadian context (Hébert, Wilkinson and Ali, 2008). Moreover, with a renewed sense of empowerment that comes with responsibility, the learner and teacher alike may be able to skilfully maintain their individuality within a group and shoulder personal and collective responsibility for the common good, moving beyond their own rational self-interest.

Within late modernity, the need for community and recognition is significant as everyone's identity is subject to change, negotiated in complex and dynamic ways over time and space, and involves multiple identifications and attachments, as well as multiple social, psychological and cultural dimensions in everyday life (Hébert, Wilkinson, Ali, 2008; Pile and Thrift, 1995). The ideal of just human existence as central to the notion of community implies a moral value that transcends luck and is ultimately what matters (Williams, 1985). But what are the sources of morality?

If morality is located within the autonomous self-acting individual, in her own intentions, then the individual is the source of morality. Each individual consciousness contains something that is divine and is marked by a character that renders it sacred and inviolable to others (Seligman, 2000). Then, as an aggregation of individuals, society itself would be the source of moral action, assessment and principles of generalized exchange which provide the conditions for basic trust and solidarity, such that immediate reciprocity is not expected and that cooperation and reputation are assured. A second source of morality is found in obligations of loyalties and attachments, typical of primordiality. Like the self-serving motivations of individual autonomy, such attachments have led to struggles for power and tragic circumstances. A third source of morality is expressed in terms of transcendence, a reality of deeper significance than marketplaces, cities, material possessions and personal characteristics, a reality wherein lies truth, beauty and goodness (Seligman, 2000).

In sending young people to the study of community as sources of understanding of self and others, as do the new curricular policies, it is not for the bickering and pettiness that may occur among self-interested individuals, but for a greater sense of justice as an ideal of human existence. Thus, community marked by transcendence where conversations occur about the greater good of humankind, the generosity and fairness with which to treat others, and which model what it means to be a good person and a good citizen, are of essence to the development of stable identifications and inclusive attachments. Rather than living one day at a time, relationships are to be established upon mutual recognition and the exchange of trust, which yield respect, esteem and confidence. This is the spirit of the new Canada.

Taking up modernity's wager, that the "collective meanings of liberal individualism can be maintained autonomously at the centre of the civic polity, without the need for either the armature of a transcendent Deity or the referents of a primordial collectivity" (Seligman, 2000: 48), the curricula examined assume instead that belonging is an important part of developing a national identity, of being a Canadian, with the political replacing the moral. The curricular policies also assume an autonomous instrumental self, thus creating a contradictory dilemma for educators and learners who are assumed to be able to achieve a balance between such self-centred, individualistic responsibility and the sensitive inclusion of collective identifications. This major challenge of citizenship is characteristic of pluralistic societies today and will most assuredly shape the Canada of the future.

Thus, for all concerned, regardless of language, ethnicity, race, gender, and religion, the challenge is to develop shared conceptions of citizenship and identity in a pluralist society, established in relationships of mutual recognition.

## Conclusion

With its interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary nature, the new programmes of study for Social Studies in Canada provide numerous opportunities to develop new understandings of citizenship education, as responsible, deliberative and participatory. Informed citizenship is one fundamental element because it is believed to extend further toward active and responsible citizenship. Students are to consider the principles of human rights, to develop an understanding of a just, pluralistic and democratic society, and to recognize the hybrid nature of their culture and the interdependence of our world.

The new social studies programmes address students' development of responsible citizenship through respect for human equality and cultural diversity as well as participation in and commitment to pluralist democracy, human dignity, and sustainable environment. Developing an ethic of care toward self, others and the natural world is seen as central to these commitments. Respect, responsibility, and human interdependence are fundamental to citizenship in local, national and global communities.

The contradictory nature of individual and collective sense of responsibility requires the individual to look after his/her best interests as well as those of others. These tensions intersect with notions of the self, as a non-autonomous self embedded in community and as an unencumbered self-directed figure without apparent moral bearings. These appear in the curricula, as the autonomous learner who lives in a pluralist society, is responsible for others, and is sensitive to and accepting of others as individuals and of communities of difference. Thus, the creation of a responsible citizen in civil society today contradicts the creation of an entrepreneur and consumer of the corporate sector of society.

The philosophical, pedagogical and practical challenges of responsible citizenship are enormous today. While educators are generally optimistic about the trend towards education for active democracy (Sears and Hughes, 1996) and even its power to transform divided societies (Print and Coleman, 2003), it would be wise to exercise some caution in continuing the work of the curricular reforms. Educational jurisdictions and actors are called upon to undertake serious collaborative work for textbook and resource development, professional development of teachers of social studies/history/citizenship education and the sustained implementation of the reformed programmes of studies for the education of youth for democracy. In this way, educators and youth as citizens may eventually come to live the new spirit of confidence that is shaping Canada for the 21st century as a globally engaged, socially liberal, and culturally diverse society.

Correspondence: YVONNE HEBERT, University of Calgary, Faculty of Education, 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, AB, Canada

## REFERENCES

- ALBERTA EDUCATION (2005) Social Studies Kindergarten to Grade 12, Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- ALBERTA EDUCATION (1989) Social Studies Teacher Resource Manual, grades 4 – 6, Edmonton: Alberta Education.

- ANDERSON, A. B. (2001) The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Re-evaluation. *Identity*, 1, 3: 209-223.
- BARBER, B. (1984) *Strong Democracy*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- BICKMORE, K. (2006) Policies and programming for safer schools: Are 'anti-bullying' approaches impeding education for peace building? Paper presented at the biennial conference of the International Peace Research Association, June 30, Calgary, Alberta; submitted.
- BOTTERY, M. (2003) The End of Citizenship? The Nation State, Threats to its Legitimacy, and Citizenship Education in the Twenty-first Century. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33, 1: 101-122.
- EISENSTADT, S. N. (2000) *Fundamentalism, Sectarianism and Revolution: The Jacobin Dimension of Modernity*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- ELBAZ, M. & HELLY, D. (2000) *Mondialisation, citoyenneté et multiculturalisme*, Sainte-Foy, Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval et L'Harmattan.
- GALISSON, R. (1980) *D'hier à aujourd'hui, la didactique des langues étrangères: Du structuralisme au fonctionnalisme*, Paris : CLE International.
- GALSTON, W. (1991) *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Duties in the Liberal State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GOVERNMENT DU QUEBEC, M.D.L.E.D.L., ET DU SPORT (2001). Québec Education Program, Preschool Education. Elementary Education. Québec : Ministère de l'éducation, du loisir et du sport.
- GOVERNMENT DU QUEBEC, M.D.L.E.D.L., ET DU SPORT (2004). Québec Education Program, Secondary Education, Chapter 7: Social Sciences – History and Citizenship Education. Québec : Ministère de l'éducation, du loisir et du sport.
- GUTMANN, A. (2003) *Identity in Democracy*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- HALL, S. & DU GAY, P. (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- HARRISON, T. W. & KACHUR, J. L. Eds. (1999) *Contested Classrooms: Education, Globalization, and Democracy in Alberta*, Edmonton: Parkland Institute & U Alberta Press
- HÉBERT, Y., L. WILKINSON, M. ALI & ORIOLA, T. (2009), *New Modes of Becoming in Transcultural Glocal Spaces: Second Generation Youth in Calgary, Winnipeg and Toronto*, Canadian Ethnic Studies, in press.
- HÉBERT, Y., WILKINSON, L. A. & ALI, M. A. (2008) Second Generation Youth in Canada, their Mobilities and their Identifications: Relevance to Citizenship Education, *Brock Journal of Education*, 17: 50-70.
- HOERDER, D., HÉBERT, Y. & SCHMITT, I. Eds. (2005) *Negotiating Transcultural Lives: Belongings and Social Capital among Youth in Comparative Perspective*, Göttingen, Germany: V&R Unipress and Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- HONNETH, A. (1995) *The struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*, Translated by Joel Anderson. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- JAMES, C. (2006). Invited talk, Faculty of Education, University of Calgary, 21 March 2006.
- KYMLICKA, W. (2002) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: an Introduction*, 2nd edition, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- KYMLICKA, W. & NORMAN, W. (2000) *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- MACEDO, S. (1990) *Liberal Virtues: Citizenship, Virtue and Community in Liberal Constitutionalism*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- MERCURE, D. (2001) Une société-monde?, in *Une société-monde? Les dynamiques sociales de la mondialisation*, dirigé par D. Mercure, Sainte-Foy, Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval et De Boeck Université.
- MOSHER, J. (2006) Classroom Discipline and Democracy : Teaching the Skills of Peace, Paper presented at the biennial conference of the International Peace Research Association, June 30, Calgary.
- NODDINGS, N. (2002) *Educating Moral People: A Caring Alternative to Character Education*, New York: Teachers College Press.
- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (2004) *The Ontario Curriculum Social Studies Grade 1 to 6; History and Geography Grade 7 and 8*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Training.
- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (2005) *The Ontario Curriculum Grade 9 and 10 Canadian and World Studies*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Training.
- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (2005) *The Ontario Curriculum Grade 11 and 12 Canadian and World Studies*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Training.
- OSBORNE, K. W. (1996) Education is the Best National Insurance: Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools, Past and Present. *Comparative and International Education*, 25, 2: 31.58.

- PILE, S. & THRIFT, N. EDS. (1995) *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*, London: Routledge.
- POLANYI, M. (1962) *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1st Ed., 1958.
- PRINT, M. & COLEMAN, D. (2003) Towards Understanding of Social Capital and Citizenship Education, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33, 1: 123-149.
- SEARS, A. M. & HUGHES, A. S. (1996) Citizenship Education and Current Educational Reform, *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, 2: 123-142.
- SEIXAS, P. (1993) Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting, *Curriculum Inquiry* 23, 3: 301-327.
- SEIXAS, P. (1997) Mapping the Terrain of Historical Significance, *Social Education* 61, 1: 22-28.
- SELIGMAN, A. B. (2000) *Modernity's Wager: Authority, the Self and Transcendence*, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- SHORRIS, E. (2004), *Ignoble Liars: Leo Strauss, George Bush, and the philosophy of mass deception*, *Harper's Magazine*, 308, 1849 (June): 65-71.
- WERBNER, P. & MODOOD, T. EDS. (1997) *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, London: ZED Books.
- WHITELEY, P. (2005) *Citizenship Education: The Political Science Perspective*. Second Literature Review, *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study*, Department for Education and Skills, England, Berkshire, UK: National Foundation for Educational Research.
- WILLIAMS, B. (1985) *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- YOUNG, I. M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- YOUNG, I. M. (1998) *Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship*, in G. Shafir, Ed., *The Citizenship Debates*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

## *Mapping the "global dimension" of citizenship education in Canada: The complex interplay of theory, practice and context*

MARK EVANS, LEIGH ANNE INGRAM, ANGELA MACDONALD AND NADYA WEBER, *OISE, University of Toronto*

**ABSTRACT** In this article, the authors map out the global dimension of citizenship as it is expressed in contemporary scholarly literature, predominantly in the western philosophical tradition. In addition, they propose a series of “working” conceptual frameworks (e.g., core learning goals, teaching and learning practices, and macro-orientations) in an effort to capture and clarify some of the complexities and varied perspectives associated with the global dimension of citizenship education currently evident in the literature. Lastly, the article provides a snapshot of how educating for the global dimension of citizenship education is and has been expressed within Canadian public schooling contexts.

### **Introduction**

Socioeconomic, cultural, political, and environmental issues that transcend formal national boundaries make preparing students to be citizens in the global context, with concomitant rights and responsibilities, a difficult, but necessary challenge for educators. Porous borders and interdependencies among peoples, places, events, and global issues raise questions about the public sphere in local and global governance, and individuals’ civic roles within these geo-political spaces. In this fluid context, traditional ideas/ideals about citizenship - grounded in the modern nation-state - are not sufficient. Pressed by questions about the global dimension of citizenship, teachers, educational policy-makers and researchers have been increasingly attentive to what it means to educate for citizenship within a global frame, where the global dimension ought to be located and represented in school curricula, and how it might be taught.

Education, both formal and informal, is viewed as a vital medium through which to nurture global understanding and to prepare youth for active engagement in a global civic culture. In the past decade, representations of the global dimension of citizenship have steadily increased in school curricula in Canada and internationally. However, despite the increased presence of these concepts and themes in education, a disproportionate amount of scholarly research has been limited to theory and policy considerations. Moreover, limited attention has been given to how these various themes can be synthesized to form a conceptual framework that can be used

to map the range of content-knowledge and pedagogical foci being implemented in public school classrooms.

This article explores three broad themes and is organized accordingly. The first section considers the complex and multidimensional landscape of the global dimension of citizenship education as it has been conceptualized across international scholarly literature. Next, we propose a conceptual framework that synthesizes a number of core learning goals, teaching and learning practices, and macro-orientations from the global dimension landscape. Lastly, we include a snapshot of how educating for the global dimension of citizenship has been expressed within Canadian public schooling contexts.

We have, however, conducted this review to construct a theoretical and contextual backdrop to analyze the data being collected from our larger Canadian-wide empirical study on educating for the global dimension of citizenship that is currently underway. While we have included theoretical perspectives of global citizenship from the Global South, we are aware that this review foregrounds voices from “Northern” and/or “Western” geo-political contexts.

### **The global dimension of citizenship education**

Within the Western perspective, notions of citizenship beyond the state have existed for two thousand years and have reflected the assumptions, experiences, concerns, and the diverse political and socio-cultural contexts of the time periods in which they were constructed (Gaudelli, 2003; O’Byrne, 2003). During the period of the Roman Empire, the Stoic tradition of “world citizenship”, for example, encouraged citizens to work for the “common good” and emphasized the “universal law of nature” while another line of thinking located citizenship vis-à-vis world domination, empire building, and the possibility of a world polity (Heater, 1996). During the Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant introduced the term “cosmopolitan citizen”, through his reflections on an interconnected world community (1983). In the 20th century, notions of the global dimension of citizenship deepened during the First and Second World Wars, contributing to the development of key global governance institutions such as the United Nations, which were created in an effort to establish universal values that transcended national and cultural boundaries.

Throughout the 20th century, supra-national institutional bodies continued to broaden, moving toward notions of global governance and global citizenship that coexisted in tandem with national governments and moving away from the idea of “world citizenship” and a federal one-world government. A myriad of organizations emerged, including transnational corporations, civil society organizations, women’s and anti-racist movements, The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, and the International Bureau of Education (Mundy, 2007). International cooperation initiatives also led to the creation and signing of key conventions and treaties strengthening legal frameworks for “global values”, including of course the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). In part, this was in response to greater recognition that individuals/citizens held multiple and simultaneous identity affiliations, allegiances, and loyalties.

Today, competing notions of global citizenship (or cosmopolitan, multicultural, universal, planetary and/or virtual citizenship) abound revealing an array of core themes and varied perspectives subsumed under the broader notion of global citizenship. Membership in the wider community of humanity beyond the nation-state (Nussbaum, 1997; Dower and Williams, 2002), the examination and deliberation of issues of interpersonal and transnational global significance (e.g.,



environment, violations of human rights, disease, terrorism) (Jelin, 2001), and the development of interests and skills to enact civic engagement in local, regional, national, global and virtual public spheres (O'Byrne, 2003; Downes and Janda, 1998) are a few of the core themes taken up in the discourse of global citizenship.

Theorists of cosmopolitanism, in particular, encourage an understanding of how citizenship occurs on multiple levels, including, for example, the state or national level, the sub-state or local level, and world citizenship at the supra-state (global or multi-state governance) and/or trans-national level (Heater 2002; Osler, 2003). Furthermore, cosmopolitanism also recognizes the existence of transnational and diaspora communities composed of individuals entitled to, and aware of, their human rights (Held, 1999). However, critics of these perspectives cite a lack of attention to the diversity of identities that exist within and across these multiple levels - including, for example, diversity of gender, race and class - and caution that this oversight could create a false sense of universalism, which ultimately may detract from the import of diversity and differentiation in theories and practices of citizenship.

## **2) Emerging characterisations of the global dimension of citizenship**

Educating for the global dimension of citizenship (or global citizenship education) is a relatively new area of educational research and practice, although its roots can be traced to various educational movements, including world studies and development education. [1] Citizenship education and global education, in particular, have significantly influenced how global citizenship education is being taken up today.

Citizenship education, with its many nuances, has informed at least five broad themes related to the global dimension of citizenship education: 1) opportunities to become familiar with key civic concepts, political processes, public issues and government structures intended to enable informed civic decision-making and involvement; 2) opportunities to cultivate a sense of membership or identity with one's varied civic communities that extend from the local to the national to the global; 3) opportunities to learn about civil, political, socio-economic and cultural rights as well as corresponding duties and responsibilities; 4) opportunities to identify and critically reflect on the range of personal values and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions as well as opportunities to understand the challenges of governing communities in which contrasting values, perspectives, and purposes coexist; and 5) opportunities to cultivate a set of civic virtues and civic literacy capacities that enable a citizen to actively engage in civic affairs (Arthur, Davies, and Hahn, 2008; Hahn, 1999).

Global education, less historically rooted in educational contexts than citizenship education, has also informed current thinking about what it means to educate for global citizenship. Certain core themes found in the global education literature are being reintroduced in global citizenship education discourse. These include: 1) opportunities to understand the nature of globalised, interdependent systems and global and transnational governance; 2) opportunities to nurture worldmindedness, a sense of membership or kinship with all of humanity; 3) opportunities for in-depth understanding of global issues 4) opportunities for deepened understandings of diversity, cross-cultural understanding, and social justice; and 5) opportunities for participatory pedagogies that encourage the cultivation of critical capacities for critical understanding, engagement and carrying out responsibilities as a global

citizen (Gaudelli, 2003; Hanvey, 1976; Pike and Selby, 1988; Merryfield, 1997; Reardon, 1988).

Together, citizenship education and global education are important in understanding how global citizenship education is being conceptualized and enacted today, revealing an emerging, and essential, multidimensionality that is filtering into educational policymaking, curriculum design, professional learning, and classroom teaching and learning. As well, these influences on global citizenship education have been interpreted through diverse conceptual lenses, resulting in differing conceptual emphases and orientations causing a certain degree of ambiguity with regard to which learning goals and practices ought to be and/or are implemented in school curricula. Certainly, theoretical characterisations associated with the global dimension of citizenship education include a variety of foci, ranging from the study of global themes and issues to sophisticated theoretical perspectives. These complex approaches examine global themes and issues more critically and deeply by taking into account the influence and impact of power relations within and across nation-states and international structures.

In an effort to clarify the multiple dimensions of global citizenship education, we next introduce a series of “working” conceptual frameworks that provide an overview of: core learning goals, key teaching and learning practices, and a sampling of what we refer to as nuanced “macro-orientations” associated with global citizenship education that we can identify from the literature. While our proposed frameworks reveal both complexity and multidimensionality, we do not suggest that they are exhaustive. Rather, we seek to provide a conceptual lens to analyse and reflect on the breadth and depth of what it means to educate for global dimension of citizenship in the 21st century.

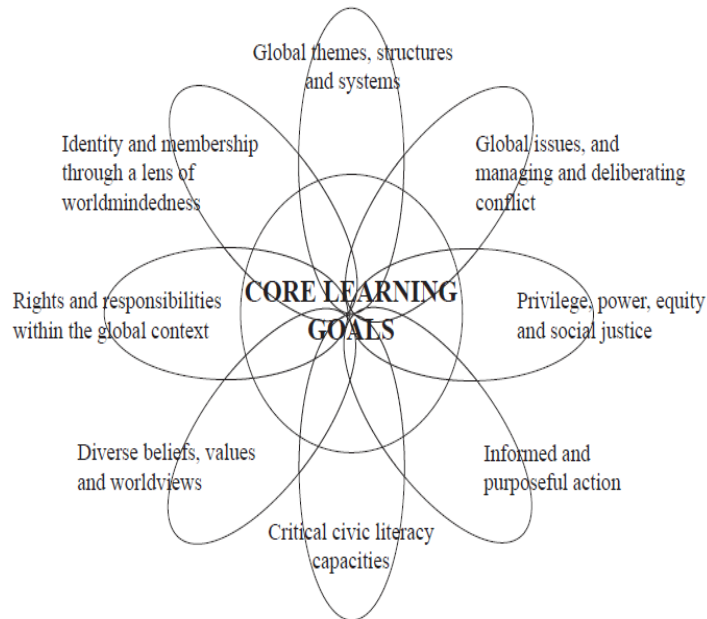
## 2.i) Core learning goals

At least eight broad, overlapping, and interrelated learning goals tend to be associated with global citizenship education although they are approached differently in the literature and classrooms and schools, with varying degrees of emphasis and levels of sophistication. Many of the goals have to do with developing various capacities as well as particular kinds of understandings about the world and how it functions. These include opportunities to:

- deepen one’s understanding of **global themes, structures, and systems** (e.g., interdependence, peace and conflict, sustainable development; geo-political systems);
- explore and reflect upon one’s **identity and membership through a lens of worldmindedness** (e.g., indigenous; local; national; cultural; religious);
- examine **diverse beliefs, values, and worldviews** within and across varied contexts that guide civic thinking and action (e.g. cultural; religious; secular; political);
- learn about **rights and responsibilities** within the context of civil society and varying governance systems from the local to the global (e.g., human rights; rights of the child; indigenous rights; corporate social responsibility);
- deepen understandings of **privilege, power, equity and social justice** within governing structures (e.g., personal to global inequities; power relations and power sharing);
- investigate **controversial global issues and ways for managing and deliberating conflict** (e.g., ecological; health; terrorism/security; human rights);

- develop **critical civic literacy capacities** (e.g., critical inquiry, decision-making, media literacy, futures thinking, conflict management); and
- learn about and engage in **informed and purposeful civic action** (e.g., community involvement and service, involvement with non-governmental organizations and organizations supporting youth agency, development of civic engagement capacities). [2]

### 1. Core learning goals associated with global citizenship education



### 2.ii) Teaching and learning practices

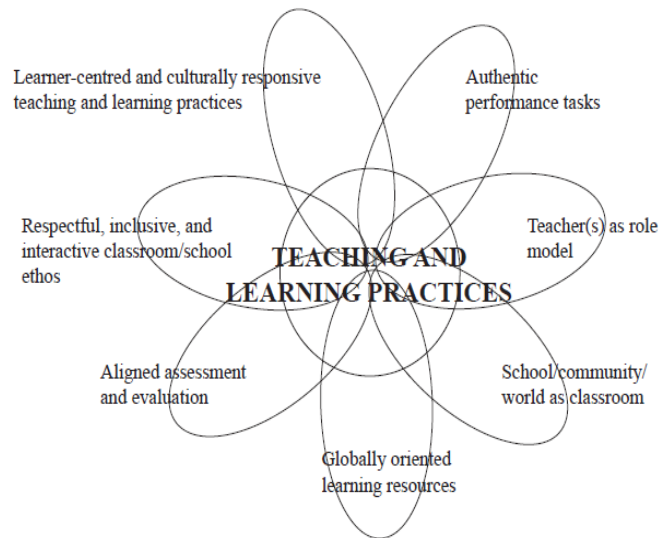
Beyond learning goals, theorists and practitioners stress the crucial role of participatory, learner-centered, and inclusive teaching and learning practices and what might be referred to as "fitness of purpose" (Mortimore, 1999). This term refers to the use of teaching and learning practices that best support, and are congruent with, the educational goals and concepts associated with educating for global citizenship. They emphasize active strategies that are culturally responsive and that nurture students' capacities for critical thinking, managing conflict, accounting for diverse perspectives, analyzing global issues, and taking action to challenge social-economic, ecological, and global injustice. In addition, they emphasize the importance of giving students opportunities for critical and active reflection by using practices such as cooperative learning, deliberative dialogue, democratic decision-making, and experiential learning strategies.

At least seven broad and interrelated teaching and learning practices are highlighted in the global citizenship education literature and practice. These include practices that:

- nurture a **respectful, inclusive, and interactive classroom/school ethos** (e.g., shared understanding of classroom norms, student voice, seating arrangements, use of wall/visual space, global citizenship imagery);

- infuse **learner-centred** and **culturally responsive independent and interactive teaching and learning** approaches that align with learning goals (e.g., independent and collaborative learning structures, deliberative dialogue, media literacy);
- embed **authentic performance tasks** (e.g., creating displays on children's rights, creating peace building programs, creating a student newspaper addressing global issues);
- draw on **globally-oriented learning resources** that assist students in understanding a "larger picture" of themselves in the world in relation to their local circumstances (e.g., a variety of sources and media, comparative and diverse perspectives);
- make use of **assessment and evaluation strategies that align** with the learning goals and forms of instruction used to support learning (e.g., reflection and self-assessment, peer feedback, teacher assessment, journals, portfolios);
- offer opportunities for students to **experience learning in varied contexts including the classroom, whole school activities, and in one's communities, from the local to the global** (e.g., community participation; international e-exchanges; virtual communities); and
- foreground the **teacher as a role model** (e.g., up to date on current events, community involvement, practicing environmental and equity standards). [3]

## 2. Core teaching and learning practices associated with global citizenship education



### 2.iii) Macro-orientations

Education theorists concerned with the global dimension of citizenship present a range of nuanced perspectives or macro-orientations that reveal the complexity of the field but also foreground particular orientations in relation to preferred goals and teaching and learning practices. These macro-orientations range from more instrumentalist orientations that foreground the development of skills and competencies required to be effective participants in the global marketplace to more

transformative orientations that highlight deepened understandings of cultures, regions, and issues of equity, social justice and reform. Below we offer a sampling of macro-orientations evident in the literature. Each orientation includes many of the broad learning goals and teaching and learning practices identified earlier, yet each underscores various dimensions in distinctive ways.

### **Preparation for the global marketplace**

Educating for global citizenship is closely associated with theories of human capital, where schooling is viewed primarily as a means to build a competitive workforce and contribute to the economic growth of the nation. A strong instrumentalist intent underpins this orientation, highlighting the importance of preparing students with the knowledge, skills and competencies required to compete in the global economy (O'Sullivan, 1999; Mundy, 2007; Richardson, 2004). Although this continues to be a dominant conceptual frame among policymakers, governments and international institutions, some of its critics argue that it is limited and needs to be more mindful of equity and social justice, peaceful interdependence, cross-cultural awareness and understanding, and nurturing democratic pluralistic societies. This central tension, sometimes framed in an oversimplified, binary manner, ignores the real complexity of the needs of individuals, citizens and governments alike.

### **Learning for worldmindedness**

This orientation combines learner-centered pedagogy with concepts of global interdependence and interconnections. Perhaps best known for work in this orientation are Canadian and British educators Graham Pike and David Selby. They define worldmindedness as understanding the world as one system, in which the interests of individual nations are viewed in light of the overall needs of the planet. They (2000) emphasize the importance of five interconnected areas of learning: systems consciousness, perspective consciousness, health of planet awareness, involvement consciousness, and process-mindedness. American educator Merry Merryfield (1998) also advocates worldmindedness, encouraging students and teachers to better understand themselves and their relationships to the global community. As stated already, this orientation is linked to the pedagogical practice of child-centeredness - or education for the "whole child" - which views each learner as an individual with a unique set of beliefs, experiences, and talents and encourages children to explore for themselves. A broad and varied program of transformational teaching and learning opportunities, with an emphasis on student involvement, whole-person development, and activity-based learning is recommended.

### **Fostering cosmopolitan understanding**

The cosmopolitan orientation draws heavily on the literature from political theory on identity and citizenship, highlighting the complexity and multiple facets of human identities (including hybrid identities), human rights, and how these are/can be represented in at various levels and within different civic structures of society (Osler and Starkey, 2003). This orientation differs from the previous two in its emphasis on individuals' responsibilities towards fellow members of various identity affiliations and fellow citizens within and across interconnected communities across the planet. Educating for world citizenship, British scholar Derek Heater (2002)

argues, implies an understanding of citizenship as multiple, occurring simultaneously at three distinct levels: the state or national, the sub-state or local, and world citizenship at the supra-state (global or multi-state governance) and/or trans-national level. In his orientation, a world citizen might get involved in at least three ways: through participation in civil society organizations with a global intent, through involvement in supra-national political institutions, and through various forms of citizen advocacy. Central to Heater's perspective is his emphasis on knowledge of world systems, and the responsible use of that knowledge in active citizenship roles, enacted locally, nationally, and globally. He recommends the inclusion of experiential teaching and learning practices (e.g. participation in school councils, involvement in community work).

### **Cultivating critical literacy and planetary responsibility**

This orientation is concerned with encouraging students to be aware of and critically reflect on their own position and background in relationship to local and global issues and injustice, while becoming familiar with the multiple perspectives of diverse interest groups. This is illustrated, for example, in the work of Vanessa Andreotti (2006), who recommends that the global citizenship education agenda (she refers to it as development education) needs to “create spaces and provide analytical tools and ethical grounds for learners to engage with global issues and perspectives addressing complexity, uncertainty, contingency and difference” (p. 8). She uses a post-colonial lens to argue that learners need to move away from “ethnocentrism and its claims of cultural supremacy” towards Spivak's notion of “planetary citizenship based on a deep understanding of interdependence (in “material” and “cultural” terms) and causal responsibility towards the South” (p.11). From Andreotti's perspective, the development of students' critical literacy skills is central to preparing students to enact this version of “critical global citizenship education”. ‘Soft’ approaches to global citizenship education, she warns, will result in the perpetual reproduction of relationships of inequity, power abuse, and exploitation that contribute to global injustice in North-South relations.

### **Encouraging deep understanding and civic action to redress global injustices**

The final orientation is concerned with teaching and learning about social justice and civic participation in the global context. Particular attention is given to the entrenchment of power and hierarchy in society rather than simply a celebration of different cultures (Davies, L., 2006). OXFAM (2006), for example, advocates global action for justice. The global citizen, according to OXFAM, is someone who: is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally; is outraged by social injustice; participates in and contributes to the community at a range of levels from local to global; is willing to act to make the world a more sustainable place; and takes responsibility for their actions. OXFAM's curriculum conception emphasizes the development of skills including critical thinking, the ability to argue effectively, the ability to challenge injustice and inequalities, and cooperation and conflict resolution. They advocate learner-centered pedagogy, infused through specialized subject areas and integrated across the curriculum, as well as including whole-school and community-based approaches.

Learning goals, teaching and learning practices, and macro-orientations relevant to educating for the global dimension of citizenship education reveals complexity, multidimensionality, and nuanced conceptual understandings. Attention to these core goals, practices, and orientations provokes substantial discussion about global citizenship education's scope and breadth, and alerts us to a range of ambiguities and challenges inherent in what it means to educate for the global dimension of citizenship in the 21st century. Most conceptual lenses, as Lynn Davies has commented, provide "multiple entry points for taking a more "radical" approach in curriculum; however, more impactful outcomes rely heavily on the actual capacity of schools and teachers" (2006, p. 22). At the same time, this breadth of approaches (or "ways in") to educating for the global dimension of citizenship also point to its possibilities – and to the need to prepare teachers, students, policy-makers and educational researchers alike to stay attuned.

### **3) Educating for global citizenship in the Canadian context**

While it is common to speak of national education systems within nation-state contexts, education in Canada is the responsibility of provincial and territorial governments operating within a federal system. Each of the ten provinces and three territories has developed its own distinctive system and administers its own educational curricula and programs, although a degree of commonality exists across them as well as some shared policy development by region. Certainly, education for citizenship has been - and continues to be - a central curricular focal point throughout the history of K-12 public education in all provinces and territories.

Because of its unique mix of peoples, cultures, languages and geography, themes of social cohesion and human diversity have occupied a critical space in education for citizenship in the Canadian context (Joshee, 2004). At least three broad contrasting approaches have been noticeable throughout the past century despite the regional variations that have been apparent at different times: characterisations of citizenship encouraging social and political initiation and assimilation that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th century (and continue today); characterisations of citizenship that unfolded after World War II focusing on Canada's national civic identity, social cohesion and the accommodation of diverse cultural identities; and more recent characterisations highlighting a multi-faceted, transformative intent (e.g., civic literacy, active engagement, equity and inclusion, and a local-to-global perspective).

Public education in Canada during the early decades of the twentieth century was regarded as a way to prepare young people for their role as citizens of Canadian society. Two central purposes of citizenship education dominated at this time: one, to nurture the personal characteristics of a "good" citizen; and two, to nurture a sense of "being Canadian", usually aligned with a sense of nationalism, albeit with a "pro-British assimilationist bent" (Clark and Case, 1997, p. 20). Osborne (1996) describes this period as the "Canadianisation of children as a vehicle of assimilationist nation-building" (p. 36). Indeed, many scholars agree that early Canadian education had a strong tradition of suppressing difference and seeking to control its different populations, including the French, Aboriginal peoples, women, and many minority communities (Harper, 1997, p. 193). For Aboriginal peoples, the effect of the Canadian assimilationist project was devastating. A state-sponsored and a church-run residential school system, for example, sought to limit indigenous languages and customs. Furthermore, Canadian school systems often discouraged and ignored other identities that were deemed inconsequential.

Interest in international perspectives and issues in the curricula began to influence Canadian education in the early decades of the 20th century. Church groups, adult educators, and international organizations like the Red Cross undertook much of this work (Christie, 1983). This curricular trend grew hand-in-hand with the development of global governance bodies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Bureau of Education (IBE) that had begun to develop their own educational agendas.

Within this framework of assimilation, pedagogical practices at the time tended to focus more on “knowing about” the mechanisms of government and one’s responsibilities to others and to Canada, more so than opportunities for students to think critically about the implications of power vested in these structures and procedures. Where teachers were expected to transmit certain content and students were expected to receive it, educating for citizenship during this period was often characterized as “dull” and “rigidly pedantic”, “didactic thought, recitation, memorization, and largely passive learning remained the rule and by overwhelming agreement, the norm” (McCleod, 1989, p. 11).

During the second half of the 20th century, numerous complex forces fostered more interest in the citizenship and global dimensions of education. Issues such as the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, changing immigration patterns, and Aboriginal claims for land rights, began to pose challenges to the existing Canadian concept of citizenship. In response, the Canadian government passed several policies that represented a shift in Canada’s national identity and its position in the world, including an official policy of multiculturalism (1971) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). Furthermore, the increasing American influence on the Canadian economy and Canada’s growing involvement in peacekeeping initiatives around the world further strengthened the interest and representation in global issues and perspectives within Canadian education.

As Canada struggled with the pervasive goal of self-definition, the government commissioned large-scale assessments of civic education in Canada, including most notably, for example, A.B. Hodgetts’ study *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada* (1968). While his findings painted a largely pessimistic picture of the teaching of Canadian citizenship education, it also advanced a new vision of citizenship education that stressed the increasing multidimensionality of Canadian civic identity, its diverse cultural and pluralistic nature, its emerging global orientation, and its complex character. This work thus signaled an important transition from earlier characterizations of citizenship in Canadian education (with the goal of assimilation) to ones that foregrounded an instrumentalist and reformist intent. It also signaled that earlier pedagogical practices focusing primarily on “knowing about” citizenship were no longer sufficient. A new Canadian Studies curriculum was developed during this period, creating more opportunities for students to explore Canada’s cultural diversity, the complex dynamics of French/English relations and Canadian/American relations, and Canada’s emerging role in the global community. These new themes created spaces in the curriculum for students to consider and investigate timely dimensions of the changing nature of citizenship and what it meant to educate for citizenship within the Canadian context.

By the 1990’s many theorists and educators were proposing new constructs of activist-oriented citizenship education, seeking to infuse and deepen understandings of diversity and notions of meaningful civic engagement (Clark and Case, 1997; Osborne, 2001; Sears, 1996, 2004; Strong-Boag, 1996; Westheimer and Kahne, 2004; Hébert, 2002). Importantly, these changes also coincided with demands for



higher quality learning, more effective schools, and more equitable educational opportunities. This myriad of new theories and approaches led to a greater push for pedagogical practices that were more congruent with citizenship education's shifting goals, moving beyond 'knowing about' and focusing more purposefully on "thinking about" and "engaging in" citizenship (e.g., enquiry, critical thinking, cooperative learning).

It was during the period between the 1970's and 1990's when the global dimension of citizenship in Canadian schooling finally experienced greater momentum. During this time, there was a proliferation of new theories, methods and conceptual models to teach global and trans-national themes due to the efforts of various charities, academics, teacher-practitioners, government international development agencies, and various educational movements (e.g., peace education, development education, environmental education) together contributed to a myriad of new theories, methods and conceptual models to teach global issues and related trans-national themes. For example, the founding of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in 1968 signaled a new era of Canadian internationalism and a greater emphasis in policy on Canada's role in the world. In the early 1970s, the first cohort of Canadian overseas volunteers returned after working in what was then referred to as the third world. Eager to share their understandings of global issues with other Canadians, these volunteers began to establish development education centres across Canada. In doing so, they hoped to promote global understanding not only among the general public but also more specifically among classroom teachers, and to assist them in developing and utilizing classroom resources for the study of global themes and issues. CIDA funded a number of development education centres in order to increase public awareness of their development aid programs. Despite these important efforts toward global education programming, the mid-1990's marked an important turn of events when federal funding cuts across Canada dug deeply into CIDA's budget, resulting in the closure of almost all of the development education centres across the country (Hollingsworth, 1983).

Although Canadian education has consistently fallen under the purview of provincial and territorial government, an intergovernmental body known as the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) was founded in 1967. The Council was designed to serve as a mechanism to undertake educational activities of mutual interest to the provinces and as an instrument to represent the education interests of Canadian provinces and territories internationally. In 2001, some years following the CIDA funding cuts, the Council produced a report entitled *Education for Peace, Human Rights, Democracy, International Understanding and Tolerance* that described various ways that themes of citizenship and global understanding were included in the curricula across Canada during the 1980s and 1990s. Along with related publications such as *Education in a Global Era: Developments in Education in Canada* (CMEC, 2000), this report illuminated how Canadian curriculum was expanding understandings of citizenship to include a much broader definition of civic engagement and a more complex approach to public issues of local and global proportions. These new publications were supplemented during this period by the work of Canadian educational scholars who were simultaneously assessing the implications of, as well as developing teaching resources for, educating for the global dimension of citizenship in Canada.

It should be emphasized however that while theory and policy work in this area was increasing, global citizenship was not as well represented in teaching and learning practices in classrooms and schools. In fact, reconciling with Hodgetts'

earlier findings, research found that education for citizenship during this period, global-oriented or not, still focused on teaching students about government mechanisms and used teaching and learning practices that were largely transmission oriented. Attention to the global dimension of citizenship was also conceptualized through a narrow lens, explicitly prioritizing the nation-state and its interests in a global context. Pike (2000) and Richardson (2004), for example, have both argued that Canadian curricula presented global themes as a matter of national self-interest, and almost exclusively tied to the civic structures of the nation-state.

Today, the specific notion of global citizenship education is increasingly recognized and used by ministries of education, teacher practitioners, and educational researchers alike across the Canadian educational landscape. Provincial curriculum policy reforms reveal a heightened attention to global citizenship (see, for example, British Columbia Civic Studies 11, 2005; Québec Education Program, 2005; Atlantic Canada in the Global Community 9, 1997; Ontario Civics 10 and Canadian and World Politics, 12; 2005; Manitoba Canada in the Contemporary World, 9; 2007). Education in Québec: An Overview (2005), for example, reflects this heightened attention to an international dimension:

*At this point in history when the global village is growing at an ever increasing rate, opening up to other cultures and learning about other countries is an essential element of citizenship education. This strategy involves the inclusion of an international dimension in Québec education, student and faculty mobility, exportation of skills and the development of Québec's influence abroad. Within this context, Québec's elementary and secondary schools are being encouraged to emphasize citizenship and intercultural education based on the great diversity of their students' geographical origins, mother tongues and cultural roots.*

Such curriculum reform initiatives across Canada not only illustrate evidence of global themes and contexts, but also include increased attention to questions of how to educate for the global dimension of citizenship. In this context, a host of new websites and resource materials have proliferated, all designed to inform and guide teachers' work in relation to various aspects of instruction related to global citizenship education. These include, for example, CIDA's Global Classroom Initiative, Classroom Connections' Cultivating Peace in the 21st Century and Taking Action, Evans and Reynolds' Teacher's resource handbook Educating for Global Citizenship in a Changing World, Kielburgers' Take Action: A Guide to Active Citizenship, Larsen's ACT! Active Citizens Today: Global Citizenship for Local Schools, and UNICEF Canada's Global Schoolhouse. These and many other Canadian resources offer guidance for teaching and learning about global citizenship including increased attention to participatory forms of learning that actively involve young people in meaningful civic engagement with real global public issues (e.g., case analysis, public issue research projects, model town councils, peace building programs, community participation activities, public information exhibits, online international linkages, and youth forums).

The 21st century has also witnessed renewed Canadian scholarly attention to educating for the global dimension of citizenship (Evans, 2008; Larsen, 2008; McLean, Cook and Crowe, 2006; O'Sullivan and Pashby, 2008; Pike, 2000, 2008; Richardson, 2004; Schultz, 2007; Schultz and Abdi, 2008). In 2007, Shultz for example, examined global citizenship education programming and introduced what

she viewed as three differing approaches (e.g., the neoliberal global citizen, the radical global citizen; and the transformational global citizen) thoughtfully considering their implications for educational policy, from K-12 schooling to institutions of higher education. Moreover, Abdi and Shultz (2008) co-edited volume includes a comprehensive range of Canadian perspectives and voices on educating for human rights and global citizenship within and beyond Canada.

Despite this growing interest in, and attention to, educating for global citizenship in Canada, less attention has been devoted to examining practices of global citizenship education within Canadian classrooms (Pike, 2008) leaving a limited understanding of how it is applied in schools. In this context, there is a wide range of theories and themes as well as pedagogical approaches, reflecting considerable interest yet many unanswered questions about the complex relationship among research, practice, and context. Nevertheless, as the various calls for such contributions become louder and more consistent, data on how global citizenship education is being implemented in Canadian public school classrooms is on the horizon. Indeed, we look forward to contributing pilot study results from our larger Canada-wide study that is currently underway in the very near future.

#### **4) Concluding reflections**

Theoretical treatments of the global dimension of citizenship reveal both complexity and conceptual diversity. Overlapping identity affiliations and allegiances, the diversity of beliefs, values, and worldviews, varying notions of rights and responsibilities within global governance contexts, blurred boundaries between social justice and diversity, and questions about global civic conflict and global issues present unique challenges that complicate its translation and application in formal classroom and schooling contexts. British scholar Lynn Davies has noted that characterizations of global citizenship education are very much in flux and that it may be impossible to define, and thus impossible to implement (Davies, 2006, p. 8). Indeed, many critics point out that the idea of global citizenship is inherently problematic because it is more often viewed from a national and legalistic standpoint and sometimes can be a form of imperialism, threatening local allegiances, be they ethnic, religious, or cultural.

Learning goals are compelling yet uncertain. Furthermore, they tend to be more explicitly linked to the investigation of global themes and issues and less attentive to issues of personal identity, membership and/or worldmindedness. There remains a considerable level of uncertainty about what types of learning might be experienced and what types might be silenced or ignored. Teaching and learning practices in this field are sophisticated yet at times reveal a level of incongruity. Particular attention is given to the importance of using experiential, learner-centered, inclusive and equitable teaching and learning practices yet "fitness of purpose" continues to be a challenge. For example, teaching and learning practices that relate to the study of global issues and civic responsibilities receive considerable attention while teaching and learning practices related to other core learning goal areas (e.g., beliefs and values, notions of social justice) are less evident, suggesting again a level of instructional incongruity between intent and practice. Macro-orientations evident in both the literature and in provincial approaches reveal an emerging multidimensionality yet also nuanced and distinctive mixtures of goals and teaching and learning practices. These macro-orientations range from instrumentalist to transformative, revealing a level of variance and often, competing notions of what it means to educate for global dimension of citizenship in the 21st century.

Context matters. Contextual factors present unique challenges and possibilities that complicate the nature and extent to which educating for the global dimension of citizenship might be nurtured in classrooms and schools. The idea of citizenship has been historically tied to the idea of a nation-state. Educating for the global dimension of citizenship - and indeed other forms of citizenship (e.g., Indigenous) - are circumscribed by a certain preeminence of national citizenship education (Davies, 2006; Gaudelli, 2003; Mundy, 2007). The global infrastructure simply does not relate to individuals nor hold them accountable in the same way as national governance systems. Orientations to the education of global citizenship in Canada, as Pike and Richardson have pointed out, present global themes as a matter of national self-interest. Provincial and territorial contexts in which education is administered in Canada present their own set of distinctive challenges and opportunities. Ongoing shifts in the political environment directly affect educational curricula purposes and priorities across the various educational systems. Changes to curriculum policy in Ontario in the 1990s and onward, for example, brought a shift in favor of the global marketplace and placed a new emphasis on standards, testing, and narrowly defined practical skills, emphasizing basic literacy and numeracy and work related skills over such themes as intercultural understanding, peace, social justice and equity. This situation is further complicated at the micro level when considering the nature of teachers' work (e.g., workload, administrative support, resource availability) and the extent to which schools, themselves, can undermine the impact of certain types of global citizenship curriculum goals.

Nonetheless, there is a growing recognition of the importance of this dimension of education and its perceived possibilities. Educators, policymakers and individual citizens worldwide are stressing the important role that education must play in facing challenges that are increasingly global in nature. These challenges are not abstract, they have global, national, local and individual consequences and they will require commitment and cooperation from the education sector. Internationally, most particularly in Europe, global citizenship education programming has moved from a peripheral position to one that informs development policy and practice. Coalition work among international development NGO networks in Europe has kept this dimension of education on the European Commission's agenda, which has led to such mechanisms as the "Maastricht Declaration on Improving and Increasing Global Education in Europe to 2015" and increased multi-sector (government, private sector and NGO) support for GCE across Europe. Importantly, recent educational research and emerging curriculum policy in various Canadian provinces reveals that there are significant areas of opportunity for teachers to include global citizenship education in their practice.

At the same time, however, certain cautions are being voiced. Educating for the global dimension of citizenship remains particularly problematic for some because they believe it represents a conflict of interests between ensuring national identity and a cohesive nation-state. Representations and perspectives from the majority world or non-Western populations are rare. Views and visions from the South tend to be included from the perspective of Western formulations of global issues and it is more difficult to find African, Latin American or Asian-centric perspectives of global citizenship education. Thus, the potential "dangers" inherent in any notions of global citizenship education range from encouraging feelings of self-righteousness to reinforcing colonial assumptions and relations to reinforcing privilege and uncritical action (Andreotti, 2006). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2004), presenting an Indigenous perspective to global citizenship, argues that when words like

globalization and post-colonialism are used they insinuate that imperialism and colonialism no longer exist (p. 25).

The global dimension of citizenship is receiving considerable interest and attention in Canadian education today. Scholarly literature reveals an increasing level of sophistication and complexity in its expression in both theory and practice. Indisputably, it is being ascribed increased visibility in educational policy documents and in teaching and learning practices in classrooms and schools across Canada. Yet, there remains a level of concern and uncertainty about which messages are being – and ought to be – foregrounded, what teaching and learning practices are most suitable, the circumscribing forces of context, and the potential “dangers” inherent in any notions of global citizenship education that may end up reinforcing privilege and uncritical action. As we look to the future, increased support for additional research and for curriculum, instructional, and professional development work is needed to better understand the theoretical complexities and practical challenges associated with this emerging and essential dimension of education.

*Correspondence:* MARK EVANS, LEIGH ANNE INGRAM, ANGELA MACDONALD AND NADYA WEBER, OISE, University of Toronto Canada Department of Curriculum, Teaching & Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 252 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6 Phone: 416-978-8180 Email: mevans@oise.utoronto.ca

## NOTES

- [1] Also, education for human rights, humane education, peace education, education for intercultural awareness, environmental education, and education for social justice and equity.
- [2] References relating to core learning goals include: Andreotti, 2006; Banks, 2004, 2007; Boulding, 1988; Davies, 2006; Harber, and Yamashita, 2004; Davies, Evans, and Reid, 2005; Heater, 1996, 2002.; Holden and Hicks, 2007; Lee and Leung, 2006; Joshee, 2004; Kymlicka, 1995, 2003; Merryfield, 1998; Mundy, 2007; Osler and Starkey, 2002, 2003; Peters, Britton, and Blee, 2008; Richardson, 2004; Schattle, 2008; Selby and Pike, 1988, 2000).
- [3] References relating to teaching and learning practices include: Banks, 2004; Bickmore, 2006; Boyd, 2009; Claire, H. and Holden, C., 2007; Davies, 2005; Davies and Issitt, 2005; Evans, 2005, 2008; Evans and Reynolds, 2005; Holden, C. and Hicks, D., 2007; Ibrahim, 2005; Ikeno, N., 2005; Nelson and Kerr, 2006; Larsen, 2008; Lee, and Leung, 2006; Merryfield, M., 1998; Osborne, 1999, 2001; OXFAM, 2006; Parker, 1996, 2001, 2003; Pike and Selby, 1988, 2000

## REFERENCES

- ABDI, A. A. AND SHULTZ, L. (2008) Educating for human rights and global citizenship. Albany, NY: Suny Press.
- ANDREOTTI, V. (2006) Soft versus critical global citizenship education in development education: Policy and practice. Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice, Nottingham University, [www.osdemethodology.org.uk](http://www.osdemethodology.org.uk).
- ARCHIBUGI, D., HELD, D. AND KOHLER, M. (1998) Reimagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- ARTHUR, J., DAVIES, I. AND HAHN, C. (eds.) (2008) The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy. Los Angeles, Sage.
- BANKS, J. (2008) Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. Educational Researcher, 37, 3, 129-139.
- BANKS, J. (2007) Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society, Second edition. New York, Teachers College Press.

- BANKS, J. (2004) Educating Global Citizens in a Diverse World. Seattle, Washington, New Horizons for Learning, [www.newhorizons.org/strategies/multicultural/banks2.htm](http://www.newhorizons.org/strategies/multicultural/banks2.htm).
- BICKMORE, K. (2006) Democratic social cohesion (assimilation?): Representations of social conflict in Canadian public school curriculum. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29, 2, 359-386.
- BICKMORE, K. (2001) Student conflict resolution, power 'sharing' in schools, and citizenship education. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 31, 2, 137-162.
- BOULDING, E. (1988) Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World. John Dewey Lecture. New York, Teachers College Press.
- BOYD, R. (2009) Educating for Global Citizenship. Cardiff, Wales: International Baccalaureate.
- BRITISH COLOMBIA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (2005) Civic Studies 11: Integrated resource package, 12, [www.bced.gov.bc.ca/policy/policies/graduation\\_req.htm#section2](http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/policy/policies/graduation_req.htm#section2).
- CARTER, A. (2001) The Political Theory of Global Citizenship. London, Routledge.
- CASE, R. (1997) Global Education: It's largely a matter of perspective. In Case, R. and P. Clark (eds.) *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*. British Columbia, Simon Fraser University.
- CHRISTIE, J. (1983) A critical history of development education in Canada. *Canadian and International Education*, 12, 8-20.
- CLAIRE, H. AND HOLDEN, C. (2007) *The Challenge of Teaching Controversial Issues*. Trentham Books.
- CLARK, P. AND CASE, R. (1997) Four purposes of citizenship education. In Clark, P. and Case, R. (eds.) *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*. British Columbia, Simon Fraser University.
- COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF EDUCATION, Canada (2001) Education for peace: Human rights, democracy, international understanding, and tolerance. Published in collaboration with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO.
- COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF EDUCATION, Canada (1994) *The Global Classroom: Appraisal and perspectives on education for international understanding*. Canadian Report.
- DAVIES, I., EVANS, M. AND REID, A. (2005) Globalising citizenship education? A critique of 'global education' and 'citizenship education'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53, 1, 66-87.
- DAVIES, L. (2005) Teaching about Conflict through Citizenship Education. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1, 2, 17-34.
- DAVIES, L. (2006) Global citizenship: Abstraction or framework for action? *Educational Review*, 58, 1, 5-25.
- DAVIES, L., HARBER, C., YAMASHITA, H. (2004) *Global citizenship education: The needs of teachers and learners*. Centre for International Education and Research, University of Birmingham (UK).
- DELANTY, G. (1999) *Citizenship in a Global Age: Society, Culture, Politics*. Buckingham, Open University Press.
- DELANTY, G. (2006) The cosmopolitan imagination: Critical cosmopolitanism and social theory. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57, 1, 25-47.
- DOWER, N. (2003) *An Introduction to Global Citizenship*. Edinburgh University Press.
- DOWER, N. AND WILLIAMS, J. (2002) *Global Citizenship: A Critical Reader*. Edinburgh University Press.
- DOWNES, D. AND JANDA, R. (1998) Virtual citizenship. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 13, 27.
- EVANS, M. (2008) Citizenship education, pedagogy, and school contexts. In Arthur, J., Davies, I., and Hahn, C. (eds.) *International Handbook of Citizenship and Democracy*. Sage.
- EVANS, M. (2006) Educating for citizenship: What teachers say and what teachers do. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29, 2, 410-435.
- EVANS, M., DAVIES, I., DEAN, B. AND WAGHID, Y. (2008) Educating for global citizenship in schools: Emerging understandings. In Mundy, K., Bickmore, K., Hayhoe, R., Madden, M., and Majidi, K. (eds.) *Comparative and International Education: Issues for Teachers*. New York, Teachers' College Press.
- EVANS, M. AND HUNDEY, I. (2004) Instructional approaches in social studies education: From 'what to teach' to 'how to teach'. In Sears, A. and Wright, I. (eds.), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*. Vancouver: Pacific Education Press.
- EVANS, M. AND REYNOLDS, C. (eds.) (2005) *Educating for Global Citizenship in a Changing World: A teacher's resource handbook*. Toronto: OISE/UT, <http://cide.oise.utoronto.ca/globalcitizenship.php>.
- GAUDELLI, W. (2003) *World Class: Teaching and Learning in Global Times*. US, Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.
- GOUVERNEMENT DU QUÉBEC, Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (2005), Education in Québec: An overview, [www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/GR-PUB/m\\_englis.htm](http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/GR-PUB/m_englis.htm).
- HAHN, C. (1998) *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education*. Albany, State University of New York Press.

- HEATER, D. (2002) *World Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Thinking and its Opponents*. London, Continuum.
- HEATER, D. (1996) *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought*. St. Martin's Press.
- HÉBERT, Y. (2002) *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- HELD D. (1999) The transformation of political community: Rethinking democracy in the context of globalization. In Shapiro, I. and Hacker-Gordon, C. (eds.) *Democracy's Edges*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- HELD, D. (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order. From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Cambridge, Polity.
- HICKS, D. AND HOLDEN, C. (2007) *Teaching the Global Dimension: Key Principles and Effective Practice*. London, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- HODGETTS, A.B. (1968) *What culture? What heritage? A study of civic education in Canada*. Toronto, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- HOLLAND, D. (2004) *Hope for a new vision: The emergence of global citizenship in Ontario*. Toronto, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.
- HOLLINGWORTH, M. (1983) Summary of major findings and recommendations of a national study in development education in Canada in the eighties: Context, constraints, choices. *London, Canadian and International Education. Education Canadienne et Internationale*, 12, 3, 21-31.
- IBRAHIM, T. (2005) Global citizenship education: Mainstreaming the curriculum? *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 35, 2, 177-194.
- IKENO, N. (2005) Citizenship education in Japan after World War II. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 1, 2, 93-98.
- JELIN, E. (2000) Towards a global environmental citizenship? *Citizenship Studies*, 4, 1.
- JOSHEE, R. (2004) Citizenship and Multicultural Education in Canada: From Assimilation to Social Cohesion. In Banks, J. (ed.) *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 127-158.
- KANT, I. (1983) *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on politics, History and Morals*. Hackett Publishing.
- KYMLICKA, W. (2003) Multicultural states and intercultural citizens, *Theory and Research in Education*, 1, 2, 147-169.
- KYMLICKA, W. (1995) Multicultural citizenship. In G. Shafir (ed.) (1998) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- LARSEN, M. (2008) *ACT! Active Citizens Today: Global Citizenship for Local Schools*. London, University of Western Ontario.
- LEE, W.O. AND LEUNG, S.W. (2006) Global citizenship education in Hong Kong and Shanghai secondary schools: Ideals, realities, and expectations. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 2, 2, 68-84.
- LINKLATER, A. (1998) Cosmopolitan citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 2, 1, 23-41.
- MARSHALL, T.H. (1963) Citizenship and social class, In Shafir, G. (ed.) (1998) *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 93-112.
- MCDONOUGH, K. AND FEINBERG, F. (2005) *Citizenship and Education in Liberal Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- MCINTYRE-MILLS, J. (2000) *Global Citizenship and Social Movements: Creating Transcultural Webs of Meaning for the New Millennium*, Australia, Harwood Academic Publishers.
- MCLAUGHLIN, T.H. (1999) Citizenship, diversity and education. *The School Field*, 1/2, 37-56.
- MCLEAN, L., COOK, S. AND T. CROWE (2006) Educating the next generation of global citizens through teacher education, one new teacher at a time. *Canadian Social Studies Journal*, 40, 1.
- MCLEOD, K. (1989) *Exploring Citizenship Education: Education for Citizenship in Canada and Citizenship Education*. Toronto, Canadian Education Association.
- MERRYFIELD, M. (1998) Pedagogy for Global Perspectives in Education: Studies of Teachers' Thinking and Practice. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 26, 3, 342-378.
- MERRYFIELD, M., JARCHOW, E. AND PICKETT, S. (eds.) (1997) *Preparing Teachers to Teach Global Perspectives*. London, Sage Publications, 1-24.
- MUNDY, K., MANION, C., MASSEMAN, V., AND HAGGERTY, M. (2008) *Charting global education in Canada's elementary schools*. Toronto, OISE/University of Toronto/UNICEF Canada.
- NELSON, J. AND KERR, D. (2006) *Active citizenship in INCA countries: Definitions, policies, practices and outcomes (Final Report)*.
- NUSSBAUM, M. (2002) Education for citizenship in an era of global connection. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 21, 289-303.
- O'BYRNE, D. (2003) *The Dimensions of Global Citizenship: Political Identity Beyond the Nation State*. Portland Oregon, Frank Cass, 2003.
- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (1999, 2005) *Canadian and World Studies, Grades 9 and 10*. Toronto, MET.

- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (2000) Canadian and World Studies, Grades 11 and 12. Toronto, MET.
- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (1998) Social Studies, Grades 1-6; History and Geography, Grades 7 and 8. Toronto, MET.
- OSBORNE, K. (1994) Teaching for democratic citizenship: Democracy, citizenship, and education. In Erwin, L. and MacLennan, D. (eds.) *Sociology of Education in Canada: Critical Perspectives on Theory, Research, and Practice*. Toronto, Copp Clark Longman Ltd., 417-442.
- OSBORNE, K. (2001) Democracy, democratic citizenship, and education. In Portelli, J.P. and R.P. Solomon (eds.) *The Erosion of Democracy in Education* Calgary, Detselig Enterprises, 29-61.
- OSLER, A. AND STARKEY, H. (2006) *Cosmopolitan citizenship, Changing Citizenship: Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Open University Press.
- OSLER, A. AND STARKEY, H. (2003) Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences. *Educational Review*, 55, 3.
- OSLER, A. (2002) Learning to live together: Citizenship education on an interdependent world. *Global Citizenship Supplement*, Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education, University of Leicester, 2-6.
- O'SULLIVAN, B. (1999) Global change and educational reform in Ontario and Canada. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 24, 3, 311-325.
- OXFAM (2006) What is global citizenship.  
<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/coolplanet/teachers/globciti/whatis.htm>;  
<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/coolplanet/teachers/globciti/curric/index.htm>.
- PARKER, W. (ed.) (1996) *Educating the Democratic Mind*. State University of New York Press.
- PETERS, M., BLEE, H., AND BRITTON, A. (2008) *Global Citizenship Education: Philosophy, Theory and Pedagogy*. Rotterdam, Sense Publishers.
- PIGOZZI, MARY JOY. (2006) A UNESCO view of global citizenship education. *Educational Review*, 58, 1, 1-4.
- PIKE, G. (2000) Global education and national identity: In pursuit of meaning. *Theory Into Practice*, 39, 2, 64 -73.
- PIKE, G. (2008) Reconstructing the Legend: Educating for Global Citizenship. In Abdi, A. & Shultz, L. (eds) *Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship*. New York, State University of New York Press, 223-237.
- PIKE, G. AND SELBY, D. (1988) *Global Teacher, Global Learner*. London, Hodder and Stoughton.
- PIKE, G. AND SELBY, D. (2000) *In the Global Classroom 2*. Toronto, Pippin.
- RICHARDSON, G. (2004) Global education and the challenge of globalization. In Sears, A. & Wright, I (eds.) *Challenges and Prospects in Canadian Social Studies*. Vancouver, Pacific Education Press, 138-149.
- SCHATTLE, H. (2008) *The Practices of Global Citizenship*. Lanham, Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield.
- SCHWEISFURTH, M., DAVIES, L., AND HARBER, C. (2002) *Learning democracy and citizenship: International experiences*. Oxford, Symposium Books.
- SEARS, A. (2004) In search of good citizens: Citizenship education and Social Studies in Canada, Sears, A. and Wright, I. (eds.) *Challenges and Prospects in Canadian Social Studies*. Vancouver, Pacific Education Press, 90-106.
- SEARS, A. (1996) Something different to everyone: Conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. *Canadian and International Education* 25, 2, 1-15.
- SEARS, A. AND HUGHES, A.H. (1996) Citizenship education and current educational reform. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 21, 2, 123-142.
- SELBY, D., AND PIKE, G. (2000) Civil global education: Relevant learning for the twenty-first century. *Convergence*, XXXIII, 1-2, 138-149.
- SHULTZ, L. (2007) Educating for global citizenship: Conflicting agendas and understandings. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 53, 3, 248-258.
- STRONG-BOAG, V. (1996) Claiming a place in the nation: Citizenship education and the challenge of feminists, Natives, and workers in post-confederation Canada. *Canadian and International Education*, 25, 2, 128-145.
- TUHIWAI SMITH, L. (2004) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (4th ed.). London, Zed Books.
- WARCHILD CANADA (2006) *The Warchild Canada youth opinion poll: Canadian youth speak out on global issues and Canada's role in the world*,  
[http://www.ccic.ca/e/docs/002\\_public\\_engagement\\_youth\\_opinion\\_poll.pdf](http://www.ccic.ca/e/docs/002_public_engagement_youth_opinion_poll.pdf).



## *Indigeneity Education as Canadian First Nations Citizenship Education*

JEFF ORR AND ROBYN RONAYNE, *St. Francis Xavier University*

**ABSTRACT** This article explores some of the main arguments that have been advanced by Canadian Indigenous and non-Indigenous political theorists and social studies scholars about the issues associated with Indigenous citizenship in Canada. It makes the case for Indigeneity education as a distinct form of First Nations citizenship education that accounts for the unique issues and values considered important by Indigenous peoples, with particular reference to the work of Taiaiake Alfred (1999). Indigeneity education outlines important concepts and ideas that might be explored by schools teaching First Nations students and all other Canadian students so as to prepare them for their role as citizens within the Canadian context. Secondly this article describes what is purported to be taught through the formal public school curriculum in two Canadian provinces through the formal social studies and native studies secondary curricula. Dominant themes that are in keeping with Indigeneity and those that may collide with it are identified. A case is made for the importance of attending to and supporting the deep professional learning of teachers' cultural practical knowledge as a way to advance Indigeneity education.

*“Citizenship issues in education for First Nations peoples in Canada historically have concerned civilization, assimilation, and colonization” (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002, 93).*

### **Introduction**

Battiste and Semaganis join a host of scholars and Indigenous political leaders in identifying the contested nature of First Nations citizenship in the wider Canadian settler dominated context. Colonization and assimilation have been central policies of successive colonial governments, since the invasion of Canada by European settlers. Policies related to the education of First Peoples have taken a variety of forms, and whether intentional or not, most of these education policies have contributed to assimilation and further colonization (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Nicholas, 2008; Alfred, 1999).

Battiste and Semaganis argue, therefore, that to use the term citizenship education, “continues to yield a curriculum biased towards colonialist views of individuals and societies” (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002: 93), which serves to promote conformity to the values, traditions and policies of the dominant Euro-Canadian society. This article re-imagines the citizenship term and citizenship

education in relation to First Nations by drawing upon the voices of scholars and politicians who have made important contributions to articulating what it means to live a uniquely Indigenous form of citizenship; what many have called “Indigeneity.” (Shaw, 2008; Maaka & Fleras, 2000).

“The emergence of Indigeneity as discourse and collective transformation marks a major ideological shift in realigning the post colonizing dynamics of white settler dominions.” (Maaka & Fleras, 2000: 89). Indigeneity replaces colonial paradigms with Indigenous forms of self-determination, which seeks to restore and return jurisdiction for land, cultural identity, and political voice to First Peoples (Alfred, 1999). All Indigenous societies co-exist alongside and within wider white settler-dominated dominions such as Canada, Aotearoa, Australia, and the United States that have sought and served to colonize and assimilate Indigenous peoples, so the wider political project of Indigeneity is necessarily situated within this contested political terrain. Indigeneity, therefore, is a political movement that seeks to name and live a distinct nation-to-nation political relationship between First Nations and the Canadian state in which First Nations’ peoples are embedded (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Alfred, 1999). This relationship focuses upon the politics of land, governance authority, cultural integrity, and shared sovereignty for the million Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Alfred, 1999; Maaka & Fleras, 2000).

The Canadian Constitution Act (Department of Justice, Canada, 1982) recognizes “Indians” (or First Nations), Inuit and Métis as three distinct groups of Aboriginal peoples with unique cultural, linguistic, and political traditions. According to the 2006 census of Canada, there are more than one million Aboriginal peoples in Canada and 60% are First Nations. First Nations peoples live in 615 First Nations communities and come from 10 distinct language families. The First Nations population increased by 29% from 1996 to 2006, 3.5 times the Canadian growth rate and half the population are children and youth (Assembly of First Nations web site, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2006). This article will focus primarily upon citizenship educational issues related to First Nations peoples, using the terms Indigenous, First Nations, Aboriginal somewhat interchangeably. The term “Indian” is the legal term that refers to registered Indians (called First Nations by the Assembly of First Nations) under the Canadian Indian Act. As this is not the preferred name of First Nations, it is not used in this article.

As First Nations peoples live self-determining Indigeneity alongside settler citizen societies, it stands to reason that Indigeneity education for First Nations peoples and citizenship education for non-Indigenous peoples will need to be a prominent policy strategy. The next section of this article will draw upon notions of Indigeneity in order to identify a Canadian Indigeneity education that helps First Nations students learn to live well alongside other First Nations peoples and the wider Canadian citizenry. Implications for the education of this wider Canadian settler citizenry will also be explored.

### **Policy Background**

Since the release of Indian Control of Indian Education (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972), which was a response to the Canadian federal government’s White Paper on Indian Affairs in 1969, First Nations governments have publically and collectively stressed the importance of ensuring that schooling for Aboriginal people supports Aboriginal cultural and linguistic identity. Against this policy backdrop there have been longstanding debates and grievances about how church-run,

then federal, then provincial school systems as Euro-centric institutions have served as colonial/racist agents and have failed to build Aboriginal identity and academic success. In 2008, the Canadian government apologized to Aboriginal peoples for the wrongs committed in Indian residential schools in relation to assimilation, abuse and violation of human rights.

Band-operated schools—which are schools that are under the political jurisdiction of First Nations governments rather than provincial governments — emerged after Indian Control of Indian Education as a key education policy direction of the Canadian federal government in its relationship with First Nations peoples. The percentage of First Nations students attending band-operated schools as a portion of the total First Nations secondary school population has dramatically increased. Many scholars have argued that the shift in responsibility for education to First Nations in reality did little to enable actual curricular and pedagogical control of education (Hookimaw-Witt, 1998; White & Peters, 2009).

There is little to no empirical research available which has explained the experiences of First Nations students attending band operated or provincial schools in relation to First Nations Indigeneity formation. Kanu (2002) has shown that the cultural appropriateness of curriculum, approaches to learning, and the interpersonal style of teachers can go a long ways to improving the learning of Aboriginal students in provincial schools. In program evaluation work, Orr and Cameron (2004) have shown that for Nova Scotia, Mi'kmaw students in provincial schools were almost three times (44% of comments) as likely as students from band operated schools (15% of comments) to perceive lack of culturally relevant programming and discrimination as academic barriers (Augustine, 2002; Orr & Cameron, 2004). Wider Canadian evidence also suggests that provincial schools are doing a very poor job of addressing First Nations knowledge (Coalition for the Advancement of Aboriginal Studies, 2002). For instance, the Coalition's survey of 348 secondary students from across Canada shows that 79.3% of these students disagreed or strongly disagreed that their schooling provided them with the opportunity to learn and understand Aboriginal issues. These preliminary sources suggest that provincial schools appear to be continuing to have Eurocentric rather than Indigenous knowledge as the standard and that band operated schools may or may not be better places for identity formation, depending upon the clarity of the curriculum and the quality and value-orientation of teaching (Burns, 2001, Battiste, 1998).

There are a number of opinion-based articles on individual experiences within band-operated and provincial school systems that suggest that there is much to do to address the gap between goals of Indigeneity education and the citizenship goals of a more mainstream Eurocentric society (Battiste, 1998; Hookima-Witt, 1998; Battiste & Henderson, 2002). Like many Aboriginal scholars, Battiste and Henderson contend, "...no force has been more effective in oppressing Indigenous knowledge and heritage than the educational system." (Battiste & Henderson, 2002: 86).

Infusing minority culture's knowledge and worldviews in all aspects of the school experience have been shown to help students from these minorities to develop strong cultural identities (Nieto, 2000; Banks & Banks 1989). When students' culture and language are affirmed they are more likely to respond positively to school and to develop a sense of political efficacy (Matthews, 1996; Nieto, 2000). Klug and Whitfield (2003) found teacher dispositions as manifested in attitudes and values towards Aboriginal students could either enhance or deter student relationships. Teachers who work as healers within classrooms, attending holistically to students' lives (Katz & St. Denis, 1991) and who use instructional approaches compatible with Native cultures (Tafuya, 1989) can create places where

Aboriginal students feel valued and affirmed. Many Aboriginal educators who have shared their experiences with the development of culturally responsive programs hold in common a focus upon holistic, community-based Indigenous language and culture as a way to reinforce Aboriginal identity and self-respect in order to engage students in schooling that enhances their lives (Kape 'ahiokalani Padeken Ah Nee-Benham, 2000). We will return to teacher dispositions towards Indigenous education later in the article, but for now, we will explain and clarify the concept of Indigeneity more fully.

### **Indigeneity Defined**

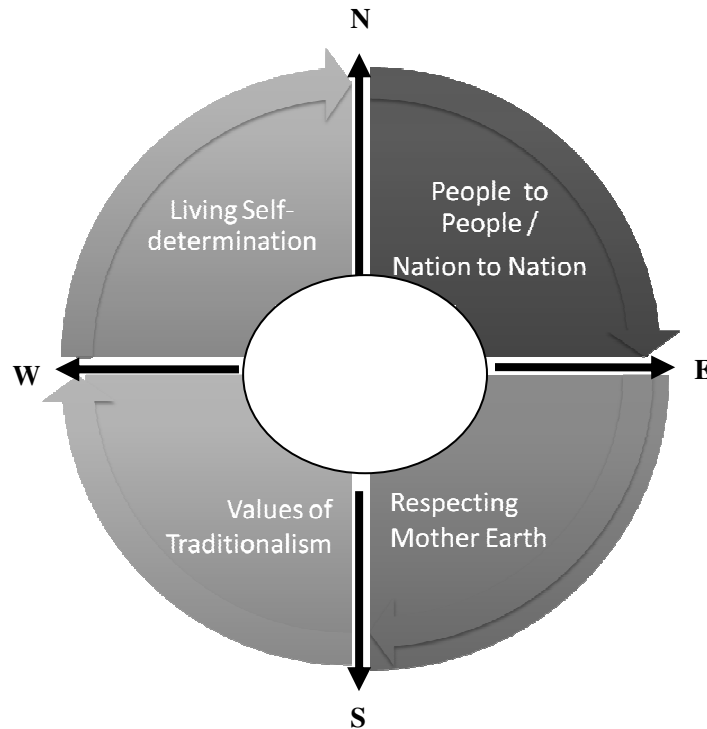
Schooling experiences related to citizenship education in Canada have been shaped by a long history of colonialism. This has “continued to yield a curriculum biased towards colonialist views of individuals and societies....that carry baggage that again drives First Nations relationships, treaties, and self-determination to a bias towards Eurocentric perceptions of citizenship and governance” (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002: 93) rather than perceptions of Indigeneity. We will draw upon Taiaiake Alfred's Indigenous Manifesto as well as the writings of several other scholars to build a model for conceptualizing citizenship education of and for First Nations that we will call Indigeneity education. Alfred states, “if we are to emerge from this crisis with our nations intact, we must turn away from the values of the mainstream North American society and begin to act as self-determining peoples. We cannot preserve our nations unless we take action to restore pride in our traditions, achieve economic self-sufficiency, develop independence of mind, and display courage in defence of our lands and rights” (Alfred, 1999: xii).

Based on Alfred's Indigenous Manifesto, we will describe four interrelated elements that appear to be necessary for Indigeneity education to occur within the wider discussion of Canadian citizenship education:

- 1) *Living Indigenous Traditionalism* calls for a return to traditional Indigenous values to guide Indigeneity education.
- 2) *Living in Harmony with Mother Earth* through a defence of Indigenous lands highlights the significance of the environment and all things animate as a guide to Indigeneity education.
- 3) *Living Indigenous self-determination* by decolonizing colonial mindsets of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is a guide to Indigeneity education.
- 4) *Living People to People and Nation to Nation* underscores the importance of relationships of peace between peoples and nations as a guide to Indigeneity education.

These four pillars presented in Figure I provide direction for exploring Indigeneity education as a First Nations form of citizenship education. After exploring each of these pillars in more detail, we will take them up as a lens to guide Canadian citizenship education reform.

Figure One : The four inter-related elements



#### *Living Indigenous Traditionalism*

Alfred argues that “a government that is not based on the traditional principles of respect and harmonious coexistence will inevitably tend to reflect the cold, calculating, and coercive ways of the modern state.” (Alfred, 1999: xiv). First Nations government and Indigeneity must have Indigenous character that is grounded in First Nations culture and languages (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 2002; Battiste and Henderson, 2002) “to help children develop as citizens of First nations-with the knowledge of their languages and traditions necessary for cultural continuity” (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996: 82). A first principle of government for First Nations peoples is “the cultural ideal of respectful coexistence as a tolerant and harmony-seeking” tradition (Alfred, 1999:82). Although there is a great diversity amongst First Nations peoples with as many or more spoken languages and cultures as exist in Europe, and a broad array of social and political customs and spiritual beliefs, there is a strong political commonality across these cultures (Alfred, 1999). This commonality is reflected in “a Native American political tradition: commitment to a profoundly respectful way of governing, based on a worldview that balances respect for autonomy with recognition of a universal interdependency, and promotes peaceful coexistence among all the elements of creation.” (Alfred, 1999: xvi). Indigeneity education that lives amidst this diversity and commonality, rooted in philosophical principles should be “drawn from the basic teachings of traditional Indigenous cultures” (Alfred, 1999: xvii). While Alfred illustrated this through the Rotinohshonni cultural imperative of his people of “peace, power and righteousness”, it is incumbent upon

teachers of Indigeneity education to ground their pedagogy in the cultures, values and traditions of their local Indigenous communities. Teaching for Indigeneity requires an historical understanding and respect for local pre-contact Indigenous cultures, the erosion of these local cultures in post-contact history and the changing face of local Indigenous cultures alongside both contemporary settler society and the wider Indigenous society across Canada and beyond. Alfred reminds us that it is necessary to know the impact of colonization through assimilation upon the strength of Indigenous traditional cultures. Yet it is also important to acknowledge, celebrate and honour the fact that “frameworks of their value systems remain intact and vital” (Alfred, 1999:5). Aboriginal values of harmony, autonomy and respect are key elements for Indigeneity education, regardless of the tribal origins of the particular First Nation learner.

#### *Living in Harmony with Mother Earth*

The definition of Indigenous means to be original inhabitants of the land. Alfred (1999) explains that at the time of first contact, most Native American societies did not abuse the earth, and helped maintain the survival and harmony of all beings. “Indigenous philosophies are premised on the belief that earth was created by a power external to human beings, who have a responsibility to act as stewards” (Alfred, 1999:60). This stewardship principle, “gives human beings special responsibilities with the areas they occupy as Indigenous peoples, linking them in a natural way to their territories” (61). John Raulston Saul (1997:185) notes that the environment was deeply and profoundly evident in Indigenous societies in the form of animism, which “sees everything as alive and interrelated.” For instance, Aboriginal languages describe many things as animate that are considered non-living in western scientific traditions.

Teaching for and living Indigeneity is partly about being attuned to the place of Indigenous Stewardship of Mother Earth to ensure the long-term health and well-being of the land and its peoples (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Alfred, 1999). Animism and Indigenous Stewardship of Mother Earth call for a special relationship with many of the forms of economic activity that exist (or may potentially exist) on or near Indigenous lands. The valuation of natural resources and other living things as commodities that can be extracted, exploited, and developed, is potentially a violation of Indigenous traditions of stewardship of Mother Earth. Indigeneity education promotes a way of living that is in harmony with all aspects of the environment that are considered to be animate by Indigenous peoples as living things, worthy of preservation through principles of harmony and respect. This approach to Indigeneity education places a respect for Mother Earth at its heart by making certain that students learn that political decision making must value a sacred balance of the land/environment as a basis for living Indigeneity.

#### *Living Self-Determination*

Self-determination is a way to take back control of decisions that have been made by oppressive and colonizing governments, religions and economies. Self-determination is decolonization that leads towards greater social justice (Tuhiwai Smith, 2001). It serves to re-position issues about First Nations peoples in ways that relate to Indigenous problems and priorities. Self-determination is a counter-narrative to the colonizing societies that have dominated First Nations peoples by seeking to control their lands, cultures, traditions, and identities. Decolonization is the act of joining together with other colonized peoples, locally and/or globally in order to “learn, share, plan, organize and struggle collectively for self-

determination” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2001:7). “The collective struggle for indigenous self-determination is truly a fight for freedom and justice” (Alfred, 1999:xi).

Self-determination acknowledges that power occurs naturally, as a result of the achievement of balance and respect for diverse forms of power alongside people and the total natural and spiritual environment. Self-determination by First Nations peoples is distinct from self-government, which Alfred and others consider to be a colonial idea (Deloria & Lytle, 1984; Alfred, 1999). The act of self-determination enables First Nations peoples to go outside of this colonial mindset, which is a mental state of being that “blocks recognition of the existence or viability of traditional perspectives: it prevents people from seeing beyond the conditions created by the white society to serve its own interests” (Alfred, 1999:70). Colonization insidiously creates the conditions by which Indigenous peoples take up the values and actions of the dominant society. Decolonization teaches people to be independent from the tyranny of colonization by learning to use self-determining Indigenous values and actions.

#### Living People- to-People, Nation-to-Nation

First Nations peoples in what is now Canada were originally self-governing. First Nations can be considered “nations within” or “national minorities” within the larger Canadian state, just as are Quebecois and Acadian French. Nations within are distinguishable from the wider society because they formed self-governing societies before being involuntarily colonized (Kymlicka, 2000). Indigenous groups are often distinguished further from other stateless nations groups such as Quebecois French by the different roles that each played in state formation. “As a rule, stateless nations were contenders but losers in the process of European state-formation, whereas Indigenous peoples were entirely isolated from that process until very recently, and so retained a pre-modern way of life until well into this [20th] century” (Kymlicka, 2000: 221). First Nations peoples in Canada have argued for a relationship with Canada that recognizes them as peoples who have rights to deal “people-to-people and nation-to-nation” with others (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Tully, 2000). These relationships are inscribed in the international treaties that were signed between England and Canada and various First Nations, from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries that led to the following three contested dimensions of sovereignty between Indigenous nations and the Canadian nation:

- 1) Indigenous peoples “continue to exercise their own stateless, popular sovereignty on the territories they reserve for themselves”
- 2) “...the settlers can establish their own governments and jurisdictions on unoccupied territories that are given to them”
- 3) “Indigenous peoples agree to share jurisdiction with the newcomers over the remaining, overlapping territories so that one party to a treaty does not extinguish the rights and subordinate itself to the other” (Tully, 2000: 53).

This notion of a nation-to-nation relationship for ‘nations within’ when situated alongside wider nation states is considered to be “one of the key issues, perhaps even the central issue, for nation states in the twenty-first century” (Kymlicka, 2000: 223). The prohibition of the use of Indigenous languages through educational policies such as residential schooling in the mid-twentieth century, the federal White Paper on Indian Affairs of 1969, and perhaps even more recent efforts to enforce provincial educational standards upon First Nations peoples have served “to disempower national minorities and to eliminate any sense of their possessing a distinct national identity, justified partly on the grounds that minorities which viewed themselves as distinct ‘nations’ would be disloyal and potentially secessionist....” (Kymlicka, 2000:224). It has now been proven empirically that such

pressures for integration and assimilation by minority nations such as Indigenous nations has only served to create greater opposition and political resistance (Kymlicka, 2000: 224). The trend in Canada is to enshrine Aboriginal rights within its laws, such as is the case with Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution which affirms Aboriginal and treaty rights. Alfred asks; what gives Canada the right to “give” rights to Aboriginal peoples? However, Canada has not always been supportive of enshrining Aboriginal rights in its laws, for instance, Canada, Australia, Aoteroa and the United States were the only United Nations countries to refuse to sign the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which had been under negotiations for more than 20 years between Indigenous nations and nation-states (UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples).

Traditional First Nations forms of government are egalitarian because Indigenous governments traditionally did not place distance between people and their leaders. Indigeneity education, therefore, promotes an understanding of government as the collective sharing of power amongst all members of the First Nation. “Leadership is exercised by persuading individuals to pool their self-power in the interest of the collective good” (Alfred, 1999:25). The Tlingit people of the Canadian northwest coast see leadership through the power of “shagoon: ancestors, origins, heritage and destiny/supreme being” (Alfred, 1999:49). Thus from the Tlingit tradition Indigeneity that is people to people and nation to nation would require a balancing of all these elements of shagoon by and for all peoples.

Indigeneity, adapted from the work of Taiaiake Alfred (1999), and others, reveals four important and interrelated concepts and ideas that will now be explored in relation to schooling. We will assess the degree to which these pillars are evident in the social studies and native studies curriculum of several Canadian provinces. We will end with some suggestions about the strengths and weaknesses of these curricular ideas and some pedagogical suggestions of ways to create a sound Indigeneity education that prepares First Nations youth for their role within and beyond self-determining First Nations. As well we argue that these concepts and pedagogical approaches are important for all Canadians to understand and value in regard to the place of First Nations in relation to the Canadian social and political context.

### **Curriculum Frameworks for Exploring First Nations Indigeneity**

Social studies is considered the main school subject through which citizenship is taught in Canadian schools (Osborne, 1994). Social studies is the broad subject field that includes courses in contemporary social science issues explored through an amalgam of disciplinary knowledge and processes from the relevant disciplines. It also may include more specific disciplines such as history or geography or, more recently, native or First Nations studies. In Canada, while there is some regional inter-provincial cooperation in curriculum development, ultimate jurisdiction for education curriculum rests with the ten individual provinces and three northern territories. It is therefore not possible to say with assurance, that similar outcomes are being explored with regards to First Nations issues. However, all provinces and territories now have their own individual curriculum policy statements with regards to First Nations education, and half these jurisdictions have developed independent courses in Native Studies. For instance, the province of Saskatchewan was the first to develop a comprehensive Indian and Métis education policy for K-12 that is now 20 years old and has separate courses in Native Studies for secondary grades that can fulfil social studies graduation requirements (Saskatchewan Education, 1989).



More recently, provinces such as Alberta, in 2002, adopted a First Nations, Indian and Métis Education Policy Framework to guide the development of curriculum and education programming related to Indigenous peoples and has developed secondary courses in Aboriginal studies that fulfil the social studies graduation requirement (Alberta Learning, 2002). Even more recently, in 2007, Ontario released its strategy for education for First Nations, Métis and Inuit students in 2007 to address curriculum and teaching reform to support Aboriginal learners and it too has developed First Nations studies courses for secondary schools. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007). These comprehensive provincial strategies have in common a focus on infusing Aboriginal content and pedagogy into the public school curriculum across the elementary and secondary spectrum and each province also sets accountability measures to foster improvement.

For the purposes of this article, we analyzed the secondary social studies/history and native studies provincial curriculum as it relates to the theme of Canada for the provinces of British Columbia and Saskatchewan. It is a general practice across Canada that band-operated schools adopt provincial Native Studies courses as their social studies requirement. Also, in provincial schools where there are significant populations of First Nations and Métis students, it is more likely that these courses will be adopted and offered as a potential social studies graduation requirement. For the most part, non-Aboriginal students tend to take social studies or history courses as their social studies graduation requirement. Most secondary First Nations students studying on reserves learn the more specific course content associated with First Nations studies, First Nations students attending provincial schools may take either First Nations or social/history studies courses, and most non-Aboriginal students receive social studies/history curriculum.

Table One shows the range of issues that are explored in Native Studies courses related to the four pillars of Indigeneity. Generally, it is evident that these specific Native Studies provincial curricula are doing an appropriate job of introducing content related to the four pillars. Native Studies curricula in both provinces focus upon the importance of First Nations traditions and values. They explain the unique relationship between Aboriginal world view and the environment. They show ways that First Nations leaders are working to address significant social, cultural, and economic challenges. These curricula name the significant Constitutional and political factors that shape relations between First Nations and Canada, and often address the Indigenous values of harmony and respect that frame these exchanges. Overall, students are learning through a significant, in-depth, historical and contemporary Indigenous lens. This learning will be helpful as a guide to living the principles of Indigeneity within and beyond First Nations communities.

*Table One: Canadian Provincial Native Studies Curricula*

<b>Native Studies</b>	<b>British Columbia 12</b>	<b>Saskatchewan 30 (Grade 12)</b>
<b>Self Determination</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• assesses the impact of contact upon Aboriginal peoples</li> <li>• shows the development of Aboriginal leaders</li> <li>• compares contemporary and historical Aboriginal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• shares solutions offered by First Nations education, justice and child welfare</li> <li>• explores the impact of treaty making on economic development</li> </ul>

<b>Native Studies</b>	<b>British Columbia 12</b>	<b>Saskatchewan 30 (Grade 12)</b>
	governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• examines the developing nature of self government</li> </ul>
<b>Nation to Nation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• describes political exchanges between First Nations and Canada</li> <li>• assesses post-contact exchanges</li> <li>• explores the historical context of First Nations and Canadian relations</li> <li>• examines the impact of Treaties and government</li> <li>• addresses stereotypes and cultural appropriations of First Nations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recognizes the significance of Section 35 of the Constitution</li> <li>• explores factors affecting relations among various First Nations</li> <li>• shows unfulfilled treaty obligations</li> <li>• promotes the Aboriginal value of harmony in relations</li> </ul>
<b>Traditionalism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recognizes the diversity of British Columbia First Nations groups</li> <li>• respects traditional teachings</li> <li>• values, shares oral traditions</li> <li>• explores Aboriginal moral teachings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• focuses on traditional Aboriginal leadership</li> <li>• sees education as a element of cultural survival</li> <li>• links traditional Aboriginal government with sovereignty</li> <li>• shows how culture influences the economy and environment</li> <li>• shows the value of respect</li> </ul>
<b>Mother Earth</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• relates notions of land with culture</li> <li>• shows the relationship between First Nations and the natural world</li> <li>• explores First Nations resource use and land issues</li> <li>• contrasts Aboriginal and European views of land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• links Aboriginal world view with the environment</li> <li>• shows the special relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the land</li> </ul>

Source: Saskatchewan 30: Native Studies Curriculum Guide; BC Native Studies 12 Curriculum Guide

Table Two shows that the four pillars of Indigeneity are much more sporadically explored in social studies and history courses. Social studies/history course content tends to focus on positive outcomes of First Nations and Canadian interactions.

Aboriginal notions of traditionalism are briefly introduced. While students are expected to learn to describe characteristics of Aboriginal life and communities before and after contact there is little to no mention of the effects of colonization upon First Nations peoples. There are many instances where the impact of Quebec upon Canadian identity is explored whereas this is much less evident for First Nations. The general Eurocentric influences upon Canadian society are dominant, and federal policies such as official bilingualism are valorised while Aboriginal language policies of assimilation are not taken up. Conflicts and compromises between the United States and Canada are presented to show how these engagements have shaped Canadian identity, yet this is not reciprocated for First Nations. Regarding self determination, there is little to no mention of such important citizenship contributions as Aboriginal involvement in the World Wars. The Canadian high standard of living is mentioned but this fails to analyze the unevenness of this as experienced by many First Nations. Students are asked to explore how Canadians can affect change at the provincial or federal level, but this ignores that there are First Nations governments. The curriculum narrative of two founding nations of English and French serves to exclude First Nations as founding nations. The curriculum does acknowledge that First Nations and Europeans had differing paradigms concerning land. Most analysis of the environment is not done from an explicit Indigenous perspective. In general, then, it is much less evident that Aboriginal perspectives are sufficiently singled out to underscore their significance.

*Table Two: Canadian Provincial Social/History Curricula*

<b>Social/History</b>	<b>British Columbia 12</b>	<b>Saskatchewan 30 (Grade 12)</b>
<b>Self Determination</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• challenges and benefits for Aboriginal people living on and off reserve are explored</li> <li>• little mention of the effects of colonization on Aboriginal people</li> <li>• two founding nations of English and French</li> <li>• Aboriginal peoples not discussed during section on transformation of Canadian identity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• suggests decision making should involve majority rule which does not align with First Nations perspectives</li> <li>• “all members of society have an obligation to accept/obey legitimate decisions even if they personally disagree with them”</li> </ul>
<b>Nation to Nation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• describes the impact of the Indian Act on Aboriginal people</li> <li>• describes the impact of residential schools</li> <li>• identifies various Aboriginal responses to challenges (e.g. negotiations, protests)</li> <li>• analyzes significant efforts of interactions between</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• describes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms</li> <li>• describes federal mainstream political system with its divisions of power and bicameral system</li> <li>• no mention of Riel resistance</li> <li>• acknowledges policies of assimilation</li> </ul>

Social/History	British Columbia 12	Saskatchewan 30 (Grade 12)
	Aboriginal communities and colonizers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• explores the effects of interactions by disease, weapons, religion, treaties, Riel rebellion, self-government movement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• little mention of First Nations perspectives on government processes</li> </ul>
<b>Traditionalism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• describes characteristics of Aboriginal communities before and after contact</li> <li>• describes Aboriginal life prior to contact (spiritual, economics, political, environmental)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• shows that First Nations peoples had unique beliefs and practices</li> <li>• does not define First Nations world views but acknowledges they are distinct</li> <li>• promotes a Canadian world view of an independent industrial society</li> <li>• considers power and wealth critical to well-being</li> </ul>
<b>Mother Earth</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• students “assess environmental challenges”, but not from an explicit perspective</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• explains that First Nations and Europeans had different paradigms concerning land</li> <li>• recognizes that Europeans had a western mindset, but does not identify First Nations perspective</li> </ul>

Source: *Saskatchewan 30: Social Studies and History Curriculum Guide; BC Social Studies 12 Curriculum Guide*

## Conclusion

If we are to consider the official curriculum guidelines of Native Studies or the more general social studies/history as the main catalyst for citizenship education, it is difficult to see that it is possible to expect that all Canadian students will be exposed to First Nations issues in their courses. This is likely one of the reasons why students studying in provincial schools have so soundly denounced their schooling for ignoring First Nations knowledge. Band operated schools are places where policies tend to support the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge, as so it is more likely that students studying in band operated schools will experience curriculum that explores and teaches for Indigeneity.

In the hands of teachers who value and are knowledgeable about Aboriginal issues the more general social studies curriculum has the potential to be a place of Indigeneity. However, it is up to the teacher to find ways to clarify injustices against Aboriginal peoples and help students consider their stance in the decolonization

process. Teacher education institutions and school boards also have a responsibility to appropriately support teachers in their learning for this endeavour. When this is being done, teachers seem to be working alongside Aboriginal organizations and people to portray diverse, accurate, and contemporary Aboriginal perspectives about historical and contemporary social, economic, cultural, and political orientations to social studies issues. Examining and enhancing the value priorities of teachers to teach so that all students are sensitive to issues of Indigeneity is one way that policy makers can advance Indigeneity education beyond reforming the curriculum itself. There are hopeful examples of this underway in many provinces, where First Nations, Métis and Inuit education policies are often accompanied by cross-cultural education and professional learning. However, as Tompkins (2002) and Orr (2004) have shown, this is hugely challenging, complex, and a time-intensive process because of the incredible gap in power and privilege that separates many teachers because of their social and educational experiences from the day-to-day and historical experiences and worldviews of most First Nations peoples. However, when teachers learn to value the importance of treating Aboriginal issues in-depth by deeply exploring them from the four principles of Indigeneity, issues as they occurred in the past can inform the work of citizens in the present while honouring First Nations peoples in Canada.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples stated that, “Canada is a test case for a grand notion - the notion that dissimilar peoples can share lands, resources, power and dreams while respecting and sustaining differences” (1996: ix). If we see provincial curriculum guidelines as the official curriculum that is to be learned by students without accounting for the varying value priorities in relation to First Nations peoples that are manifested in the cultural practical knowledge of teachers (Orr, Paul, & Paul, 2002) then it can be concluded that First Nations students who experience native studies curriculum are more likely than their counterparts taking social studies and history to have opportunities to learn through Indigeneity education. Provincial schools which attend to professional learning that moves beyond awareness to full, rich, continuous job-embedded support for teachers can enhance the learning of all Canadian students about the complexity of the issues and the degree of injustices that Indigenous peoples have experienced. Infusing more Indigeneity into provincial social studies and history curricula, while also attending carefully to the deep learning needed about First Nations sensitivity will potentially help form a citizenship education to enable Canadians to more justly share lands, resources, power, and dreams.

*Correspondence:* JEFF ORR AND ROBYN RONAYNE, St. Francis Xavier University, Email: [jorr@stfx.ca](mailto:jorr@stfx.ca) and [rronayne@stfx.ca](mailto:rronayne@stfx.ca)

## REFERENCES

- ALBERTA EDUCATION. (2002) First Nations, Metis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework. Retrieved from <http://education.alberta.ca/media/840103/fnmi%20progress%20report%202008%20final.pdf>
- ALFRED, T. (1999). *Peace, Power, Righteousness: an Indigenous manifesto*. Don Mills, ON, Oxford University Press.

- ASSEMBLY OF FIRST NATIONS (2009) web site. Retrieved from <http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=2918>
- AUGUSTINE, M. (2002) Educational Needs Assessment Atlantic Region, For the Seven Generations Post-Secondary Education Conference. Atlantic Regional Office, Atlantic Policy Congress (APC) & Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- BANKS, J.A. AND BANKS, C.A.M. (1998) (Eds.) Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education. New York, MacMillan.
- BATTISTE, M. (1998) Enabling the autumn seed: toward a de-colonized approach to Aboriginal knowledge, language and education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 22, 1, 16- 27.
- BATTISTE, M. & HENDERSON, J.Y. (2000) Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: a global challenge. Saskatoon, Purich Press.
- BATTISTE, M. AND SEMAGANIS, H. (2002) First Thoughts on First Nations Citizenship: issues in education. In Hebert, Y.M. (ed.) *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- BRITISH COLUMBIA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. (2006) First Nations Studies 12. Retrieved from: [http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/irp/bcfns12\\_2006.pdf](http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/irp/bcfns12_2006.pdf).
- BRITISH COLUMBIA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. (2006) History 12. Retrieved from: [http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/irp/history12\\_2006.pdf](http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/irp/history12_2006.pdf).
- BURNS, G. (2001) Finance, Equity and Equality: Broken Trust in Education. In K. P. Binda and S. Calliou, (eds.) *Aboriginal education in Canada: a study in de-colonization*. Mississauga, Canadian Educators' Press.
- CANADIAN RACE RELATIONS FOUNDATION, COALITION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ABORIGINAL STUDIES. (2002) *Learning About Walking in Beauty: placing Aboriginal perspectives in Canadian classrooms*. Toronto, Canadian Race Relations Foundation.
- CURWEN DOIGE, L.A. (2003) A Missing Link: between traditional Aboriginal education and the western system of education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 27, 2, 144-160.
- DELORIA, JR, V. AND LYTLE, R.M. (1984) *The Nations Within: the past and future of American Indian sovereignty*. Austin, University of Texas Press.
- DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT. (2002). *Our Children-Keepers of the Sacred Knowledge*, Minister Working Group on Education: Ottawa. Retrieved from: <http://dsp-psd.communication.gc.ca/Collection/R41-9-2002E.pdf>.
- DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CANADA. (1985) *Canadian Indian Act*. Ottawa, Government of Canada.
- DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CANADA. (1982) *Constitution Act*. Ottawa, Government of Canada.
- HOOKIMAW-WITT, J. (1998) Any changes since residential school? *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 22, 2, 159-170.
- KANU, Y. (2002) In their own voices: First Nations students identify some cultural mediators of their learning in the formal school system. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 48, 2, 98-121.
- KAPE' AHIOKALANI PADEKEN AH NEE-BENHAM, M. AND COOPER, J.E. (2000) *Indigenous Educational Models for Contemporary Practice: in our mother's voice.*, Mahwah, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- KATZ, R. & ST. DENIS, V. (1991) Teacher as Healer. *Journal of Indigenous Studies*, 2, 2, 23-35.
- KLUG, B.J. & WHITFIELD, P. (2003) *Widening the circle: culturally responsive pedagogy for American Indian children*. New York, Routledge Falmer Press.
- KYMLICKA, W. (2000) American Multiculturalism and the Nations Within. In Ivison, D., Patton, P., and Sanders, W. (eds.) *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- MAAKA, R. AND FLERAS, A. (2000) Engaging with Indigeneity: Tino Rangatiratanga in Aotearora. In Ivison, D., Patton, P., and Sanders, W. (eds.) *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. United Kingdom, Cambridge.
- MATTHEWS, J. (1996) What does it mean to be 'Asian' and female in a South Australian school? *South Australian Educational Leader*, 7, 5
- NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD. (1972) *Indian Control of Indian Education*. Ottawa, National Indian Brotherhood.
- NICHOLAS, A.B. (2008) The Assault on Aboriginal Oral Traditions: Past and Present. In Hulan, R. and Eigenbrod, R. (eds.) *Aboriginal Oral Traditions: theory practice ethics*. Nova Scotia, Blackpoint.
- NIETO, S. (2000) *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of education*. White Plains, Longman.
- ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. (2007) *First Nations, Metis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework*. Retrieved from; <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/aboriginal/fnmiFramework.pdf>
- ORR, J. (2004). Teaching Social Studies for Understanding First Nations Issues. In Sears, A. & Wright, I. (eds.). *Trends and Issues in Social Studies*. Vancouver, UBC Press.
- ORR, J., PAUL, J. & PAUL, S. (2002). Decolonizing Mi'kmaw education through cultural practical knowledge. *McGill Journal of Education*, 37, 3, 331-354.

- ORR, J. & CAMERON, C. (2004) *We Are Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey: An Assessment of the Impact of the Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey Self Government Agreement on the Improvement of Education for Participating Mi'kmaw Communities*, Antigonish, St. Francis Xavier University. Retrieved from, [http://kinu.ns.ca/downloads/MK\\_Best\\_Practices.doc](http://kinu.ns.ca/downloads/MK_Best_Practices.doc)
- OSBORNE, K. (1994) *Teaching for Democratic Citizenship*. Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation.
- RAULSTON SAUL, J. (1997). *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the end of the Twentieth Century*. Toronto, Penguin Group of Canada.
- ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES. (1996) *People to People, Nation to Nation*. Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- SASKATCHEWAN EDUCATION (1989) *Indian and Metis Policy on Education from K-12*. retrieved from <http://www.education.gov.sk.ca/adx/asp/adxGetMedia.aspx?DocID=237,140,107,81,1,Documents&MediaID=2176&Filename=k12policy.pdf>
- SASKATCHEWAN EDUCATION. (1997) *Native Studies 30: Canadian Studies*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sasked.gov.sk.ca/docs/native30/index.html>.
- SASKATCHEWAN EDUCATION. (1997) *History 30: Canadian Studies*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sasked.gov.sk.ca/docs/history30>.
- SASKATCHEWAN EDUCATION. (1997) *Social Studies 30: Canadian Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.sasked.gov.sk.ca/docs/social30/index.html>
- SHAW, K., (2008) *Indigeneity and Political Theory: sovereignty and the limits of the political*. New York: Routledge.
- STATISTICS CANADA. (2006) *Census*. Ottawa, Government of Canada. Retrieved from; <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/p15-eng.cfm>.
- TAFOYA, T. (1989) *Circles and Cedar: Native American and family therapy*. *Journal of Psychotherapy and the Family*, 6, 1&2, 71-98.
- TOMPKINS, J. (2002) *Learning to See What They Can't: decolonizing perspectives on Indigenous education in the racial context of Nova Scotia*. *McGill Journal of Education*, 37, 3, 405-422.
- TUHIWAI SMITH, L. (2001) *Decolonizing Methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples*. London, Zed Books Ltd. and Dundedin, University of Otago Press.
- TULLY, J. (2000) *The Struggles of Indigenous Peoples for and of Freedom*. In Ivison, D., Patton, P., and Sanders, W. (eds.) *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. United Kingdom, Cambridge.
- UNITED NATIONS. (2007) *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. United Nations Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/drip.html>
- WHITE, J. P. AND PETERS, J. (2009) *A Short History of Aboriginal Education in Canada*. In White, J. P., Peters, J., Beavon, D., and Spence, N. (eds.) *Aboriginal Education: current crisis and future alternatives*. Toronto, Ontario.

## *Beyond Facts and Acts: The Implications of 'Ordinary Politics' for Youth Political Engagement*

KRISTINA LLEWELLYN AND JOEL WESTHEIMER, *University of Ottawa*

**ABSTRACT** In this article, we demonstrate that students have a keen interest in “ordinary,” every-day issues that affect their lives, and have civic assets deriving from their daily experiences. Both findings showcase the importance of moving beyond civic education based on either of two assumptions: first, that youth lack knowledge (facts), or, second, that youth lack civic experiences (acts). Data from this article was collected in a two-part study of the state of civic education in Canada. Part of that research was an exploratory case study, based on interviews and observations with students in Ottawa, Ontario. This article is a re-analysis of in-depth interviews with 16 students, 12 female and four male, based on a biographical interpretive method. Our re-analysis of the data from our exploratory study provides significant examples of youth assets among our participants that lead us to consider the possibility that curriculum might better focus on the knowledge and experiences students do have as a means of promoting further participation and political engagement.

### **Introduction**

Paulo Freire, the late Brazilian educator and author, was fond of telling a story he heard from a Spanish factory worker living and working in Germany. The worker was hoping to organize his colleagues politically to fight for better wages and working conditions. But every time he tried to elicit the other workers' views and enrol them in an organizing course he had designed, he got blank faces and stony silence. When the workers did talk, they appeared apathetic and uninformed, wanting only to earn their money and return to Spain once they had made enough. Not wanting to give up and knowing that the workers enjoyed playing card games after work, he began to join them in the nightly games. Slowly, through informal discussions about their daily experiences on the job and in the community, politics became one of the more lively and central discussion topics in their social gatherings. Political action soon followed. But, the organizer observed, the workers' political knowledge and curiosity as well as their implicit familiarity with power relations on the job emerged (initially) only through the informal card-game banter and not from formal, direct questions about their ideas or understandings of politics [1].

Although this story derives from efforts by a labour organizer to mobilize German guest workers in Spain, citizenship education and political science researchers everywhere could draw an important lesson from it as well: the common



research findings that indicate political ignorance or apathy (especially among youth) might be partially or wholly the result of unimaginative research approaches rather than a lack of knowledge, interest, or concern among participants. Our research group learned this lesson after conducting a secondary analysis of our data from a study of Ottawa-area high school students in high school civics classes. The two-part study initially conducted for the Government of Canada (Westheimer et al., 2005) and then in conjunction with the Canadian Policy Research Networks (Llewellyn et al., 2007) found that many students were often disengaged, uninformed, and unaware of key issues, debates, and policy deliberations facing Canadians prior to the 2008 general election. These results initially confirmed the findings from numerous other studies that demonstrated declining levels of youth political engagement, voter interest and knowledge, and youth civic participation (for example, Howe, 2003; Pammett and Leduc, 2003; Blais et al., 2005; Gidengil et al., 2004). This, however, was only part of the story.

The secondary analysis of the data resulted in two interrelated findings. First, like the Spanish guest workers, the students we studied demonstrated a keen interest in “ordinary,” every-day issues that affected them and their families and friends and, at times, substantial insight into the larger social and political forces at play even though typical school-based civic education outcome indicators showed an alarming lack of knowledge or interest. Second, the subsequent analysis revealed important youth assets deriving from their daily experiences that mitigate against the various youth deficit models prominent in civic education theory and practice. Both findings showcase the importance of moving beyond civic education based on either of two assumptions: first, that youth lack knowledge (facts), or, second, that youth lack civic experiences (acts). This article draws on these findings to suggest lessons for youth civic engagement practices both in and outside of schools.

## **The Study**

Over a span of two years (from March 2005 to June 2007), we conducted a two-part study of the state of civic education in Canada [2]. In conjunction with the Democratic Reform Secretariat of the Government of Canada and the Canadian Policy Research Networks, we reviewed the current state of civic education in Canada (Westheimer et al., 2005; Llewellyn et al., 2007). Part of that research was an exploratory case study, based on interviews, observations, and questionnaires, with students and teachers at four diverse schools in Ottawa, Ontario during the 2006/2007 school year. The schools included: Crestview Academy, an affluent private day school for girls; Ottawa East High School (HS), one of the most multicultural public schools in the city; Fellowship HS, an independent Christian school for boys and girls; and Ottawa Alternative HS for mature students who left school without completion. These four case-study schools provided excellent settings for exploration of students’ conceptions of citizenship and political engagement. First, they are located in Canada’s political capital where current events loom large; second, they offer explicit citizenship courses (i.e. Grade 10 Civics and elective Grade 12 World Issues); finally, the four schools are located within Ottawa’s urban core and participating students were diverse in ethnic background, social class, and country of origin. This article focuses on in-depth interviews with 16 students, 12 female and four male.

In our original inquiry, we coded interview transcripts for specific school-based outcomes of civic knowledge and skills (i.e. political parties, citizenship definitions, and methods of activism). Sorting the data provided summarizations of

the procedural and legislative knowledge students failed to recall from their courses. From this analytic process emerged the categorization of students as apolitical and lacking civic abilities. Such a reading confirms typical youth deficit theories. Students told us that they did not know about political and social issues and they were not involved in political or social action. Secondary analysis of the data, however, revealed a more nuanced picture. Although the deficits in knowledge were clear, broadening the research data to include, for example, conversation before and after the formal interview protocols were conducted allowed us to capture a kind of political consciousness that was indiscernible in the previous analysis.

A biographical interpretive method guided our second analysis of the data (e.g. Denzin, 1989; Mann, 1994; Smith, 1994). Biographical method, within hermeneutics philosophy, considers data as human experience with all its messiness and ambiguities laid bare (Jardine, 1998). Researchers using this method seek a participant's thoughts and desires of a situation by "grasping the subjective consciousness or intent of the actor from the inside" (Schwandt, 2000: 192, cited by Popadiuk 2004: 395). At the same time, individual experiences are understood in relation to larger socio-political contexts (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). The analytic focus is thus on in-depth, contextualized, experiential accounts of a phenomenon under investigation (Popadiuk, 2004).

Our interviews were semi-structured sessions. This format allows researchers to listen for unanticipated interpretations of questions and critical points at which participants' issues interrupt the researchers' agenda (Andolina, 2002: 190). Questions about political facts and civic aptitude were accompanied by inquiries regarding family, socio-cultural identity and recreational activities. Our analysis focused on interview moments when the young person's life experiences gave voice to 'ordinary politics' – conveying engagement with their relationship to socio-economic and political structures through the lens of their own experiences. Four biographic profiles – one from each of the four sample schools – serve as illustrations of our findings.

### **Kids Don't Know Anything**

For many social scientists, the single most important component of civic education and political engagement is knowledge. For example, Henry Milner (2005) argues that higher rates of civic knowledge are correlated to rates in political participation such as voting. Indeed, international surveys suggest that countries that have higher voter participation rates also have higher rates of political knowledge among citizens. In Canada, as elsewhere, general knowledge about politics is low. Knowing the names of major political leaders and contenders, how parliament functions, how social policies have been implemented in the past, and basic historical facts about Canada and global affairs are all forms of civic knowledge that elude a large number of Canadians (Gidengil et al., 2004).

Among Canadian youth and young adults, the situation seems even worse. Few studies have been conducted in Canada that explicitly assess political knowledge among Canadian youth (Canada did not participate in phase 2 of the IEA International Civic Education Study [Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Amadeo et al., 2002] which surveyed the political knowledge of youth across thirty countries). But the studies that have been conducted tend to concur with Stolle and Cruz (2005) who observe that "young Canadians are less knowledgeable about politics than any other age group in the country, and perhaps more disturbingly, by a wider margin today than ten years ago. Studies by Howe, Johnston and Blais (2005) have concluded that

young people lack not only general political knowledge but also campaign-specific knowledge. For example, during the final 10 days of the 2004 election campaign, 40% of Canadian young people were still not able to come up with Paul Martin's name when asked to identify the leader of the Liberal Party. Lack of knowledge of the other party leaders was even more widespread: the figures were 53% for the Conservative leader, 66% for the leader of the New Democratic Party, and (in Quebec) 36% for the leader of the Bloc Québécois." Again, young people were less likely to identify various positions of the political parties, even on those issues they identified as priorities, including health care, taxes, and defence (Howe et al., 2005; Howe 2003).

The 2004 Canadian Election Study shows that those under 30-years-old are rarely able to name a political party that would be able to deal with their number one concern (Howe et al., 2005). Instead, "many young people feel that they possess neither sufficient knowledge of the political process, nor sufficient political information to be comfortable about voting" (Centre for Research and Information on Canada, 2004:3). These findings stand in particular contrast to civic education goals commonly found in virtually every province's policy and curriculum documents – as adroitly laid out in the findings of Alan Sears and his research team during phase I of the IEA study (Sears et al., 2001)

### **Lee-Ann, Gabrielle, Jillian, and Sahra**

The results of our study show similar knowledge deficits. With few exceptions, the interviews we conducted resulted in similar "kids-don't-know-anything" findings to the studies mentioned above. The students generally do not have a grasp of key political terms like democracy or the basic workings of government. With varying degrees, students believe civic knowledge is a series of adult-oriented, overwhelming facts that are less important than math and science. Similarly, these students are not active in formal politics (more on this below). While most indicate that they will vote in future, few imagine alternative ways of addressing an injustice. Participants state that they cannot take civic action, as some put it 'walk the walk,' because youth life is busy and only adults have enough power to make a difference.

Lee-Ann (all names are pseudonyms), for example, told us that her parents who are Lebanese immigrants and own a small business, have political discussions at home. Aside from trying to "know what's going on" through morning television, however, Lee-Ann is "not that intrigued or interested about politics." Lee-Ann claims to not have "enough information" about social and political issues. Lee-Ann is overwhelmed by political 'facts,' and maintains: "it's just confusing and so it's hard to keep up...the whole A plus B, like the parliamentary system, what happens at different branches, it's good to know that but I probably won't remember that next year." She also observes that her school is an 'academic' school so most students believe Civics is a "joke." The administration and her parents prefer success in "science, math, and English maybe." Her approach to Civics is as a result "more like do-the-work-so-I-get-a-good-mark, instead of understanding and really benefiting from it." She recalls a rare moment sharing civic knowledge with family: "I recently was studying the eleven pillars of democracy and I surprisingly brought that up at the dinner table, they were really impressed."

Another student we interviewed watches the news and reads the newspaper at home. But Gabrielle explains that her family is disengaged from social and political issues. Her family is of Anglo-Saxon heritage and solidly working class.

Gabrielle states: “I don’t know a lot about politics and stuff.” She characterized her Civics class as “hard,” because “you have to know everything.” Gabrielle regularly responds “I’m not sure,” when asked about the purpose of democracy and her take on current news. She believes that Civics teaches her “more about politics and stuff,” which is useful for knowing “what’s going on in the world and who is...the groups and everything.” Gabrielle ultimately asserts, however, that civic knowledge “should be for adults because they have more experience with it and they are actually experiencing taxes...young people aren’t into that yet you know.”

A third student, Jillian, was home-schooled until Grade 10. Now Jillian buses two and a half hours a day to attend her independent Christian school. Grade 12 World Issues, according to Jillian, makes her “aware [so] you can like serve God better because you can argue things better and you can understand and help people.” Political and social concerns are not, however, part of her daily routine at school or at home. Jillian states: “My family we don’t order the newspaper, so I find that I’m lacking on not only politics but like world issues.” Her parents are Anglo-Saxon, own their own business, and belong to “a very Conservative church.” While she recalls moments of controversial discussion in class, Jillian characterizes the school as “sheltered because sometimes you can get a little narrow minded if only your way is presented.” Jillian asserts, however, that “over-exposure would just be a whole confusion of ideas.” A perceived lack of civic knowledge, while influenced by Jillian’s Christian education, ring similar to other students who believe adults control the information market. She states: “For the most part, youth are more viewed as almost troublemakers and not mature...like you have to hit a certain age before an adult will treat you like you know anything.”

Finally, Sahra was born in Somalia, and raised in Kenya. She has lived in Canada for seven years. She talks about her reluctance to enrol in Civics: “I’m not into politics so when he [the teacher] told me it’s about politics I was like this is going to be boring.” She claims to have slightly more civic knowledge than younger students, who she describes as being uninformed. Speaking in the third person, she comments: “I don’t think [young] people are informed, we don’t talk about it that much in school, they don’t know like mostly about the parties and stuff.” Although she often describes herself in similar terms, she speaks with pride about following an election and watching the Cable Public Affairs Channel. Civics, according to Sahra, provides a “general knowledge about basically the workings of anything in the government.” As for social awareness, Sahra argues neither teachers nor classmates start “critical discussions” in case “someone will be offended or will think this person is not a good person.” She vocalizes the desire for a classroom in which “everybody says what’s on their mind, maybe people who don’t know what is happening [will] get to be informed.”

### **The Solution? Facts to Acts**

Although Lee-Ann, Gabrielle, Jillian, and Sahra share the kinds of knowledge deficits so commonly reported in the literature, a secondary analysis of our interviews and observations revealed some surprising findings which we will discuss below. For now, however, it is worth noting that the knowledge deficit model of civic engagement assumes that since young people do not know enough about civic affairs, school-based civic learning opportunities should focus on teaching facts. We do not argue that these deficits in knowledge are worrisome. Pedagogically, however, what to do about it seems more complex.

If students learn facts about the political system, will they then be more motivated to act – vote, participate in political campaigns, join political parties? Pammet and Leduc report that “most Canadians feel that young people are not voting because they feel distanced from the operations of the political system or because they lack information about it” (Pammet and Leduc, 2003:54). Only 5 percent of 18-24 year-olds reported feeling “very knowledgeable” about the election party platforms, compared to 18 percent for those over 55 (Kingsley, 2004). One poll indicates that 40% of 18-34 year-olds strongly agreed with the statement, “I would like to learn more about Canada’s history and heritage” (Smith et al., 2001:20). Other surveys of young Canadians demonstrate that they are not satisfied with their own levels of political knowledge. Instead, “many young people feel that they possess neither sufficient knowledge of the political process, nor sufficient political information to be comfortable about voting” (Centre for Research and Information on Canada, 2004:3). In addition, Milner argues that “the knowledge to be effective citizens” (2001:3) has a positive relationship to levels of political engagement. Similarly, Howe concludes that “political knowledge is a critical factor – perhaps the critical factor – underlying cohort differences in voter turnout” (Howe, 2003:21).

The direction of causality, however, remains uncertain. In other words, we do not know that having students memorize facts about the workings of government or particular campaign platforms will increase rates of political participation. While we identify a positive correlation between political knowledge and political participation, there is little evidence that increased political knowledge is the cause of increased political engagement. What seems to connect both political knowledge and participation is political interest. Those who are more interested in politics tend to be more politically informed, seek out political knowledge, and participate in political activity. Again, however, it is unclear whether political knowledge can be the source of interest, or whether they are all simply symptoms of political engagement (for example, a study by Schugurensky and Myers [2003] suggests that the most powerful influence for political interest is family socialization.

### **Kids Don’t do Anything**

Another conclusion many studies agree on is that young people (and Canadian citizens in general) are not as active as they should be in political affairs. André Turcotte began his Elections Canada report on youth voter participation by musing that if the “Do Not Vote Party” had fielded candidates in the 2004 Canadian general election, our new government would be overwhelmingly comprised by its members (Turcotte, 2005). Blais (2002) echoes the conclusions of many researchers that low voter participation is especially pronounced in the young: “If we want to understand why turnout is declining in Canada, we need to focus on the generation that was born after 1970” (1). The political disengagement of young Canadians is also evident in political parties, whose average membership age is 59. Only 2% of young Canadians reported being a party member in 2000, a decline from 10% in 1990. Furthermore, although Canadians under 30 years old constitute 40% of the general population, only 6% of total party members are under 30 (Young and Cross, 2004; O’Neill, 2001).

Once again, our data offers some support for these claims. All 16 of the students interviewed described themselves as inactive within formal politics, uninspired to serve as political leaders and unaffiliated (with no expectation of affiliation) with political parties. Lee-Ann echoes the sentiments of other students

we interviewed when she explains: “we’ve got so much going on in our lives...we’re more affected by it [government] when we get older, because right now we’re more under our parents’ responsibility in a way they run us kids.” For Lee-Ann, being political is an adult activity: “I always think of voting...instead of little acts like involved with the community.” Lee-Ann cites the example of her school’s semi-annual fundraisers for Child Haven (a charity for African children), as ‘a little act’ for which she is unsure of its political impact. Furthermore, she does not think protesting or letter writing “really makes a big impact.” Lee-Ann notes that Civics includes writing letters to the prime minister, but when it comes to getting involved in efforts at positive change she notes that “that’s one topic we didn’t discuss... we don’t really focus on [what’s going on] outside of the school.”

Similarly, Gabrielle notes that her parents do not vote and that none of her teachers are examples of involved citizens. Gabrielle describes Civics as “jotting notes, listening and asking questions” without debates or experiences beyond the school walls. She struggles to think of an issue that she would act upon. If she were to get involved, Gabrielle thinks that she might “write a letter, make a petition I guess...I don’t know!” She contemplates future volunteering because “it’s nice to help.” Gabrielle states emphatically that she will vote at 18 “because if you want something done, if you want a change in your, in something, you have to say something.” She concludes the interview, however, by stating that only “way bigger people than them [young people]” can make a difference.

Jillian participates in a 30 hour famine, child sponsorship, and Habitat for Humanity through her school. A diploma from Fellowship High School requires 60 hours of community service, compared to the 40 hour provincial requirement. As a result, she argues that her school teaches civic engagement. Jillian states: “Christianity is love and giving to society, so we’re taught to support our views in the world through our actions.” Jillian admits, however, that other than letters sent to the newspaper, World Issues is mostly “talk about writing letters to your MP, your MPP, becoming a party member...and we’re taught debating skills.” When asked if she applies these lessons, Jillian responds: “We’re so busy with school, like we just have so much going on. I would be interested later on in life, probably closer to when I turn eighteen and I actually have more of a say.”

Sahra says she does not volunteer inside or outside of the school because she is “not a citizen yet.” She states: “I wouldn’t mind doing it, but it’s kind of hectic you know.” “Right now,” she explains, “I just want to try and finish my credits so I can get out of school.” When asked if she or her peers learn skills for getting involved, Sahra wonders aloud: “I don’t think there would be anything [to do except] wait for an election.”

### **The Solution? Acts to Facts**

If those researchers who claim that more facts will lead to more acts have pedagogical opposition, it can be found in the writings of those who profess a different assumption: more acts will lead to more facts. In other words, students have too few opportunities to participate in civic affairs and if they participated more, they would have greater interest, vote more, participate more, and seek out the knowledge they need to effectively engage in the political and civic life of the community. Indeed, one of the authors of this article, has argued exactly this (eg. Westheimer, 2005).

Proponents of service learning, in particular, argue that participating in community-based activities tied to the school curriculum can elevate students' willingness and desire to assimilate facts and skills related to those activities.

### **Beyond Deficit Models**

We have described a Facts-to-Acts theory for youth political engagement which assumes that teaching students more information will lead to greater political participation. We also described an Acts-to-Facts model for political engagement that assumes that if students are asked to participate more in politically-engaged experiences, they will eventually come to learn the required information for effective political participation. Both of these models focus on youth deficits, the former a knowledge deficit, and the latter an experience deficit. We would like to propose a third approach. Our re-analysis of the data from our exploratory study indicated significant examples of youth assets among our participants that lead us to consider the possibility that curriculum might better focus on the knowledge and experiences students do have as a means of promoting further participation and political engagement. This consideration is not new. John Dewey and other turn-of-the-century progressives and many contemporary educators have asserted the potential for educational activities that build on the knowledge and experience students already have. Our study simply helps to highlight those possibilities for civic education that might lead to greater youth political engagement. At the same time that students showed gaps in civic knowledge and in civic experiences and intentions, they also revealed important life experiences and insights that could be plumbed in productive ways in schools.

### **Civic Assets: Students know things and they are involved**

In contrast to the formal answers participants gave to direct questions about political engagement, a conversational tone emerged when they were questioned about their own life experiences and related youth issues. Leyla, from Ottawa East HS, spoke in-depth about injustices against her Muslim community and Muslim nations around the world after 9/11; John at Fellowship HS described his participation in protest marches against abortion in concert with his church; Teika, a student at Ottawa Alternative HS, expressed sophisticated concerns about funding for social programs that she needed as a homeless teen. Each story, while unique, reveals experiential knowledge and experiences that have implications for furthering political engagement among youth

Lee-Ann's experiences at an all-girls school stand out as influential to her sense of civic identity. She, similar to other participants at that school, discusses excelling in science and wanting to be a lawyer to break down female stereotypes. Her favourite Civics lesson is about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Lee-Ann is particularly worried about women's freedom of speech in other countries. She explains: "women's rights to speak out against something...let's take Africa for instance...if they don't agree with something they don't have a way of saying." While her knowledge of women's equality internationally is general, Lee-Ann seeks specificity in regards to gender and political voice. For an essay assignment in Civics dealing with any leader or organization, Lee-Ann was researching the life of Burmese pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi, a political detainee. Lee-Ann stresses that the school expects the girls to become leaders in their respective communities. That goal is currently reserved for lunch

hour clubs, of which Lee-Ann is an active participant. In addition to Amnesty International and Ontario Students Against Drunk Driving, she explains her favourite club, Taking Action and Caring for Others (TACO): “it’s like a group of girls like Crestview students where we make up presentations we go into the middle school and talk about issues such as media and body image and how it affects you.” Lee-Ann expressed desire to learn more “about how everything affects our lives and what we could do to change it.”

Gabrielle, who was raised in a working-class family, discussed workers’ rights with us. After first denying in laughter that her peers discuss political issues, Gabrielle told us that “we talk about what you’re doing, where you work...things like that.” She goes on to speak in unusual depth for the interview about the inequities at her job in a hair salon. Gabrielle states: “I wanted to do hair dressing, but I don’t like it anymore...at work they [managers] just tell me to do everything, like everything, and they sit there and just watch.” In terms descriptive of age discrimination and the need for a living wage, she explains: “I’m really young compared to them all [senior employees] ...I clean, I bring the garbage out, and everything and I only get eight dollars.” Gabrielle also is involved in a school club that raises awareness of the dangers of second-hand smoke. She recalled her initial involvement this way: “A woman came in [to school] who was dying... she was from Hull and she worked in a restaurant and because they were allowed to smoke there so she got second hand smoke and she never smoked a day in her life and she got cancer and died.” So while Gabrielle confessed to us that “I don’t know a lot about politics and stuff,” she demonstrated sufficient experience and insight on which to build political understandings and engagement.

Jillian also had a determined sense of civic engagement, primarily defined by her participation in the Christian community. “You can make a political statement with where you choose to spend your time,” she notes. For Jillian, devotion to religious education is a form of political action: bussing over two hours to attend an independent school, participating in student council, assisting teachers at the sister elementary school, and volunteering in school-based outreach missions. She reflects: “We call it a Christian duty, whereas you would call it a good citizen.” Duty means “sometimes going against what current politician say,” for example, fighting against abortion and “protesting the idea of marriage being changed.” Although she initially claimed to have little political knowledge, Jillian revealed a strong grasp of particular political and social issues that conform to conservative Christian dogma. She worries that the “Christian viewpoint” is under-represented in Canada, citing same sex marriage even though “there are very few homosexuals.” Jillian thought that “in some ways we’re too democratic. The minority has more of a say than the majority, if only a certain amount of people say it loud enough it’s going to happen whereas sometimes the majority is ignored for the sake of compromising.” Jillian also concluded one interview seeking a larger political voice for youth: “teenagers have a lot of energy and because we have lots of new ideas, I think if we actually chose to express ourselves that way that there would be a big change.”

Sahra spoke to us about her experiences as an African immigrant. She believes people in the ‘West’ are “only aware of North America... never question themselves and what’s causing all this conflict.” She recounts a moment in class when a student brought up religious abuses of women. Sahra did not respond to the comment at the time, but reveals in the interview: “I think people are really ignorant, just because they see people dressing up as a certain way they assume that the person doesn’t have any privileges, or freedom.” “I’m a Muslim [woman],” Sahra



continues, and “one of our prophets, his wife was a merchant, she used to work...A lot of people think that [Muslim] women don’t have the freedom to work, but they do.” Sahra also declares her opposition to Muslim women’s rights being curtailed. “I was working in the Ottawa Somali community,” Sahra recalls, “the thing was the women didn’t even know like which place to go and vote, so they call one another up and say you’ve got to go vote.” This work is important for Sahra, as she fears the conservative party may follow an American approach to immigration with “strict laws.” Her worries are substantiated by what she sees as “the role of Canada itself changing, it’s no longer a peaceful nation...going all the way to Afghanistan.” She questions the economic priorities of the richest nations who spend “trillions of dollars, money for war,” when children “most of them Muslim, Latino, and Blacks” are homeless. Recall, Sahra’s earlier claim, however, that she is “not into politics” and that when her teacher indicated a lesson was going to be about politics, she assumed “this is going to be boring.”

The youth we studied have clear gaps in political knowledge, identity, and efficacy. But they also have significant civic assets or ways of “experiencing a sense of connection, interrelatedness, and, commitment towards the greater community” (Adler and Goggin 2005: 240; cited by Harris et. al. 2007: 26).

### **Ordinary Politics and Youth Political Engagement**

In their 2006 book, *Ordinary People’s Politics*, Judith Brett and Anthony Moran present compelling portraits of Australians from all walks of life talking about politics and the future of their country and the world. Their research project, they emphasize, sought to uncover the subtle ways people think about politics that are obscured from political scientists’ traditional measures. The aim of their book is to “reveal aspects of people’s political outlooks...by showing people thinking about the society they live in with the resources they have available” (Brett and Moran, 2006:4). Studying millennial generation youth’s understandings of politics, civic engagement, and social issues of concern requires broadening our approaches for inquiry.

The study we described here demonstrates the need for multiple forms of inquiry when seeking to understand how “ordinary” people – and especially youth – think about politics. This work resulted from secondary analysis of data already collected. Rather than focusing on formal coding of participant responses to our initial protocols, we looked instead to the interstices of the interview and observational data – the casual remarks, conversational banter, and unintended analyses. Like the Spanish guest worker described by Freire and like the Australian researchers Brett and Moran, we became interested in what “ordinary [people] have to say when you engage them in a conversation about politics and give them plenty of time and a willing ear?” (3). Applied to youth political engagement research, this is a question well worth further pursuit.

*Correspondence:* KRISTINA LLEWELLYN AND JOEL WESTHEIMER,  
University of Ottawa, 550 Cumberland Street, Ottawa, ON, Canada

## NOTES

- [1] For a description of these events (that is somewhat less detailed than Freire has given in public lectures and conversations), see Freire, P. *Pedagogy of Hope* and Shor, I. and Friere, P. *A pedagogy for liberation: dialogues on transforming education*.
- [2] A third part of this study began in September 2006 and is ongoing; it explores qualitative case studies of youth conceptions of citizenship and civic education in schools in Ontario, New York, and Chicago.

## REFERENCES

- ADLER, R.P. AND GOGGIN, J. (2005) What do we mean by 'civic engagement?' *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3, 3, 236-253.
- ALVESSON, M. AND SKOLDBERG, K. (2000) *Reflexive methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- AMADEO, J.A., TORNEY-PURTA, J., LEHMANN, R., HUSFELDT, V., AND NIKOLOVA, R. (2002). *Civic Knowledge and Engagement: an IEA study of upper secondary students in sixteen countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- ANDOLINA, M. et. al. (2002) Searching for the Meaning of Youth Civic Engagement: Notes From the Field. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6, 4, 189-195.
- BLAIS, A. (2002) Generational Change and the Decline of Political Participation: the case of voter turnout in Canada. Prepared for the workshop "Citizenship on Trial: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Political Socialization of Adolescents." McGill University, Montreal.
- BRETT, J. AND MORAN, A. (2006) *Ordinary people's politics*. Melbourne: Pluto Press.
- CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND INFORMATION ON CANADA (CRIC). (2004) *Canadian Democracy: bringing youth back into the political process*. Ottawa, ON: CRIC.
- DENZIN, N. (1989) *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- FREIRE, P. (2004) *Pedagogy of Hope*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- GIDENGIL, E. et al. (2004). *Democratic Citizenship in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- HARRIS, A. et. al. (2007) *Young People and Citizenship: an everyday perspective*. *Youth Studies Australia*, 26, 3, 19-27.
- HOWE, P. (2003). Electoral Participation and the Knowledge Deficit. *Electoral Insight*, 5, 2, 20-25.
- JARDINE, D.W. (1998) *To Dwell with a Boundless Heart: essays in curriculum theory, hermeneutics, and the ecological imagination*. New York: Peter Lang.
- KINGSLEY, J.P. (2004) Keynote Speech. Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC), Research seminar on the political engagement of Canadian youth. Ottawa, ON: CRIC.
- LLEWELLYN, K., COOK, S.A., WESTHEIMER, J., MOLINA-GIRÓN, L.A., AND SUURTAMM, K.E. (2007) *The State and Potential of Civic Learning in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Policy Research Networks.
- MANN, C. (1994) How did I get to here? Educational life histories of adolescent girls doing A levels. *Auto/Biography*, 3, 59-70.
- MILNER, H. (2001) Civic Literacy in Comparative Context: why Canadians should be concerned. *IRPP Policy Matters*, 2, 2.
- MILNER, H. (2005) The Phenomenon of Political Drop-outs: Canada in comparative perspective. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Political Science Association. Leeds, UK.
- O'NEILL, B. (2001) Generational Patterns in the Political Opinions and Behaviour of Canadians: separating the wheat from the chaff. *IRPP Policy Matters*, 2, 5.
- PAMMETT, J.H. AND LEDUC, L. (2003). Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: a new survey of non-voters. Ottawa, ON: Elections Canada.
- POPADIUK, N. (2004) The Feminist Biographical Method in Psychological Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 9, 3, 392-412.
- SCHUGURENSKY, D. AND MYERS, J.P. (2003) A Framework to Explore Lifelong Learning: the case of the civic education of civics teachers. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 22, 4, 325-352.
- SCHWANDT, T.A. (2000) Three Epistemological Stances for Qualitative Inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- SEARS, A., CLARKE, G.M. AND HUGHES, A.S. (2001) in Torney-Purta et. al (Eds.).
- SHOR, I. AND FRIERE, P. (1987) *A pedagogy for Liberation: dialogues on transforming education*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- SMITH, S. et al. (2001) *Social Vision: young adult perspectives on social and civic responsibility*. Toronto, ON: D-Code and the Canadian Centre for Social Entrepreneurship.
- SMITH, L.M. (1994) Biographical Method. In N. K. Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- STOLLE, D. AND CRUZ, C. (2005) Youth Civic Engagement in Canada: implications for public policy. In *Social Capital in Action: thematic policy studies*. Ottawa, ON: Policy Research Initiative.
- TORNEY-PURTA, J., LEHMANN, R., OSWALD, H., AND SCHULZ, W. (Eds.) (2001). *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- TURCOTTE, A. (2005) Different Strokes: why young Canadians don't vote. *Electoral Insight*, 7, 1, 12-16.
- YOUNG, L. AND CROSS, W. (2004). Youth Involvement in Political Parties. In Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC). *Canadian Democracy: Bringing Youth Back into the Political Process*. CRIC. pp. 9-11.
- WESTHEIMER, J. (2005) Democratic Dogma: there is no one-size-fits-all approach to schooling for democracy. *Our Schools Our Selves*.
- WESTHEIMER, J., COOK, S.A., SUURTAMM, K.E., AND MOLINA-GIRÓN, L.A. (2005). *Strengthening Canadian Democracy: civic literacy in perspective*. Prepared for the Democratic Reform Secretariat Privy Council Office of the Government of Canada. Ottawa, ON: Democratic Dialogue.

## *Peering Through a Kaleidoscope: Identity, Historical Understanding and Citizenship in Canada*

CALA PECK, *University of Alberta, Canada*

**ABSTRACT** In the last number of years there has been a growing interest in the relationship between students' ethnic, cultural, linguistic and national identities and their conceptualizations of history in general, and historical significance in particular. Research demonstrates that ethnic minority students can experience difficulty organizing the history they encounter in school because it contradicts their own prior historical knowledge and understanding of what counts as historically significant. This article examines the relationship between Canadian students' ethnic identities and three narratives of Canadian history and explores the implications of teaching for historical understanding and citizenship.

### **Introduction**

On February 17, 2009, the Department of Canadian Heritage's National Battlefields Commission (NBC) cancelled a planned re-enactment of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, perhaps the most well known battle of the Seven Years' War. The re-enactment was to take place in September 2009, the 250th anniversary of the event. However, when the NBC began to publicize the event in January 2009, historians, politicians and people living in Quebec raised concerns. Historians argued that such re-enactments do not really promote deep historical thinking, politicians worried how their Francophone constituents would react to such an event and many Francophone Quebecois (sovereignists and federalists alike [1]) considered such a re-enactment akin to rubbing salt in a 250 year old wound.

Many Canadians living outside of Quebec could not understand why the event had been cancelled. Many living in Quebec could not fathom that such a re-enactment had even been considered. Why, 250 years later, was there such controversy over the historical significance of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham? For Francophone Quebecois, the Battle of the Plains of Abraham marked the beginning of English Canada's dominance over Quebec (Létourneau, 2004). For English Canada, the battle represented a victory that "filled Britain with joy" (Duncan, 1922). Such controversies over historical significance permeate narratives of Canadian history. Charles Taylor (1993: 25) was right when he observed, "in Canada, even history divides."

### **Historical Narratives and Significance**

The construction of historical narratives involves, among other things, the purposeful selection of historical people, places and events and the explanation of the relationships between them. At a very basic level, historical narratives answer the questions: who, what, when, where, why and how? In consideration of these questions, historians mobilize evidence, establish causation, and make decisions about significance. “What is the narrative about?” is the essential starting point. Establish this, and historians can more easily answer questions about timeframe (beginnings and endings), actors and their actions, and context.

Another approach to constructing historical narratives is to focus on a particular event and then build a narrative around it. Instead of starting with the question, “What is this narrative about?” some may begin by asking, “What matters in history?”, “What am I interested in?” or “Why is it important to know about this?” An example of this in Canadian history is the World War I Battle at Vimy Ridge. For decades, historians and Canadian history textbook authors have pointed to this battle as the precise moment that a modern Canadian identity was formed; an identity based on collaborative achievement and sacrifice. Vimy became the anchor to which historians and textbook authors hung narratives of the forging of Canada’s national identity.

In either approach, the historian’s central concern is historical significance. According to Peter Seixas (1997), decisions about historical significance involve understanding the connections people in the present establish with people, places and events of the past. Questions about historical significance are not asked and answered in a vacuum, devoid of context. They are answered by every generation in response to the question, “how is this moment in history relevant (or not) to me/us/our time?”

The significance of any particular event is derived from how it fits into a larger narrative, and, ultimately, how the historian (or student, or member of the public) relates to that narrative (i.e., what the narrative means to him or her). Although many factors shape how an individual (whether an historian, or student, or anyone else) ascribes significance to historical events including knowledge of the subject matter, interest, past experiences, familial influences and type of narrative in which the person situates the event, recent work has demonstrated that an important and thus far under-researched influence on students’ historical understandings is identity.

### **Identity, Historical Understanding and Citizenship**

At first blush, the debate over the planned re-enactment of The Battle of the Plains of Abraham appears to be solely a matter of differing perspectives on the significance of an historical event; a matter best left to historians to sort out. However, embroiled within this debate are issues directly related to citizenship and belonging. If, as Benedict Anderson (2006) argues, a nation is an imagined community, there is little doubt that Francophone and Anglophone (and Aboriginal, and immigrant) Canadians imagine the past and present Canadian nation differently (Saul, 2008) and therefore have very different ideas about their place in the nation’s stories.

As is clear from the Plains of Abraham example, and many other events too numerous to list here, interpretations of the past have provided, and will continue to provide, much fodder for debates over Canadian identity and belonging. As Yvonne Hébert and Lori Wilkinson (2002: 3) note, “Canadian citizenship exists today within multi-layered belongings and complex understandings.” In English Canada, the Battle of the Plains of Abraham is known as “The Siege of Quebec” and is part of a narrative of nation building. In Quebec, its significance is seen quite differently. In Quebec, “survival” (of Francophone culture and identity) narratives dominate both public and private discourses (Létourneau, 2004) and shape how Francophone Quebecois understand themselves and their history. Part of the reason for this difference is the tie one establishes between an event and his/her identity.

Across Canada, curriculum developers have placed identity as a core concept in social studies curricula at all grade levels (Gibson, 2009; Hebert, Wilkinson, & Ali, 2008). For example, in the British Columbia (BC) grade 11 social studies curriculum, “Society and Identity” is one of several concepts around which curricular topics are organized. The BC Ministry of Education stipulates that, by the end of grade 11, students are to understand “what it means to be Canadian” (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2005: 29).

Like the BC example, in other Canadian social studies curricula identity is typically discussed in a unidirectional fashion. That is, curricula instruct teachers that a central purpose of Canadian social studies is to help students develop a sense of Canadian identity. What social studies curricula do not address is the way in which a student’s identity may help him/her understand Canadian history or other social studies subjects. Identity, as encapsulated in Canadian social studies curricula, is articulated as something that students can acquire by studying curricular topics but not as something that influences learning.

Several scholars have begun to recognize the impact of socioeconomic, cultural, political, and gendered factors on students’ understanding of various aspects of history and have incorporated these elements into their research design and data analysis procedures (Almarza, 2001; Epstein, 2000). This research tells us that students, most notably those from ethnically diverse backgrounds, find it difficult to make connections between their family and/or ethnic histories and those which are taught in school. This is particularly true when neither the school nor the teacher make explicit attempts to establish such links. For example, after working with an ethnically diverse group of students, Seixas (1994) found that although “many students expressed rudimentary historical understandings that could provide a framework for further learning,” these same students “also expressed frustration at the school’s failure to build upon that framework” (Historical Significance section, ¶ 4). This is problematic for both majority and minority students; the potential to significantly enrich both groups’ understandings of history is lessened when these connections are neither sought nor explored.

To date, little attention has been paid to how Canadian students from diverse ethnic backgrounds understand and negotiate the histories they encounter both in and out of school. Barton and Levstik (2004: 18) argue that this is a crucial area of research, because

*ethnicity...is such a profound determinant of social experience that representations of the past are likely to differ substantially among groups within the same country. Attention to these differences will help us [educators, researchers] better understand how students’ ideas arise in interaction with their environments, and it may also alert us to*

*previously unexamined assumptions about the nature of historical learning.*

With multiple histories to contend with, students are faced with the task of deciding which events and people from the past can and should be included in the narrative(s) of Canadian history they construct. Implicit in this process of separating the significant from the inconsequential are frameworks and values that shape a student's historical understanding (Seixas, 1997).

### **Investigating the Relationship between Students' Ethnic Identities and their Constructions of Canadian History**

In the larger study that provides the backdrop for the work reported here, I investigated the influence students' ethnic identities may have on their understandings of Canadian history generally and historical significance in particular (Peck, 2009). In order to map students' conceptions of historical significance, I employed phenomenographic research methods (Marton, 1981). The purpose of phenomenographic research in education is to map students' conceptions of phenomena and to describe the variation of these conceptions. Phenomenography offers a method for understanding the ways in which people, and in particular students, conceptualize various phenomena of the world. As such, it holds great potential for educational researchers wanting to identify students' conceptual understandings.

#### *Participants*

Twenty-six grade twelve students (16 – 18 year olds) participated in the study. Most (n=17) of the participants were born in Canada. Seven of the participants were immigrants to Canada, and two were Aboriginal. A range of ethnic identities was reflected in each of these sub-groups. Due to space constraints, in this article I report on only one aspect of this study and include data from only one group of students who worked together during the research task. This group was made up of one Canadian-born student and two immigrant students. I have selected this group to profile because, although they worked on the research task together, each student offered a different interpretation of Canadian history and thus data from this group provide a rich portrayal of how identity can influence a person's historical thinking. I have reported on other aspects of this research elsewhere (Peck, 2008, Peck, forthcoming).

#### *Data Collection*

Students were asked to complete a questionnaire on their demographic information. As a White researcher I did not want to make assumptions about students' ethnic identities (Tyson, 2006). Therefore, I also asked students to write a paragraph describing their ethnic identity. In the second phase of data collection, heterogeneous groups of two to four students completed a "picture-selection" task modelled on well-established American and European research (Barton & Levstik, 1998; Lee & Ashby, 2000). In the first part of the picture-selection task, students were asked to create a timeline of the ten most significant events in Canadian history. Students were given thirty event cards that provided brief descriptions of

events in Canadian history and were instructed to create a timeline by selecting ten events from the thirty provided. Each event card included the name and date of the event, a brief caption and between one and three images [2]. In the second part of the picture-selection task, I conducted follow-up group interviews with each of the groups of students to further probe their understandings of historical significance. Finally, I interviewed students individually in order to probe their understanding of how their ethnic identity may have influenced the decisions they made in the timeline task. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed.

### *Data Analysis*

After a thorough reading of all transcripts, I followed a dialectical approach to data analysis. This involved an iterative process of going back and forth between an a priori theoretical framework of historical significance (Cercadillo, 2001) and “a more grounded approach” which allowed me to develop codes as they emerged from the data itself (Weston et al., 2001: 382-386). Both approaches to coding (applying an a priori framework and inductively constructing codes) required the use of the constant comparative method of data analysis, which demands that one begin by identifying examples of codes; compare similar codes to each other, thereby creating categories; describe the categories; and refine these definitions by further comparing new excerpts from transcripts to those previously coded. Following these basic principles, theoretical and inductive codes were established and refined, until a saturation point was reached (Merriam & Simpson, 2000). The coded data were organized into categories and major themes, which were then described in detail in order to fully understand the complexity of students’ understandings of historical significance.

### *Findings*

Although the central research activity in this study was presented to students in terms of “creating a timeline,” in essence what I asked students to do was construct narratives of Canadian history. In this study, three narrative templates (Wertsch, 1998) course through the data. The first is the “**Founding of the Nation**” narrative: This narrative recounts the history of the first inhabitants of Canada and the events that “built” the country. It is characterized by an explicit focus on the history of Aboriginal peoples and the ways in which contact with European explorers affected them, the arrival of Europeans and their accomplishments, and events considered pivotal in the founding of the nation. In most cases, the stories of Aboriginal peoples seem to disappear after Confederation (1867). Some students employed this narrative to designate as significant events that explained the country’s development and also how they (or their ancestors) came to be in Canada.

The “**Diverse and Harmonious Canada**” narrative: This narrative recounts the history of Canadians overcoming prejudice and discrimination in order to establish a positive, multicultural, multinational Canadian identity. Conflicts might be included in some versions of this narrative but if so, are viewed as aberrations in an otherwise positive and progress-oriented history of Canada. A number of students employed this narrative to select events that depicted a mythic past, were emblematic of Canadian identity or to identify what lessons can be drawn from history.



The final narrative employed by students in this study (including the three profiled here) was “**The Diverse but Conflicted Canada**” narrative. This narrative recounts the history of multiculturalism in Canada, with an explicit focus on conflicts and tensions that have arisen as a result of society and government’s responses to the nation’s changing demography. This narrative provides a template for critiques of societal and systemic racism and discrimination and traces the origins of contemporary ethnic and cultural tensions. In the “Diverse but Conflicted Canada” narrative, students explained the historical significance of events by pointing to the legacy of past racisms on contemporary society. [3]

Adélie, Dao-Ming, Minha [4]

From the outset of the picture-selection task Canadian-born Adélie and immigrant students Minha and Dao-Ming chose, very consciously, a specific plot structure for their timeline. Indeed, theirs was one of only a few groups who selected a narrative and then selected events in support of it. After some discussion, Adélie, Minha and Dao-Ming decided to create a timeline that focused on social change, with Adélie clarifying further:

*Now we’ve got to talk about what kind of social change are we focusing on? Because we could create a social change regarding minorities, we could talk about how multicultural we are now (PD24, 115-118 [5]).*

The students then selected events that suited this purpose. Adélie, Minha and Dao-Ming engaged in the creation of a very specific plot structure; in effect demonstrating White’s (1998) thesis that, “most historical sequences can be emplotted in a number of different ways, so as to provide different interpretations of those events and to endow them with different meanings” (18). The resultant timeline can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1: Timeline Created by Adélie, Minha and Dao-Ming**

Mid 1800s	Creation of Indian Residential Schools
1880s – 1890s	Recruitment of Chinese Workers to Build CPR
1885	Imposition of Chinese Head Tax
1885	Louis Riel and the North-West Rebellion
1913	Record Immigration Numbers
1970	October Crisis & the War Measures Act
1971, 1988	Canada Enacts Multiculturalism Policy & Act
1990	Collapse of the Meech Lake Accord
1995	Quebec Referendum
1999	Marshall Decision

Adélie described herself as French-Canadian and reported that she could trace the arrival of her ancestors to North America as far back as the 17th century. Adélie

noted that familial influences, particularly about religion, influenced her perception of her identity: “I don’t feel religious, thanks to my dad’s extremely anti-Catholic stance, but I am highly political and would most definitely call myself a socialist” (Student questionnaire). Her description of her ethnic identity includes her political stance, further illustrating the multi-layeredness of identity.

Adélie explained her perception of the relationship between her ethnic identity and the events on her group’s timeline as follows:

*The French stuff – I mean I wouldn’t have fought nearly as hard if it wasn’t significant to me, right? Because, I mean, it’s significant to Canada but because we’re in British Columbia...there’s a very, very, very small French population...so I wouldn’t particularly care if I was British or something but I’m very, very French on one side so....yeah, it’s pretty important. (PD23, 293-295, 302-307)*

Adélie located herself in the nation’s history using both the “Founding of the Nation” narrative and the “Diverse but Conflicted Canada” narrative. The former helped her explain the arrival of her ancestors to Canada, thereby enabling her to locate herself within this narrative. The arrival of her ancestors is particularly important to her because, she notes, BC has a small French population and therefore the knowledge she has of her ancestors helps her understand her identity and her place in the nation’s history. The “Diverse but Conflicted” narrative helped her explain her perception of the legacy of European arrival on Aboriginal peoples and cultures:

*We headed the colonialists – and that ...and – and that could have been good because we could have cooperated with people here but instead there’s the residential schools and all those things...but that wasn’t really the French but that’s only because the French lost – because the French would have done it if the English hadn’t. (PD31, 292-297)*

In this excerpt, Adélie employs the “Diverse but Conflicted” narrative to explain the lasting impact of colonialism on Aboriginal peoples and Canadian society more broadly. In employing the word “we”, she does not exclude herself from this narrative. In other words, she acknowledges that she has descended from ancestors who may have been responsible for colonialism.

In her interpretation of her groups’ timeline, Dao-Ming employed the “Diverse and Harmonious Canada” narrative. Dao-Ming, a Chinese immigrant with Canadian citizenship, described her ethnic identity as follows: “I think I belong to both groups, Canadian and Chinese”. She points to markers such as food and traditions to explain herself, and also points to the “national pride” she feels for both Canada and China. Finally, she writes, “I don’t think I can really identify myself as one ethnic group because I love both groups equally”.

Dao-Ming was clear about the influence her understanding of her ethnic identity had on the decisions she made during the timeline activity:

*I think I said last [time] that that I fought really hard to keep the two Chinese ones—the Chinese workers on—working on the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Chinese head tax cause that’s like—that has to do with Chinese people and that also has to do with Canada—so yeah I really wanted to put those in there...*

*Carla: Okay—and did your—do you feel that your identity had a role to play in the selection of the other ones?*

*Dao-Ming: Oh yeah—maybe if I weren't Chinese I wouldn't have...I wouldn't have put those two in the timeline...because we were only allowed to choose 10 right? So if I weren't Chinese I probably wouldn't have deemed these two important enough ...to put in the timeline...because I—I do love China and I also love Canada—like I really wanted to put—to include these two. (PD42, 140-159)*

The excerpts, above, demonstrate that Dao-Ming's Chinese identity influenced her decision to advocate the inclusion of events related to Chinese-Canadian history on her group's timeline. She argued that the CPR and the Chinese Head Tax were representative of Chinese history in Canada and noted the strong influence her identity had on the selection of these events. Dao-Ming also drew on her Canadian identity to explain the significance of the Quebec Referendum. She said,

*I love Canada...I don't want Canada with a chunk missing cause that would just totally separate what we are. I don't want Canada to break into pieces...I want Canada to be whole and good and happy" (PD42, 239-242, 247).*

Dao-Ming's explanation is tied to a mythic idea of Canadian identity as "happy" and united, which, interestingly, could also characterize her own description of her ethnic identity. Dao-Ming's explanations provide examples of how a student's ethnic identity can dictate which type of narrative he/she may use to explain the significance of moments in Canada's past.

Minha had lived in Canada for only two years and did not have Canadian citizenship. Minha described herself as follows:

*I culturally identify myself as a Filipino. Even though I was neither born in the Philippines, nor did I grow up there, I've always felt a distinct connection to it. My parents made sure I value my cultural background and raised me accordingly. I never felt any connection towards my cultural background until I vacationed in the Philippines and experienced firsthand what it was like being a Filipino. (Student questionnaire)*

Minha was born in Saudi Arabia and grew up mostly in the United Arab Emirates. Her parents were born in the Philippines and this might account for her comment regarding her parents "making sure" she valued her culture and raising her "accordingly."

Minha had some difficulty locating herself in any narrative of Canadian history, in part because she entered the task with less exposure to Canadian history and culture than her class-mates. However, the "Diverse but Conflicted Canada" narrative resonated with her to some degree:

*[Our timeline is] not about Canada accepting multiculturalism...It's about – it's like a whole puzzle it pieces together...like, even if [something is] an ugly part of the history – it's still part of the history*

*and we included it in the selection...we have accepted multiculturalism [but] there were really ugly spaces where Canada was not really open-minded about... multiculturalism so it's a it's a good selection."* (PD28, 63-73).

Minha's experience as a recent immigrant to Canada provided the lens through which she interpreted Canada's record on multiculturalism.

### *Discussion*

In this study, the student's ethnic identity played a central role in determining the shape of the narrative she ultimately created and the explanations she mobilized to defend the events she selected for her narrative. Like each turn of a kaleidoscope, each student's ethnic identity determined the lens through which she interpreted and constructed the past. James Gee (2006: 33) posits that individuals use "identity kits" with which they "live out [their] social lives as different and multiple kinds of people." According to Gee, students use identity kits to interpret texts. Identity kits involve socio-culturally situated identities, the performance of identities, the use of cultural tools and particular ways of acting and interacting with others. Adélie, Minha and Dao-Ming's ethnic identities (or "identity kits") influenced their selection of significant events for their timeline. The most striking example of this is Dao-Ming's comment that she would not have selected events related to Chinese history in Canada had she not self-identified (in part) as Chinese.

However, these students also employed particular narratives as "identity resources" in order to better locate themselves in particular narratives of Canadian history. James Wertsch (1998: 24) argues that historical narratives are "cultural tools" that people use to understand the past and notes that "texts [such as narrative texts] serve as 'identity resources' to be mastered and to be employed in particular contexts in a variety of flexible ways" (45). For Adélie, this meant constructing two narratives simultaneously: The Founding of the Nation narrative and, alongside it, the Diverse but Conflicted narrative, which she employed to offer a critical reading of French-English relations and to shed light on the persecution of Aboriginal peoples by European newcomers.

Due to her recent arrival to Canada, Minha did not connect with the Founding of the Nation narrative. Rather, she drew on her experiences living internationally to conclude that in Canada, although multiculturalism might be official government policy, Canadians have not always embraced diversity. Dao-Ming used her identity kit as Chinese-Canadian to help her interpret the timeline she and her group mates created. However, her choice of narrative – the Diverse and Harmonious narrative – also served as an identity resource, to help her understand her own identity.

Keith Barton and Alan McCully (2004) suggest that teachers and schools should take into account student identities in order to customize curricula to better address student needs and interests. But is it possible or even desirable to integrate the histories of an entire area, province or country's ethnic groups into social studies curricula? I do not think so. With increased mobility and ever-changing demographics, school districts and teachers could never keep up with the curricular changes such a policy would demand. As Geoffrey Partington (1980: 129) observed almost 30 years ago, "a willingness and concern to take into account the characteristics of the total population should not be identified with a search for a calculus with which to quantify syllabus content proportionally to group

membership.” This approach, Partington noted, could result in breadth and not depth of historical knowledge and could also misrepresent the past in so far as “important and significant events or processes have not necessarily been distributed evenly and equally between peoples (and not even among the same people at different points of time)” (130). What is more important, therefore, is to build awareness that narratives taught in school and/or espoused in society represent only possible interpretations of the past.

This does not mean, however, that the question of identity should simply be ignored, as the discussion above demonstrates. Studying the relationship between identity and historical understanding can help students, teachers and researchers understand why people have different interpretations of the past, thereby forging pathways for understanding the historic roots of contemporary conflict and dissent. Will Kymlicka (1998: 174) argues that,

*history has a role in creating a shared identity regardless of whether we share a pride in it. The fact that English, French and Aboriginal people share a history in Canada has helped to shape a shared Canadian identity – an identification with Canadian political institutions and symbols – even though each of these groups has very different interpretations and assessments of that history.*

Historical thinking, with its emphasis “on careful reasoning, assessment of evidence, evidence-based claims, and [because it] sometimes ends inconclusively...can restrain, leaven, and hone the process of judgment formation. As such, it holds much wider applications to the broad range of demands that living in a capitalist democracy make on its populace” (VanSledright, 2002: 151). Historical thinking provides students with a means to not only construct historical narratives, but also to sift through the layers of identity that influence their own understandings and interpretations of history. For instance, a key concept in historical thinking is the evaluation of evidence. One question historians (and students being taught how to think historically) ask about a piece of evidence is how an author’s perspective may be reflected in that evidence. If students can begin to understand how an historical actor’s perspective, including his/her identity, could have shaped the production of a newspaper article or journal entry, for example, they might be more likely to consider how their own identity influences their own interpretations of the past, including their constructions of historical narratives. If students reach this step, they might then be more open to understanding how their classmate’s identity may do the same. Thus, historical thinking, with an explicit focus on identity, can lead to a shared quest for understanding from where the other person speaks.

## **Conclusion**

History education, while often grounded in the desire to instill historical knowledge and the historian’s habits of mind in students, must have a larger purpose if it is to fulfill the needs of students living in a multicultural society. That purpose involves a commitment to democratic citizenship. Ken Osborne (forthcoming: 22) contends that history and citizenship go hand in hand:

*The exercise of citizenship depends in part on [Canadians'] understanding of the state and society of which [they] are citizens. Canadians do not create a country from scratch with each new generation. They inherit one that has been shaped over time, patched here and renovated there, and is still in need of further remodeling. If nothing else, citizenship is a historically entrenched phenomenon.*

History “defines the shared context and framework within which we debate our differing values and priorities.... It becomes the implicit background for our thinking, providing the symbols, precedents, and reference points by which we make sense of issues” (Kymlicka, 1998: 174). The history classroom provides a rich environment for exploring these shared contexts and frameworks, for it enables students to consider how their own identity shapes their interpretation of history and provides a space to discuss the understandings they share, and the terrain of difference they need to navigate, with their classmates and fellow citizens.

*Correspondence:* CARLA PECK, University of Alberta, 551 Education South, Edmonton, AB Canada T6G 2G5. Email: [Carla.peck@ualberta.ca](mailto:Carla.peck@ualberta.ca)

## NOTES

- [1] The long and complex history of Quebec sovereignty requires significant exploration that cannot be done here. In the simplest of terms, Quebec sovereignists favour independent statehood for Quebec whereas federalists advocate Quebec remaining a province of Canada.
- [2] See Appendix A for a complete list of events used in this study.
- [3] An important limitation needs to be acknowledged at this point. There is no question that, because students were provided with thirty events from which they were to choose ten for their timeline, certain narrative explanations were possible while others were not. To address this, I asked students questions during the follow-up group interviews and the individual interviews, in order to provide them with opportunities to challenge the narratives embedded in the task. For example, I asked students if they thought the timeline “told the story of Canada as they would tell it?” and offered them opportunities to add, change or otherwise modify the timeline they had created with their group.
- [4] All student names are pseudonyms
- [5] The first number in parenthesis, preceded by “PD,” indicates from which transcript the excerpt is taken. The second set of numbers indicates the line numbers for the quoted text.

## REFERENCES

- ALMARZA, D. J. (2001). Contexts shaping minority language students' perceptions of American history. *Journal of Social Studies Research*, 25(2), 4-22.
- ANDERSON, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (revised edition). [electronic resource]. Retrieved May 12, 2009, from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.01609.0001.001>.
- BARTON, K. C., & LEVSTIK, L. S. (1998). "It wasn't a good part of history": National identity and students' explanations of historical significance. *Teachers College Record*, 99(3), 478-513.
- BARTON, K. C., & LEVSTIK, L. S. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- BARTON, K. C., & MCCULLY, A. W. (2004). History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: An empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 36(6), 1-32.
- BRITISH COLUMBIA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. (2005). *Social studies 11: Integrated resource package 2005*. Retrieved June 12, 2008 from <http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/irp/ss11.pdf>.

- CERCADILLO, L. (2001). Significance in history: Students' ideas in England and Spain. In A. DICKINSON, P. GORDON & P. LEE (Eds.), *Raising standards in history education: International review of history education* (Vol. 3, pp. 116-145). London: Woburn Press.
- DUNCAN, D. M. (1922). *The story of the Canadian people*. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, Ltd.
- EPSTEIN, T. (2000). Adolescents' perspectives on racial diversity in us history: Case studies from an urban classroom. *American Educational Research Journal*, 37(1), 185-214.
- GEE, J. P. (2006). *An introduction to discourse analysis theory and method* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- GIBSON, S. E. (2009). *Teaching social studies in elementary schools: A social constructivist approach*. Toronto: Nelson Education Ltd. .
- HÉBERT, Y., & WILKINSON, L. (2002). The citizenship debates: Conceptual, policy, experiential, and educational issues. In Y. HÉBERT (Ed.), *Citizenship in transformation in Canada* (pp. 3-36). Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press.
- HEBERT, Y., WILKINSON, L., & ALI, M. (2008). Second generation youth in Canada, their mobilities and identifications: Relevance to citizenship education. *Brock Education*, 17, 50-70.
- KYMLICKA, W. (1998). *Finding our way: Rethinking ethnocultural relations in Canada*. Toronto ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- LEE, P., & ASHBY, R. (2000). Progression in historical understanding ages 7-14. In P. STEARNS, P. SEIXAS & S. S. WINEBURG (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 199-222). New York: New York University Press.
- LÉTOURNEAU, J. (2004). *A history for the future: Rewriting memory and identity in Quebec* (P. ARONOFF & H. SCOTT, Trans.). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- MARTON, F. (1981). Phenomenography - describing conceptions of the world around us. *Instructional Science*, 10, 177-200.
- MERRIAM, S. B., & SIMPSON, E. L. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar: Krieger Publishing Company.
- OSBORNE, K. (forthcoming). *Teaching Canadian history: A century of debate*. In P. CLARK (Ed.), *History teaching and learning in Canada: A state of the art look*. Vancouver UBC Press.
- PARTINGTON, G. (1980). *The idea of an historical education*. Slough: NFER.
- PECK, C. (2008, Nov. 12 - 14). "It's not like [I'm] Chinese and Canadian. I am in between": Ethnicity and students' conceptions of historical significance. Paper presented at the Annual Conference for the National Council for the Social Studies College and University Faculty Assembly, Houston, Texas.
- PECK, C. (2009). *Multi-ethnic high school students' conceptions of historical significance: Implications for Canadian history education*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC.
- PECK, C. (forthcoming). Ethnicity and students' historical understandings In P. CLARK (Ed.), *History teaching and learning in Canada: A state of the art look* (pp. 25). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- SAUL, J. R. (2008). *A fair country: Telling truths about Canada*. Toronto: Penguin Group.
- SEIXAS, P. (1994). Pre-service teachers assess students' prior historical understanding. *The Social Studies*, 85(2), 91-94.
- SEIXAS, P. (1997). Mapping the terrain of historical significance. *Social Education*, 61(1), 22-27.
- TAYLOR, C., & LAFOREST, G. (1993). *Reconciling the solitudes : Essays on Canadian federalism and nationalism*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- TYSON, C. A. (2006). Research, race, and social education. In K. C. BARTON (Ed.), *Research methods in social studies education: Contemporary issues and perspectives* (pp. 39-56). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- VANSLEDRIGHT, B. (2002). Fifth graders investigating history in the classroom: Results from a researcher-practitioner design experiment. *Elementary School Journal*, 103(2), 131-160.
- WERTSCH, J. V. (1998). *Mind as action*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WESTON, C., GANDELL, T., BEAUCHAMP, J., MCALPINE, L., WISEMAN, C., & BEAUCHAMP, C. (2001). Analyzing interview data: The development and evolution of a coding system. *Qualitative Sociology*, 24(3), 381-400.
- WHITE, H. (1998). The historical text as literary artifact. In B. FAY, P. POMPER & R. T. VANN (Eds.), *History and theory: Contemporary readings* (pp. 15-33). Massachusetts & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

**Appendix – List of Events Used in Research Task**

	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<b>1.</b>	Granting of Royal Charter for Fur Trade	1670
<b>2.</b>	English Expel Acadians	1755 – 1758
<b>3.</b>	The Siege of Quebec	1759
<b>4.</b>	Europeans arrive on west coast of Canada	1778
<b>5.</b>	The War of 1812	1812
<b>6.</b>	Creation of Indian Residential Schools	mid – 1800s
<b>7.</b>	Fraser River Gold Rush	1858
<b>8.</b>	Confederation	1867
<b>9.</b>	Building of the Canadian Pacific Railway	1881 – 1885
<b>10.</b>	Recruitment of Chinese workers to build the Canadian Pacific Railway	1880s – 1890s
<b>11.</b>	Imposition of the Chinese Head Tax	1885
<b>12.</b>	Louis Riel and the North-West Rebellion	1885
<b>13.</b>	Anti-Asiatic Riots, Vancouver	1907
<b>14.</b>	Record Immigration Numbers	1913
<b>15.</b>	The Komagata Maru Incident	1914
<b>16.</b>	Britain (and Canada) enters WWI	1914 – 1918
<b>17.</b>	The Women's Suffrage Movement	1916 – 1918
<b>18.</b>	The Halifax Explosion	1917



<b>19.</b>	Winnipeg General Strike	1919
<b>20.</b>	The Persons Case	1929
<b>21.</b>	The Great Depression	1929 – 1939
<b>22.</b>	Canada enters WWII	1939 – 1945
<b>23.</b>	Japanese interment during WWII	1942
<b>24.</b>	Pearson wins Nobel Peace Prize	1957
<b>25.</b>	The October Crisis &The War Measures Act	1970
<b>26.</b>	Canada enacts Multiculturalism Policy (1971) and Multiculturalism Act (1988)	1971, 1988
<b>27.</b>	Canada Act Passed	1982
<b>28.</b>	Collapse of the “Meech Lake Accord”	1990
<b>29.</b>	The Quebec Referendum	1995
<b>30.</b>	The Marshall Decision	1999

# *Who is In and Who is Out?: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Democratic Processes of Canada as Perceived by Recent African Immigrants*

OTTILIA CHAREKA, *St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia*

**ABSTRACT** *Democratic political participation of recent immigrants is an issue which continues to be debated in multicultural Western democracies. While Canada's liberal democracy, for example, is significantly anchored on a belief in inclusion most studies indicate growing political cynicism and alienation among recent immigrants. This disengagement has raised concerns in Canada and around the world and it has been suggested an integrative multicultural approach and new civic educational initiatives must be put in place to foster engagement among recent immigrants. These types of programs have been suggested even though there has been little research done on the prior conceptions of democratic political participation held by recent immigrants. This paper reports on the findings of democratic participation conceptions held by recent African immigrants to Canada. Study participants understood democratic political participation variously as a duty or an obligation, a way of selecting appropriate representation, the ability to make a difference. The participants also described the 'politics' of inclusion and exclusion encountered in the democratic political processes of Canada.*

## **Introduction**

This paper presents the findings of portions of a larger study that was designed to map conceptions of democratic participation held by recent African immigrants to Canada, in particular their perceptions of inclusion and exclusion as they attempt to participate and integrate into the social and political fabric of their host country. The results show that these immigrants understand themselves as being excluded from key areas of civic life by a range of barriers. It is clear there remains a significant way to go to fully realize the promise of an inclusive society set out in Canada's constitutional and legal framework, in particular the civic engagement of immigrants.

Civic engagement and integration of recent immigrants into Canadian political institutions and citizenship education in general, are topics of concern for anyone interested in fostering democracy. Frith (2003) says:

*Integration is a two-way process of accommodation between newcomers and Canadians: encouraging immigrants to adapt to Canadian society*

*without requiring them to abandon their cultures... Integration is a visible expression of our shared citizenship values. The creation of inclusive institutions and political processes, and participation of newcomers in those processes is essential to their integration in Canada (p.35).*

However, in the past, the term 'integration' has often been loosely used and generally interpreted as meaning 'assimilation.' Li (2003) points out that "Much of the research effort on the integration of immigrants focuses on the processes of assimilation, with the implicit assumption that uniformity and conformity represents 'successful integration' " (p.52). This has been the trend for some time that immigrants are to be absorbed into the Canadian system and culture for national economic benefit and not civic engagement.

At present the main goal of immigration policy is still largely focused on bringing people with economic skills and a good command of Canadian official languages, so that they can be quickly 'integrated' and benefit the economy. There is little discussion of civic engagement integration. Kymlicka (2000) writes that the 1971 policy of multiculturalism was designed for immigrants to integrate into common institutions. However, when immigrants apply to come to Canada the factors considered are age, level of education, occupation, arranged employment, work experience, language ability (good command of English or French) and close relatives in Canada. These selection criteria tend to reflect great emphasis on social and economic integration with minimum focus on civic integration. Hence, the issue of integration of recent immigrants in Canadian political institutions continues to be debated by various scholars (Bashevkin, 1985, 1993; Sears 1996; Kymlicka, 2003, 2000; Fennema & Tillei, 2001, 2002).

Chareka and Sears (2005) argue that, in general, civic disengagement is the driving force behind an explosion of interest in democratic citizenship education around the world and the creation of significant new policies and programs in civic education that have been developed and implemented in places as diverse as England, South Africa Australia and USA, to name a few. These policies and programs seem to have been created despite a lack of research into the prior conceptions of and participation in democratic political processes that recent immigrants bring to their host country.

The disengagement of citizens generally, and recent immigrants in particular, from democratic processes, their high levels of political cynicism and alienation has raised concern and lead to much debate in Canada and around the world ( Hérbert, 2008, Hughes & Sears, 2008; Chareka & Sears, 2006, Hayduk, 2006; Munro, 2008). Couton and Gaudet (2008) argue that

*Most evidence seems to indicate a significantly lower level of engagement on the part of immigrants ... As a result, immigration poses a challenge to broader societal cohesion (p. 22).*

To encourage cohesion some jurisdictions develop integrative multicultural approaches and new civic educational initiatives for recent immigrants. To be effective, however, civic education programs for immigrants must be developed with some attention to the conceptions they already possess including the barriers they perceive to participation. In other words, immigrants' prior knowledge of democratic participation is crucial and should be the anchor to the whole process of developing citizenship programs and approaches. This is of paramount importance

because it will provide educators, policy and program developers with a clear picture of what immigrants think understand about democratic participation as they arrive in Canada. Munro (2008) calls for more empirical data and case study of political participation in terms of voting arrangements because, in his view, such data is “terribly in short supply” (p.65). Long (2002) likewise recognizes the lack of awareness about newcomers:

*Canadian research on political integration is scant and little is known about how newcomers make the transition toward participation in Canadian political life. Theoretically, we know that newcomers inevitably interpret the landscape of their new country through the lenses of their previous experience. In learning theory, this is widely referred to as their ‘prior knowledge’.... While this condition can be appreciated theoretically, no systematic effort has been made to map the prior knowledge or cognitive schemata that immigrants bring with them to Canada (p.273).*

Investigation of conceptions of democratic participation among recent African immigrants is relevant because it can provide policy makers and academics insight into the processes of inclusion, integration and forms exclusion from the vantage point of political democratic participation.

### **The study, selection of participants and research approach**

This study was carried out in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Understanding the conceptions of political participation African immigrants bring with them, as well as their experience of barriers to full inclusion and integration, is of great significance in a region where the impact of immigration is at interplay with political, socio-economic and cultural development.

For the purpose of this study, *recent African immigrants* are those who have lived in Canada for 10 years or less, whose last country of residence was in Africa and who are Black. African immigrants represent a significant proportion of the total immigrant population of the region. Between 2002 and 2006 the majority (38.2%) of immigrants who arrived in Nova Scotia came from Africa and the Middle East - 28.14% came from Asia, Australia and Pacific (Nova Scotia Office of Immigration, 2007). Twenty participants were involved in this study as shown below in tables 1.

**Table 1: Recent immigrants by age and gender**

<b>Age</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Adults (30 years old and above)</b>	5	5	10
<b>Youth (16-24 years old)</b>	6	4	10
<b>Total number of recent African immigrants</b>	11	9	20

Snowball sampling technique was used for selection of participants (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Vogt (1999) defines snowball sampling as

*A technique for finding research subjects. One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on (p.2).*

In other words, snowball sampling depends on the referrals from initial interviewees to gain access to other potential participants. Then phenomenographic approach (Marton, 1981) was used to map the recent African immigrants' conceptions of democratic participation and, in the particular, forms of voting, attendance at political party rallies and running for office. Phenomenography is, in Marton's words, "an empirically based approach that aims to identify the qualitatively different ways in which different people experience, conceptualize, perceive and understand various kinds of phenomena" (Marton as cited in Richardson, 1999, p.53). Phenomenographic interviews were conducted using semi-projective stimuli which were designed to provoke the interviewee into speaking about the concept under study (see Chareka & Sears, 2005, 2006; Peck & Sears & Donaldson, 2008). In this case, the stimuli consisted of a set of pictures culled from popular media depicting people voting, attending political rallies and campaigning for a political office. Rather than construct stimuli showing such involvement, I felt it was better to represent the Canadian world of politics as it actually appeared in the media during that time with mainly white Canadians depicted in most cases.

Participants were prompted to select one set of pictures and a conversation developed from there. They were asked to describe the stimulus and to explain their reasons for selecting that particular picture as opposed to others and then the interviewer would ask questions related to democratic political participation based on the picture selected by the interviewee. Marton (1984) argues that phenomenographic interviews should follow from participants' comments and should not be primarily directed by questions made up in advance and this approach was followed.

Interviews were audio taped, transcribed and analyzed to identify 'utterances.' Philip (1976,) defines an utterance as "a verbal manifestation that conveys a meaning or evidence of understanding" (p.7). In this study, an utterance was defined as being any word or phrase within a sentence that related to and reflected an understanding of democratic political participation in form of voting, attendance at a political party rally and running for a political office. Recurring or repeating points of view or ideas were identified in the utterances and these were clustered and classified into categories of description. These categories of description became the basis for describing the qualitatively different conceptions of democratic participation held by the participants.

## Findings

All twenty participants described democratic political participation as a process which they understood to be crucial for democracy to flourish. Participants reported that they participated in various ways, will continue to participate and wish to be fully integrated in the democratic processes of Canada. Participants did vary in their fervor and reported that, in most cases, they are excluded and face barriers when they try to participate and this finding is the main focus of this paper.

In this study, recent African immigrants conceptualized political participation as a duty in which people are obligated to engage. The participants described voting as both a duty and a democratic right. They also understood the importance of voting and if given the access, all the adult participants said they would vote. They described voting as a method of selecting people to represent them. Unlike male participants who expressed some interest in running for office, all female participants explicitly and quite vehemently ruled out running for office but would support their husbands if they chose to run.

Participants discussed at length various barriers they perceived were preventing them from engaging in the democratic political processes and political institutions of Canada. 'Race' discrimination; lack of resources; the need to be known by community people, lack of role models and citizenship status were major barriers to participation.

As evidenced in the following conversation, one participant would have liked to run for office but felt constrained by lack of public profile:

*Interviewer: Would you see yourself running for office so that people would vote for you?*

*Response: Well, I would like to run and I was going to make that decision but my chances were not bright. In Canada, I don't believe that at this stage in Canada's development and at this stage in my own life, I have what it takes to stand for political office.*

*Interviewer: Why?*

*Response: Oh! there are several factors. I mean you have to be known first of all. I mean you can't come straight from somewhere. Let's take Arnold Schwarzenegger, he came to the States in '74 ... and so from 74 to 2003 it's taken him almost thirty years before he finally decided to stand for office, and why? He's now known. He's a public figure, has made so much money. You can't just come from some place in Africa and all of a sudden you want to become a political leader, no! The question is how many Africans in the Canadian block have that type of money, you know, to be able to really get involved.*

Some participants said that while they wanted to engage in the political process, they might even want to run for political office, their lack of resources presented a bigger barrier than it did for native-born Canadians. This is not surprising because immigrants face so many settlement and adaptation challenges on arrival in their host country. Besides lack of financial resources, 'race' was a big issue for recent African immigrants. Respondents reported not seeing many people with their skin color as role models in formal politics. Males in particular, said that they were treated as outsiders and forced to be, what one respondent called "a White Black man" to fit in and to participate in Canadian politics. Respondents said that even if they had money and would want to run for office, the majority of the Canadian people would not vote for them because of their 'race' as evidenced in this conversation:

*Interviewer: That's interesting. What do you mean by a White Black man?*

*Response: You should start thinking like a White man. You can no longer think like a Black man. Your whole outlook should be like a White person. Even the way you speak, you have to change your essence somehow, to conform to the expectations. For example, think about this foreign guy in Vancouver, I've forgotten this guy's name. Then when elections came, when he actually stood for the office, did he win? No, he lost. And everybody knows that he lost because he was an immigrant. Who liked Campbell? Nobody liked Campbell because he was Mayor of Vancouver City for a long time before he became leader of the Liberal Party. But when it was him versus a foreigner, oh yes ... they easily went for him... and if you are Black you have to be a super human being [laughs]. You must be a human without making the least mistake.*

Other participants mentioned that there is discrimination everywhere even in the workplace and believed that if they tried to run for office people would not vote for them because they grew up in Africa unlike Blacks Canadian born and raised Blacks. These respondents said that it was even rare to see those Canadian born Blacks being elected. In their view, Canadian society blocks them from participating. One respondent noted that there were no black people in the pictures that were shown:

*Interviewer: What do you mean when you say there are no people of colour?*

*Response: Because there are no people of my culture or people of color in all these pictures [Laughs]. It's like you don't see any Black people in Parliament today. I think they're blocking or pushing Black people not to ever go in there.*

It should be noted that it took six months of following what was happening in Canadian politics and current affairs to gather pictures for this study. An effort was

made to include a range of visibly diverse people in the stimuli but it proved difficult to find pictures of Black-Canadian particularly in activities related to formal politics. As mentioned earlier, rather than construct stimuli showing such involvement, I felt it was better to represent the Canadian world of politics as it actually appeared in the media during that time.

Another participant said that she does not see many Black people with high positions in work places, even if they do have higher qualifications, so she believed that discrimination would be even more evident in politics. She felt that Canadians undermine Blacks so that they do not get in power and this line of thinking was well summed up in this conversation:

*Interviewer: But you're a permanent resident... soon you will get your Canadian citizenship. So, when you are a Canadian citizen, would you run for office?*

*Response: I would like to run for office, but I don't think the situation in Canada does allow for foreign people to run. I'm not saying something about just Black people. It could be any foreigner. They can tell from your skin colour and your accent. The issue of 'race' is a big thing because I think there are not too many Black politicians in Canada. We don't have a very good record of being elected in Canada. I don't think anybody would really be able to accept people from another community to come and rule them. No offense to Canadians, but I think Canadians are pretty uptight people and they want to care for their own so much. Even at work, there are very few Blacks in high positions. For example, the United States is just South of the border and they have lots more people of African-American descent. [1] I highly doubt it will happen in Canada because Canada has less Black people. However, I would like to run for office here. I will keep on trying and if they understand me and realize that I am the best candidate I might make it.*

Some participants said that they felt Canadians are friendly but that they will not fully include immigrants in their friendship circles. Participants also talked about their citizenship status as another major barrier to participation. Most of them were not eligible to participate in formal politics because they were not yet citizens and felt that this rule was a form of exclusion from political participation. One participant was not happy with the way the Canadian government prevented them from exercising their democratic right:

*Interviewer: Would you attend a political rally?*

*Response: I don't think I can go and attend a political party because I'm just an immigrant and I'm not allowed to vote. So going for a political party I see as wasting my time. Actually in most cases we should be able to participate because if they are formulating laws we are all under the same law... but when they say you are not going to vote it's like there is some sort of discrimination. If I'm not going to vote which means my rights are being like curtailed, then I don't see*



*any need of going to attend any political party rally. I think that when it comes to voting 'all of us' should be given an equal opportunity to vote so that whoever are then formulating the law and pass the law, I will know that indirectly I'm the one making that law because I voted for them because those laws are going to affect all of us.*

Frustration like this was a common trend in participants responses and shows that while participants have the zeal and the will to participate they feel that they are being denied their democratic right to have a say or a voice just because they are non-citizens.

Another participant was emotional and openly frustrated when putting across the same sentiment:

*Just because we don't represent the majority we are not allowed to vote. They think we don't count. That is just plain old oppression you know?" (throwing the picture on voting on the table upside down). The waiting for four years to be able to exercise our right and carry out our duty to vote is just too long. Why are we excluded in the first place? I don't understand what's behind the whole process of not allowing us to vote. To me personally, we are part of the process if we are part of tax paying. I don't see any harm in letting immigrants vote. As long as you are paying taxes, it's probably good to let them vote. It's like playing soccer and only one side chooses the referee, then it's not a level playground.*

Some participants said that this situation was very unfair because in their birth countries they did not vote because of repression and oppression. They now live in a democratic country but still cannot vote and they feel that they are facing oppression again. Their frustration makes them wonder if they would even have the will and excitement to participate in the political processes of Canada when they do become citizens. They said by the time they get their citizenship, they will be used to not participating, hence, see no value in participating.

Most participants said that multicultural associations should teach new immigrants about politics in Canada as another participant said: "The Multicultural Association seems to be limited in what it can do, I only know about the Liberal party which I saw on television. The Association teaches nothing about Canadian politics and most of the time they concentrate on refugees and forget about us who are not refugees."

## **Discussion**

Most studies, both in theoretical literature and empirical research, indicate growing political cynicism and alienation among recent immigrants and disengagement from political processes has raised concern in Canada and around the world. Immigrants in Canada are recognized as being important for Canadian social, cultural, economic and political development. Social, cultural, economic and political integration is recognized as being necessary for maintaining a healthy democracy. This idea is supported by Troper (2002) who writes Democratic immigrant receiving states like Canada, which afford non-citizens the possibility of naturalization, cannot help but have shared interest in the immigrant integrative

process and citizenship education (p.150). All citizens, including new immigrants, must participate in both formal and informal political structures to create a healthy democratic society.

Recent African immigrant participants in this study were eager to participate if given the opportunity. They showed deep understanding and sophisticated conceptions of democratic participation. In terms of voting, adult immigrants said that they were eager to vote but most of them could not exercise this option because they were not Canadian citizens yet. Couton and Gaudet (2008) argue that the immigrant lower participation rates is not really disengagement but it is more of an issue of access because immigrants who have access participate in a similar way to non-immigrants. Munro (2008) argues that inclusion is key to increasing immigrant participation rates: "Inclusive participatory arrangements may offer the best hope we have to overcome those circumstances and avoid newcomers' slide into political cynicism" (p.65). Young (2000, 2002) likewise argues that serious effort needs to be made to ensure that new arrivals are given a voice but that this has yet to happen in Canada. Recent immigrants must be encouraged to participate in formal political processes as soon as they arrive in their host country as their participation is as important as that of native-born Canadians in maintaining a striving democracy. Hayduk (2006, p.24) also believes that extending formal political participation to non-citizen immigrants as soon as they arrive can have educative, integrative effects and has potential to put immigrants on a pathway to citizenship. Formal participation helps them develop purposeful skills and democratic commitments essential for to stabilizing multicultural democracies like Canada.

The fact that recent African immigrant women were vehemently unwilling to run for political office was not a surprising or unique finding. Respondents explained that they choose to exclude themselves from this form of democratic political participation and their approach is similar to that held by native born-Canadian women (see Arscott, 1998; Young, 2000; Everitt, 2004). Young (2002) believes that women face a multitude of barriers to their political participation, "The gendered character of media coverage creates a catch-22 for women in politics: they can either engage fully and be pilloried for their behavior, or act in a conciliatory manner and be ignored" (p.19).

Respondents in this study, while wanting to be engaged, to fully participate in the democratic political process, even to run for political office, lack resources to do so. This is not surprising because as immigrants arrive in their host country they are faced with many settlement and adaptation challenges which native-born Canadians do not face. Couton and Gaudet (2008, p.28) argue that, unlike native born citizens, immigrants are more likely to experience life course disruptions that negatively impact their economic power and their potential for engagement.

The impact of the 'politics of exclusion' came out clearly when participants talked about their 'race.' They perceived that they were excluded and discriminated against because they were Black. Black immigrants face many more barriers than other immigrant groups trying to participate in politics as evidenced by Kymlicka (1998) who also argue that while integration of racial minorities remains a realistic goal for Canada there is no denying that Blacks as immigrants face more distinctive barriers to integration. Most participants in this study also felt that they were excluded from having a say, from shaping the laws that affect their interests. They spoke of wanting this situation to be addressed so they can exercise their right to participate in the formulation of laws and policies of their host country too. Munro (2008) believes that immigrants should be allowed to participate in formal politics

so that they are also part of policy and law formulation just like any other citizens. He argues:

*Those whose interests are affected by laws and policies should have the right to participate in the formulation of those laws and policies. Political power exercised over those who have had no opportunity to voice their concern and no opportunity to ask that decision makers consider their interest is power exercised illegitimately. Laws and policies can make a claim of democratic legitimacy only when those who are subject to, or whose interests are affected by laws and policies have had adequate opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes that produce those laws and policies. Clearly, non-citizens who reside in democratic societies have interests affected. As such, they have a strong claim for inclusion in the political processes. (p.66)*

Munro's approach is also held by Habermas (1998) and Hayduk (2006) who point out that denying immigrants' political rights only further discriminates against and marginalizes them as a group. (Munro, 2008) further argues that indeed, when certain individuals or groups are excluded from political decision-making their interests are disregarded precisely because their voices do not matter to decision makers or those running for political office (p.67).

The findings of this study and the work of scholars referenced here lead me to propose that Canada follow the lead of countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Italy where non-citizens are allowed to participate in the political processes. In United States of America (USA) some jurisdictions are allowing non-citizens to participate in the political process in School Board level and municipal elections. Hayduk (2006) notes that after New York City granted non-citizens the right to participate in the political processes there was an increase in the speed at which immigrants integrated. In Sweden Rath (1990) observed that voter turnout increased from 48 to 60 percent when non-citizens were allowed to participate while voter turnout increased from 12 to 20 percent in Dutch municipal elections when non-citizens became involved in the political process.

Most immigrants participating in this study also felt that they were not fully socialized or included in Canadian democratic processes. I recommend that recent immigrants be introduced to the nation's political processes as soon as they arrive in order to learn about citizenship practices and help them integrate into their new society. Tolley (2003) contends that participation in electoral activities teaches citizens about political processes, institutions and the norms of a political system. Pammett (1991) points out that "elections perform an important political socialization ... and provide citizens with opportunities to learn" (p.238). For new Canadians, electoral participation is one component of integration and, as Kymlicka notes, "is a symbolic affirmation of citizenship" (p.45). Likewise, Aleinnikoff and Klusmeyer (2002) assert the importance of participation when they write:

*By making their voices heard in political debates, immigrants become familiar with the political culture of the country and insert into its political institutions. Political involvement permits immigrants to organize themselves, to articulate their interests, and to set their demands on the political agenda ... and may also have an educational effect for those immigrants who come from less democratic countries (p.13-14).*

Most participants in this study felt that they were excluded because they do not see Black role models participating in Canadian democratic processes. These findings are consistent with other research on immigrant representation in Canada. Tolley (2003) warns that strict mirror representation should not be the primary goal of participation:

*Preliminary results from research conducted by the political research Network suggest that immigrants are under-represented in elected bodies. Achieving strict mirror representation where elected bodies reflect exactly the attribute of the general population is not, in the short term, a guaranteed means of building representative institutions. ... as a long term goal the focus should be toward increasing the overall participation and representation of marginalized groups and ensuring that structural factors are not the cause of gross under-representation (p.15).*

*Abu-Laban (1998, 2000) argues that even if immigrants do want to participate they are expected to change and to conform to the mainstream culture. Participants in this study commented that they would have to become and to “act white” and no longer think like a Black person in order to conform to the expectations of mainstream society. They felt that society blocks them from getting into power. This is consistent with Black (2001) who examined the political participation of immigrants and stated, “Canadian voters may be hesitant to vote for visible minority candidates” (p.12).*

The conceptions of political participation held by recent African migrants to Canada were formed by cultural background, experience and prior knowledge. The results of this study have implications both for the reform of citizenship education and democratic structures of Canada. Fundamental to this discussion is the role of prior knowledge in immigrant’s political cognitive framework or structure related to the concept of political participation. Government and non-government organizations that work with newcomers need to understand this political cognitive framework in order to create effective programs for immigrants. A significant body of research shows that prior knowledge is a key factor influencing learning. Ausubel (1968) and Hartman (1991) point out that meaningful learning depends on organizing material in a way that connects it with the ideas which exist within a learner’s cognitive structures (see also, Hughes & Sears, 2004). In other words, how we think influences how and what we learn. Hence, understanding newcomers’ prior knowledge is essential to good teaching and new learning. Newcomers come to any learning situation in their host country with prior knowledge, which, at times, might be based on misconceptions or naïve theories (Byrnes & Torney-Purta, 1995). Therefore, it is crucial to understand immigrants’ prior knowledge in order to build or refine instructional techniques and resources accordingly.

This study is deeply-rooted in the constructivist belief that good teaching must consider learners’ prior knowledge. It is essential that those developing curriculum for civic education programs for the general public, and those running organizations that deal with integration of immigrants learn about and appreciate the prior knowledge newcomers bring to Canada about democratic participation. They must use their political cognitive skills to help newcomers to use their experiences to

identify, describe, organize, interpret, evaluate information and make sense of it. Trying to teach citizenship and multicultural concepts without first knowing the newcomers' prior knowledge is like a doctor prescribing a drug for a disease not yet diagnosed or putting the cart before the horse.

The findings of this study have both theoretical significance and practical importance in that they contribute to the large body of research and literature on democratic political participation, integration of immigrants and citizenship education. The prior knowledge immigrants bring with them that is uncovered here is of paramount importance because it provides educators, policy and program developers with a clear picture of recent African immigrants' conceptions about democratic political participation. It provides a good starting point from which civic programs for immigrants can be developed and adjusted.

## Conclusion

The pursuit of social cohesion is of paramount importance to Canadian society and it is a juxtaposition of strong sense of belonging. While inclusion, recognition and legitimacy are key elements of a healthy Canadian liberal democracy, discrimination and exclusion only serve to weaken citizenship values and lead to underutilization of social, cultural and political capital. Given the fast pace of globalization and the ever-increasing movement of people from one country to another, the challenge of accepting, integrating and encouraging newcomers to participate in the democratic process of their host countries is becoming more pressing and of daily concern than ever before. Also, the greater the diversity of the racial and cultural mix in Canada the greater will be the need for acceptance and political integration of immigrants and helping them to fully participate in Canadian democratic political processes.

As mentioned earlier, phenomenography is approach that attempts to capture description of things as they appear to different people, that is, it is an approach that values deductive rather than inductive statements or conclusions that go beyond what the participants say. Therefore it should be clearly understood that I do not claim that conclusions drawn from this study can be generalized to 'all' recent African immigrants. Nevertheless, further research with other recent African immigrants and other visible minority groups in other parts of Canada would add important insights to the findings of this study [2].

*Correspondence:* OTTILIA CHAREKA, St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia

## NOTES

- [1] It should be noted that data of this study was collected before the 2008 historic event of the first bi-racial elected current president of the United States of America Barack Obama.
- [2] I would like to thank the reviewers and the editor for their constructive and helpful comments. I would also like to thank David Coyle the Research Outreach Coordinator in the Faculty of Education, St. Francis Xavier University who assisted me in the background with the nitty-gritty grammatical services that are always necessary for and are part of writing an article after getting comments from the reviewers although any errors remain my own doing.

## REFERENCES

- ABU-LABAN, Y. (1998). Welcome/stay out: The contradictions of Canadian integration and immigration policies at the millennium. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30 (3), 190-211.
- ABU-LABAN, Y. (2000). Reconstructing and inclusive citizenship for the new millennium: Globalization, migration and difference. *International Politics*, 37, 509-526.
- ALEINIKOFF, T.A. AND KLUSMEYER, D. (Eds.) (2002). *From migrants to citizens: Membership in a changing world*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- ARSCOTT, J. (1998). More women: The RCSW and political representation, 1970. In M. Tremblay and C. Andrew (Eds.), *Women and political representation in Canada* (pp.145-168). Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- ARSCOTT, J. AND TRIMBLE, L. (1997). In the presence of women: Representation and political power. In J. Arscott & L. Trimble (Eds.), *In the presence of women: Representation in Canadian Governments* (pp.1-17). Toronto: Harcourt.
- AUSUBEL, D.P. (1968). *Educational Psychology: A cognitive view*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- BASHEVKIN, S. (1985). Political participation, ambition and feminism: Women in the Ontario party elites. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 15(4), (pp. 405-419).
- BASHEVKIN, S. (1993). *Toeing the line: Women and party politics in English Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- BIERNACKI, P. AND WALDPRF, D. (1981). Snowball sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 10 (2), 141-163.
- BLACK, J. (2001). Immigrants and ethno-racial minorities in Canada: A review of their participation in federal electoral politics. *Electoral Insight*, 3 (1) 4-13.
- BYRNES, J. AND TORNEY-PURTA, J.(1995). Naïve theories and decision making as part of higher order thinking in social studies. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 23 (3), 260-277.
- CHAREKA, O. (September, 2005). *Conceptions of democratic participation among recent African immigrants and native-born Canadians*. Doctoral Dissertation University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB.
- CHAREKA, O. AND SEARS, A. (2006). Civic duty: Young people's conceptions of voting as a means of political participation. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(2), 521-540.
- CHAREKA, O. AND SEARS, A. (2005). Discounting the political: Understanding civic participation as private practice. *Canadian and International Education*, 34(1), 50-58.
- COUTON, P. AND GAUDET, S. (2008). Rethinking social participation: The case of immigrants in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 9(1), 21-44
- FENNEMA, M. and TILLIE, J. (2001). Civic community, political participation and political trust of ethnic groups. *Connections*. 24(1), 26-41.
- FENNEMA, M. AND TILLIE, J. (2002). Political participation and political trust in a multicultural democracy: Civic communities and ethnic networks in Amsterdam. Paper presented at the Multicultural Politics and Modes of Citizenship Workshop in Liege, Belgium, 30 October-2 November.
- FRITH, R. (April 2003). Integration. *Canadian Issues: Immigration opportunities and challenges*, 35-36.
- HABERMAS, J. (1998). In C. Linhardt and P. De Greiff (Eds.). *The inclusion of the other*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- HARTMAN, H. J. (1991). Thinking about learning from the perspectives of Bruner and Ausubel. A. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Convention Symposium. Mid-Winter Convention. San Antonio, February 22, 1991.
- HAYDUK, R. (2006). *Democracy for all: Restoring immigrant voting rights in the United States*. New York: Rutledge.
- HÉBERT, Y. (2008). The emergence of the child-as-citizen in Canada. In Michael A. Peters, A. B. & Harry, B. (Eds.), *Global Citizenship Education*. (pp. 421-44). Rotterdam.
- HUGHES, A. AND SEARS, A. (2004). Situated learning and anchored instruction as vehicles for social education. In A. Sears & I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges & prospects for Canadian Social Studies* (pp.259-273). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.
- HUGHES, S. AND SEARS, A. (2008). The struggle for citizenship education in Canada: The centre cannot hold. In J. Arthur, I. Davies and C. Hahn, (eds.), *SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. (pp.124-138). Sage: London.
- KYMLICKA, W. (1998). *Finding our way: Rethinking ethnocultural relations in Canada*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- KYMLICKA, W. AND NORMAN W. (2000). *Citizenship in diverse societies*. New York, Oxford University Press Inc.

- KYMLICKA, W. (2003). Being Canadian. *Government and Opposition*, 38(3), 357-385.
- LI, P. (2003) *Destination Canada; Immigration debates and issues*. Canada; Oxford: University Press.
- LONG, H.N. (2002). Conceptions of political participation among recent Latin-American newcomers to Canada: A phenomenographic examination. Doctoral Dissertation. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick.
- MARTON, F. (1981). Phenomenography: Describing conceptions of the world around us. *Instructional Science*, 10, 177-200.
- MARTON F. (1984). Phenomenography. In F. Marton, D. Hounsell, & N. Entwistle. (Eds.), *The experience of learning: Implications for teaching and studying in higher education* (pp.270-283). Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- MUNRO, D. Integration through participation: Non-citizens resident voting rights in an era of globalization. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 9(1), 63-80.
- NOVA SCOTIA OFFICE OF IMMIGRATION. 2007. Immigration Statistics. Retrieved November 10, 2008 from <http://www.novascotiaimmigration.com/en-page1119.aspx>
- PAMMETT, J. (1991). Voting Turnout in Canada. In H. Bakvis. *Voter Turnout in Canada*, Vol. 15 of the research studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing. Ottawa and Toronto: RCERPF/Dundurn.
- PECK, C., SEARS, A. AND DONALDSON, S. (2008). Unreached and unreachable? Curriculum standards and children's understanding of ethnic diversity in Canada. *Curriculum Inquiry*. 38(1), 63-92.
- PHILLIP, S.D. (1976). *Language development: Structure and functions*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- RATH, J. (1990). Voting rights. In Z. Layton-Henry (Ed.). *The political rights of migrant workers in Western Europe*. London: Sage publications.
- RICHARDSON, J.T.E. (1999). The concepts and methods of phenomenographic research. *Review of Educational Research*, 69 (1), 53-82.
- SEARS, A. (1996). *Scarcely yet a people: State policy in citizenship education, 1947-1982*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- TOLLEY, E. (2003). Expressing citizenship through electoral participation: Values and responsibilities. *Canadian Diversity*, 2 (1), 13-16.
- TREMBLAY, M. (2001). Women political participation in Canada. *Electoral Insight*, 3 (1), 8-13.
- TROPER, H. (2002). The historical context for citizenship education in urban Canada. In Hébert, Y. (Ed), *Citizenship in transformation in Canada*. Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press.
- VOGT, W.P. (1999). *Dictionary of Statistics and methodology: A non-technical guide for the Social Sciences*. London: Sage.
- YOUNG, I. (2000). *Feminists and party politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- YOUNG, L. (2002). Women's electoral participation. *Metropolis project - Bringing worlds together: Seminar proceedings*. ( pp.10-29). Ottawa: Canada.

## *Book Reviews*

### **Citizenship Education in the Era of Globalization: Canadian Perspectives**

Michael O'Sullivan and Karen Pashby (Eds.). Published in 2008 by Sense Publishers, Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

O'Sullivan and Pashby's edited book *Citizenship Education in the Era of Globalisation: Canadian Perspectives* offers an accessible and comprehensive insight into the field citizenship education on the global stage. The author's introduction provides a concise overview of the contents of the book. One of its strength's is the manner in which the theoretical and practice-oriented aspects of global citizenship are dealt with.

The opening chapters in particular engage the reader in a consideration of key aspects of the significant theoretical debates. Pashby's 'Demands on and of Citizenship and Schooling: "Belonging" and "Diversity" in the Global Imperative' considers the extent to which one's sense of identity is being re-constituted in the era of globalisation. This demands of citizenship a degree of flexibility 'to serve as an axis to the multiple and shifting identities and allegiances that characterize the current global moment' (2008, p. 17).

The concept of global citizenship is challenged in Wood's article. She points out that citizenship 'is an institution with as many pitfalls as windfalls' (2008, p. 30). Self-preservation, she contends, is often the prime-motivator behind a state's apparent benevolence. This recognition however does not deflect her from recognising 'the critical role of citizens in the production of their own governance' (2008, p. 38). At a global level, this action may be referred to as 'global activism' that can contest the neo-liberal hold on citizenship.

The problematic concept of global citizenship is also addressed in Pike's contribution 'Citizenship Education in a Global Context'. In it, he provides a six-point rationale that acknowledges the real challenges involved in successfully implementing global citizenship within schools (2008, pp. 43-47). He does however posit the potential for an ethos of global citizenship in schools to prize-open a re-conceptualisation of global citizenship that acknowledges 'the interdependent relationship of human beings and their environments' (2008, p. 47).

There is a strong symmetry between Pike's contribution and the subsequent chapter 'Conflicting Imaginaries', in which Richardson identifies the problematic for global citizenship education in the Canadian context, but with resonances for GCE across the globe. He juxtaposes the transmission, single perspective, national-oriented take on citizenship with that of a transformed, multiple perspectives, global-oriented view. Of critical importance in his view is the capacity to imagine the other. The attendant ethic of care, empathy and appreciation of difference have the capacity to counter 'the homogenising tendencies of globalisation' (2008, p. 64).

There is also a notable congruence between Richardson's contribution and Herb ert, Wilkinson and Ali's chapter on 'Second Generation Youth in Canada, their



Mobilities and Identifications: Relevance to Citizenship Education'. In their study, the authors connect the concept of 'transculturation'(2008, p. 72) to describe the process that adolescents engage with for 'negotiating and networking of individual and collective identifications and differentiations' in their increasingly variegated and multicultural contexts. One of their principal research questions inquires how young people who are second generation view their identity within Canadian society? Their findings suggested that 'the political and national identifications of second generation youth are secure and that it is the cultural identifications that may be difficult to balance, compose with, and work through' (2008, p. 83).

The teachers of Canada's adolescents are the focus of Larsen and Faden's article 'Supporting the Growth of Global Citizenship Educators'. It reports on the findings from a pilot testing of a global citizenship education teaching kit called Active Citizens Today (ACT). The teachers participating in the initiative benefitted from access to resources as well as on-going professional development. The study identified these as being prerequisites for teachers successful engagement with global citizenship education.

Young learners is the focus of Vetter's contribution 'Towards a Critical Stance: Citizenship Education in the Classroom'. She presents an analysis of a pedagogical approach that she developed called 'rich talk' (2008, p. 106) which was designed to offer her Grade 1 learners the opportunity to engage with open spaces for dialogue and enquiry to explore issues of equity, social justice and diversity. The findings from her research convinced her 'that there is great value in opening up our classrooms to improved oral curriculum in order to promote relationship building and the development of respect for others within the classroom and within the community' (2008, p. 109).

In the concluding chapter 'You can't criticize what you don't understand: teachers as social change agents in neoliberal times' O'Sullivan clearly recognises the impediments to Global Citizenship Education being practiced in Canadian schools, especially given the pervasiveness of neo-liberal thinking. On the critical and transformative perspective continuum, he suggests that the majority of the teachers would likely be represented at the mid-way point, operating at a level of 'conventional consciousness' (2008, p. 120). He does not suggest however that this is a state of affairs to be resigned about, rather he contends that 'Teachers, struggling to make the transition from neoliberalism to criticality, from individualism to a fusion of the personal and the political, will benefit from mentoring by more experience practitioners who have well-grounded C/T classroom practice' (2008, p. 120).

This book is to be highly recommended. It is both accessible and comprehensive, being very well referenced and supported throughout. There is a very strong linking between the various contributions and, as previously mentioned, a fine balance between theory and practice. While the book has a particular focus on the Canadian context, its applicability is global in reach. I suspect that global education practitioners across the globe will readily identify with its contents and discover it to be a very helpful resource.

**Reviewer: Dr. Timothy Murphy, Carnegie Faculty of Sport and Education,  
Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds, England.  
Email: T.Murphy@leedsmet.ac.uk**

### **Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship**

Ali A. Abdi and Lynette Shultz (Eds.). Published in 2008 by State University of New York Press, Albany, New York.

The publication of *Educating for Human Rights and Global Citizenship* brings together highly accessible contributions that articulate the interconnection between global citizenship and the understanding that human rights are universal. Challenging those who argue that human rights must “necessarily [differ] according to group and context” (Abdi & Shultz, 2008, p. 3), the editors state that “our position is that universal human rights creates a vision of a world of diversity where all humans have an equitable claim to the rewards and privileges of their social, economic, political, and cultural context” (p. 3). They argue that human rights transcend national boundaries and are inherent to all individuals and groups including those who live in “global spaces where fragile or nonexistent states...cannot guarantee the rights of citizenship” (pp. 3 – 4). The universal human rights at the heart of this collection are those contained in successive United Nations’ declarations and covenants. All the contributors see a role for education as an essential vehicle for ensuring the implementation of those human rights on a more viable basis “than was the case in the last century” (Abdi & Shultz, p. 5, 2008).

The collection combines contributions that constitute case studies of particular human rights issues (e.g., women, race, and immigrants) with those that invite theoretical/strategical reflections on the question of building a viable global citizenship education practice. Abdi’s chapter on the impact of “the two-tier project of slavery and colonialism” (p. 68) provides a historico-actual context for other contributions including Lynette Schultz’s compelling analysis of contemporary child slavery. With respect to the issue of the role of education in the advancement of human rights through the extension of global citizenship, Nigel Dower’s chapter offers a cogent argument that could help to overcome a certain sectarianism that persists with respect to who is considered to be a critical educator and those who are often seen as being outside of that critical paradigm. Dower narrows the divide between educators who teach for global understanding in a liberal academic sense and those who teach with the explicit intension of instilling in their students the motivation to be global activists. Far from representing contending pedagogies, Dower’s analysis suggests that the work of these diverse educators is complementary. This is so because, he notes, the same processes of global citizenship education that prepares the many “who at least have a basic knowledge of the world but who ... do not actually do very much” produce the few “who become active global citizens” (p. 40). The decision to become activist will be one taken by a minority regardless of the level of global awareness of the majority, however the impact of social activism will be enhanced by the existence of a growing population of citizens who are globally aware even if they are not very active. In short, the creation of globally knowledgeable citizens and global activists are indivisible pedagogical tasks involving teachers working from diverse but ultimately progressive perspectives.

Dower’s insights, combined with those of contributors George Richardson and Graham Pike about the need to recognize the still dominant hold of national imaginaries, provides food for thought on how to more effectively infuse the notion of universal human rights and global citizenship education more deeply into mainstream curriculum. Implementing these pedagogical strategies will serve to

broaden public support for, and give voice to, the compelling issues raised in the case studies presented in this collection.

**Reviewer: Dr. Michael O'Sullivan, Faculty of Education, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada. Email: mosullivan@brocku.ca**

### **Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education: Cross-cultural Perspectives**

Joseph Zajda, Holger Daun and Lawrence Saha (Eds.). Published in 2008 by Springer, Dordrecht.

This is the third book in a 12-volume series entitled 'Globalisation, Comparative Education, and Policy Research'. All 12 volumes will be published between 2008 and 2010 and they are intended to complement and expand on the International Handbook of Globalisation and Education Policy Research, published in 2005. The first editor of all 12 volumes is Joseph Zajda of the Australian Catholic University, while co-editors of each volume are different. This book, therefore, is part of a major publishing initiative centring on the core issue of globalization and education policy.

The book as a whole provides a range of perspectives on issues concerning interfaces between the nation, globalization, identities and citizenship education. The inclusion of analyses and viewpoints from places which are underrepresented in the research literature is one of the major strengths of the book: South Africa, the Gambia, the United Arab Emirates and Nepal are just a few of the cases appearing in various chapters. In the introduction, the editors state that their task is "not to present a hegemonic monolithic sense about what is, but to extend, inform, and critique assumptions about the nation-building processes, contested discourses of social identity and citizenship education, and their possible implications for a global social stratification and social justice for nation states in the future" (p. 9, emphasis in original). This task has certainly been achieved through the wide and diverse representation of perspectives in the book.

The book is divided into two main parts. Part 1 consists of six chapters dealing with 'main trends and issues in identity and citizenship education', while Part 2 comprises six case studies of cultural identity. From a reader's perspective, the distinction between the two parts seems rather blurred, as most of the chapters in the first part focus on specific case studies, while the chapters in the second part deal with very similar issues and trends. Chapter 1, a short chapter by Joseph Zajda, focuses on intercultural dialogue with particular reference to Muslim societies. Chapter 2, by Michiyo Kiwako Okuma-Nystrom, examines the construction of identities locally and globally, and the author illustrates her arguments with three case studies: Indigenous identities in Canada, Muslim identities in the Gambia, and middle-class identities in Japan and beyond. In Chapter 3, Patricia Kubow provides an illuminating account of citizenship education in South Africa, analyzing the ways in which it has been influenced by the reassertion of African values on the one hand, and globalization on the other. Chapter 4, by Detlef Oesterreich, compares Eastern European countries' results in the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study with other European countries and the US. Suzanne Majhanovich, in Chapter 5, focuses on language policies and language rights in Canada, setting these in the context of discourses of national identity. In the final chapter in Part 1, Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe use theories of nation states to analyse Australian

multiculturalism. In Part 2, Chapters 7 to 12 provide case studies of multicultural education in Japan (Kaori Okano), Hebrew language learning and Jewish identity in Canada (Grace Feuerwerker), higher education in the United Arab Emirates (Daniel Kirk and Diane Napier), intercultural education in Europe (Elisabeth Regnault), language education policies in South Africa (Halla Holmarsdottir) and schooling and identity in Nepal (Stephen Carney and Ulla Ambrosius Madsen). The chapters on Japan and South Africa deal specifically with ways in which education policies have been used to create and maintain preferred versions of 'the nation', and the ways in which these nation-building efforts have been impacted by political and social change. The other chapters in Part 2 focus more on cultural identities and the effects of globalization and interculturalism on these identities.

As is clear from this summary, the range of content focus is almost as wide as the range of geographical coverage. This is simultaneously the strong point and weak point of the book taken as a whole. The diversity of content and perspectives is commendable, but the other side of the coin is the lack of coherence around a central theme. Although all the chapters address at least one of the elements of the 'nation-building, identity and citizenship education' theme, none of the chapters specifically focuses on the relationship of the three elements as a whole. In fact, there is much more emphasis on global and/or intercultural dimensions than nation-building in most of the chapters. This is not necessarily a shortcoming, of course, but it does mean that readers attracted by the title who are looking for insights into the intersection between citizenship education, the nation and identity will have to do most of the work of tracing common threads and creating coherence themselves. Another point that may bother some is the number of typing errors remaining in some of the chapters. For the reader who expects high-quality proofreading in a relatively expensive book, this may be irritating in places!

In summary, this book does not provide any neat overview of its title or quick answers to the issue of the interplay between nation, identity and citizenship education. However, for those who are willing to sift through the chapters creating coherence from the parts relevant to their own research questions, or for those who are just interested in finding out more about what is happening in other parts of the world, the book is well worth reading for the range of analyses and insights it provides into the links between cultural identities and citizenship education in various parts of the world.

Finally, a point worth noting is that several of the other volumes in the series also include chapters on citizenship education, even though this may not be immediately apparent from the title of the individual volume. The Springer website provides a table of contents for each volume, as well as an overview of each volume and of the series as a whole: <http://www.springer.com/series/6932>.

**Reviewer: Lynne Parmenter, Professor, School of Culture, Media and Society, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan. Email: [lynne@waseda.jp](mailto:lynne@waseda.jp)**

**Who We Are: A Citizen's Manifesto**

Rudyard Griffiths. Published in 2009 by Douglas & McIntyre, Toronto, Canada.

Writing a manifesto of any kind is a daunting task. Yet, in his timely new book, "Who We Are: A Citizens' Manifesto", Rudyard Griffiths attempts to definitively present the challenges and the opportunities related to Canadian citizenship in an age of accelerated globalization, climate change, and major demographic shifts. Griffiths, the co-founder of the Dominion Institute, tackles the central question of what he views as the failure of Canada to maintain a strong national identity and a shared sense of civic purpose. He argues that while Canada affords significant benefits to its citizens, it demands little of them in return, thereby posing a threat to the very survival of the nation.

Griffiths begins ominously by arguing "to embrace a post-national vision of Canada's future is to betray Canada's past" (p. 15). He believes that the growing diversity in Canada, coupled with a weakening of history and civic education is a dangerous step away from Canada's founding principles. He traces Canada's "core essence" to two significant periods in history: the early 1800s, when the confederation began to mature as a distinct entity; and to the mid-1900s with the creation of the CBC, the NFB, the Canada Council, universal health care and other national institutions. The values and traditions developed during these periods, he argues, are being threatened by a recent watering down of the Canadian identity and failure to pass on this early history.

Like many people today, Griffiths' cites declining voter turnout, lower rates of civic knowledge and less interest in formal politics as evidence of a pressing civic crisis. Furthermore, he identifies other current issues, including the "pervasive barriers" to skills accreditation of newcomers and the fact that one in three of them lives at/or below the poverty line (p. 63). Yet, in spite of acknowledging these growing inequities and proposing a series of some useful strategies to address the growing civic crisis (such as a national program of civic service and increased investment in English as a second language classes), his proposals are rooted in a narrow definition of Canadian identity and history.

Griffiths argues that Canada's future is in jeopardy because "the absence of the traditions that evoke the civic legacy of past generations haunts us like a lost limb" (p. 147) which strikes me as a dramatic misrepresentation of Canada's past. The country has never been a centralized, homogeneous state. Rather, it has always been an uneasy confederation of colonial powers and immigrant groups of multiple religions, cultures and languages, whose Canadian citizenship depended on the occupation of the land of diverse First Nations groups. Griffiths suggests the way to address the current civic crisis is through a revitalized citizenship and a commitment to ensuring all Canadians learn Canada's foundations and key values, as he defines them. Though few would disagree with the need for a strong civic education in Canada, he defines a narrow time period of Canadian history, and also follows a singularly linear model of history as merely a series of heroes, battles and treaties.

In light of the current trends facing the country, Griffiths seems to suggest that Canadians associate a sense of community with their ethnicity or religion *rather* than with the nation of Canada. He appears to be making a critical leap of faith by asserting that one's ethnic membership is mutually exclusive with a sense of national identity. However, this perspective contrasts sharply with current research on identity and citizenship that concludes that belonging to multiple communities is not necessarily dysfunctional or dangerous, but if managed

effectively, can actually benefit the individual and help create a sense of nationhood and loyalty to the state (Banks, 2004; Osler and Starkey, 2005).

Certainly, there is ample evidence showing that a strong civic education correlates to higher levels of political trust and participation in public life, which Griffiths cites to argue for stronger history education. Few would disagree with this notion. The question is, what history(ies) will be taught and how? Contrary to Griffiths' assertions, some current research suggests that most Canadian civic education continues to focus almost exclusively on political and military events, defining Canadian citizenship in terms that are more elitist and passive than in other democracies (Schwille & Amadeo, 2002). Instead of ignoring our complex past and narrowing our definition of who we are as a nation, Canada would be better served by an acknowledgement of our evolution from a turbulent colonial confederation to a country that balances growth with a commitment to equality and justice for all of its citizens.

Despite its limitations, the book does succeed in stimulating a necessary public dialogue about Canadian identity and citizenship. However, its depiction of Canada's core identity ignores the significant contributions of many groups including First Nations and women. Further, as research reveals the increasing complexity of identity, Griffiths' call for a forceful return to a unitary narrative of Canada is, in my opinion, a step backwards. If the country is indeed becoming increasingly diverse, as Griffiths himself recognizes, a centralized, assimilationist vision will not only fail to prepare the country for success in a globalized world, but may also fail to sustain the very social cohesion and civic purpose that he sees as lacking in Canada today.

#### References:

- BANKS, J. (2004). *Educating global citizens in a diverse world*. Seattle, Washington: New Horizons for Learning. Online at: <http://www.newhorizons.org/strategies/multicultural/banks2.html>.
- HAHN, C. (1998). *Becoming political: comparative perspectives on citizenship education*. NY: State University of New York Press.
- OSLER, A. & STARKEY, H. (2005). *Changing Citizenship: Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- SCHWILLE, J. & AMADEO, J. (2002). *The Paradoxical Situation of Civic Education Schools: Ubiquitous and yet elusive. New paradigms and recurring paradoxes in education for citizenship: An International Comparison*. Amsterdam: JAI/Elevier.
- SEARS, A. & ANDREW HUGHES. (2006). *Citizenship: Education or Indoctrination? Citizenship and Teacher Education*. 2, 1, July, pp. 3-17.

Reviewer: Leigh-Anne Ingram, Doctoral Candidate, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. Email: [lingram@utoronto.ca](mailto:lingram@utoronto.ca)

## Notes for authors

The next issue of this journal will be published by Interlect and the guidelines to be used are shown below.

By accepting publication in the journal contributors grant the right to the editorial committee to publish contributions electronically and in hard copy. Contributors should bear in mind that they are addressing an international audience and so must avoid the use of jargon, acronyms without explanation or the use of specialist terms (e.g. in relation to grades, ages, phases of schooling). Please ensure that writing is, as far as possible, free from bias, for instance, by avoiding sexist and racist language. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) should be used as a guide for spellings. Permissible alternative spellings should follow the OED, e.g., verbal forms which can end in –ize or –ise should be given the –ize form.

Contributions can only be considered if they can be read using Microsoft Word.

## Metadata

Contributors must check that each of the following have been supplied correctly:

- Article Title.
- Author Name.
- Author addresses – the submitted material should include details of the full postal and e-mail addresses of one nominated contributor for correspondence purposes.
- Author Biography – authors should include a short biography/ies of around 150 words for each author, specifying the institution(s) with which they are affiliated.
- Copyright consent form – this form which gives us your permission to publish your article should it be accepted by our peer review panel will be sent to the main author electronically by the journal editor.
- Abstract of 300 words; this will go on to the Intellect website.
- Keywords – six words, or two-word phrases. There is a serious reduction in an article's ability to be searched for if the keywords are missing.
- References – as shown below.
- Bibliography – titled 'References'.

---

Articles should be sent by e-mail attachment to the editor, Ian Davies ([id5@york.ac.uk](mailto:id5@york.ac.uk)). The editor will send submitted articles for anonymous review. Two referees will review each submission. Should there be disagreement between the reviewers, the editor will approach a third person for a judgement.

Articles should be of between 4000 and 6000 words, double spaced with ample margins.

All material must be submitted as intended for publication. Tables and

captions should appear within the text. Tables should be numbered by Roman numerals and figures by Arabic numerals. Captions should include keys to symbols. Details are given below about illustrations.

References should be indicated in the text by giving the author's name, with the year of publication in parentheses. Please note that use of 'op cit' and 'ibid' is not acceptable. If several papers by the same author and from the same year are cited, a, b, c, etc. should be put after the year of publication. Where a page number is to be referenced, the style should be (Author Year: Number) e.g., (Hahn, 1999: 232). The references should be listed in full at the end of the paper in the following standard form:

Hahn, C. L. (1999), 'Citizenship: an empirical study of policy, practices and outcomes', *Oxford Review of Education*, 25: 1&2, pp. 231–250.

McLaughlin, T. (2003), 'Teaching Controversial Issues in Citizenship Education', in A. Lockyer, B. Crick, J. Annette (eds), *Education for Democratic Citizenship: issues of theory and practice*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Ratcliffe, M. and Grace, M. (2003), *Science Education for Citizenship: teaching socio-scientific issues*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Please also note the following guidance concerning referencing:

'Anon.' for items for which you do not have an author (because all items must be referenced with an author within the text)

A blank line is entered between references

Year date of publication in brackets

Commas, not full stops, between parts of each reference

Absence of 'in' after the title of a chapter if the reference relates to an article in a journal or newspaper.

Name of translator of a book within brackets after title and preceded by 'trans.', not 'transl.' or 'translated by'.

Absence of 'no.' for the journal number, a colon between journal volume and number.

'pp.' before page extents.

#### *Personal communications*

Personal communications are what the informant said directly to the author, e.g. 'Pam loved the drums (personal communication)'. This needs no citation in the references list. Equally the use of personal communications need not refer back to a named informant. However, a more formal research interview can be cited in the text (Jamieson 12 August 2004 interview), and in the references list.



### *Website references*

Website references are similar to other references.

There is no need to decipher any place of publication or a specific publisher, but the reference must have an author, and the author must be referenced Harvard-style within the text. Unlike paper references, however, web pages can change, so there needs to be a date of access as well as the full web reference. In the list of references at the end of your article, the item should read something like this:

Bondebjerg, K. (2005), 'Web Communication and the Public Sphere in a European Perspective', <http://www.media.ku.dk>. Accessed 15 February 2005.

### **Presentation/House Style**

All articles should be written in Word. The font should be Times New Roman, 12 point. The title of your article should be in bold at the beginning of the file, but not enclosed in quote marks. Bold is also used for headings and subheadings (which should also be in Times New Roman, 12 point) in the article. Italics may be used (sparingly) to indicate key concepts.

### **Quotations**

Intellect's style for quotations embedded into a paragraph is single quote marks, with double quote marks for a second quotation contained within the first. All long quotations (i.e. over 40 words long) should be 'displayed' – i.e. set into a separate indented paragraph with an additional one-line space above and below, and without quote marks at the beginning or end. Please note that for quotations within the text, the punctuation should follow the bracketed reference. For a displayed quotation the bracketed reference appears after the full stop.

All omissions in a quotation are indicated thus: [...] Note that there are no spaces between the suspension points.

When italics are used for emphasis within quotations, please ensure that you indicate whether the emphasis is from the original text or whether you are adding it to make a point.

Where the quotation is not from a particular source then the words should be surrounded by single inverted commas e.g., In what ways do specialist secondary school teachers characterize 'educating for citizenship' and why?

### **Referees**

*Citizenship Teaching and Learning* is a refereed journal. Strict anonymity is accorded to both authors and referees.

## Illustrations

It is possible to include images illustrating an article. All images need a resolution of at least 300 dpi. All images should be supplied independently of the article, not embedded into the text itself. The files should be clearly labeled and an indication given as to where they should be placed in the text. Reproduction will normally be in black-and-white. Images sent in as e-mail attachments should accordingly be in greyscale.

The image should always be accompanied by a suitable caption (the omission of a caption is only acceptable if you feel that the impact of the image would be reduced by the provision of written context). The following is the agreed style for captions: Figure 1: Caption here. Please note the colon after the number and the terminating full point, even if the caption is not a full sentence. Copyright clearance should be indicated by the contributor and is always the responsibility of the contributor.

## Notes

Notes may be used for comments and additional information only. In general, if something is worth saying, it is worth saying in the text itself. A note will divert the reader's attention away from your argument. If you think a note is necessary, make it as brief and to the point as possible. Use Word's note-making facility, and ensure that your notes are endnotes, not footnotes. Place note calls outside the punctuation, so AFTER the comma or the full stop. The note call must be in superscripted Arabic (1, 2, 3).

Any matters concerning the format and presentation of articles not covered by the above notes should be addressed to the Editor.

## Opinion

The views expressed in articles published in *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* are those of the authors, and do not necessarily coincide with those of the Editors or the Editorial or Advisory Boards.

## Permissions/Copyright/Liability

Copyright clearance should be indicated by the contributor and is always the responsibility of the contributor. Unless a specific agreement has been made, accepted articles become the copyright of the journal. The copyright clearance form should be completed and sent to the Editors to accompany every submission.

## Submission Procedures

Articles submitted to *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* should be original and not under consideration by any other publication. Contributions should be submitted electronically as an e-mail attachment in Microsoft Word format. Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, c/o the Editorial Office.

## Book Reviewers

Reviews should be sent by e-mail attachment to the editor, Ian Davies ([id5@york.ac.uk](mailto:id5@york.ac.uk)), who will acknowledge receipt and send the submission to the reviews editor, Mitsuharu Mizuyama ([mizuyama@kyokyo-u.ac.jp](mailto:mizuyama@kyokyo-u.ac.jp)). The reviews editor will read each review to check for relevance to the journal. Where revisions are required the administrator and reviews editor will coordinate necessary correspondence to ensure that the final version of the review has been formally accepted before publication occurs.

Book reviews should be between 400 and 600 words in length. Please enclose a note with your review, stating that the review has not been submitted or published elsewhere.

**This guidance is by no means comprehensive: it must be read in conjunction with Intellect Style Guide. The Intellect Style Guide is obtainable from <http://www.intellectbooks.com/journals>, or on request from the Editor of this journal.**