

The Unavoidable Struggle of Canadian Citizenship Education: An Analysis of Historical  
and Contemporary Challenges of Producing a Cohesive Policy Narrative

by

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of my thesis is to examine the construction of a Canadian citizenship narrative through education. I argue that citizenship education policy in Canada has not effectively reconciled central components of Canadian citizenship with a cohesive narrative. The lack of reconciliation is due to the combination of traditional external (British imperialism) and internal (federalism and provincialism) hurdles to policy-making and the challenges of implementing ambiguous programs (civic education). Following Deborah Stone's causal story policy theory my argument is supported by constructing a citizenship education policy narrative at both the elite and classroom level that demonstrates how governments have been unable to deliver an accepted and unambiguous model of citizenship education in Canada. The elite level of education policy is constructed using state produced texts and reports of royal commissions on education from 1950 to 1994 and for the pre-1947 era, other sources and texts. The classroom level of education policy is constructed through a focus on the province of Ontario and interviews with former education ministers; bureaucrats and Grade 10 Civics teachers in Ontario to better understand the implementation of the policy. In the past, research on citizenship education has been predominately conducted through large-scale surveys that both test students and assess the programs. However, these works are less focused on policy creation and delivery and more on the impact of citizenship education. My approach is centered on the policy-making steps before impact, which are more suited to qualitative and interpretive methods.

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## **Chapter 1: Constructing a Public Problem: Does Canada have a knowledgeable and participatory citizenry?**

### **1.1 Introduction**

In a 2009 *Maclean's* magazine interview, federal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Jason Kenney noted, “there’s massive citizen illiteracy” in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Kenney’s comments came only six months after voter turnout reached an all-time low in Canada in the October 2008 federal election with a voter turnout rate of 58.8%.<sup>2</sup> While Kenney’s comments are simply an assertion, in a more educated and more inclusive Canada, Canadians appear to know less about politics and participate less in politics than ever. These circumstances lead to the question: In light of the current situation, what policies has the Canadian state (federal and provincial governments) implemented to create a knowledgeable and participatory citizenry?

To answer this question this thesis focuses on the state’s most powerful tool for socialization - the public schooling system. With this focus in mind, my thesis argument is as follows: Citizenship education policy in Canada has not effectively reconciled central components of Canadian citizenship with a cohesive narrative. The lack of reconciliation is due to the combination of traditional external (British imperialism) and internal (federalism and provincialism) hurdles to policy-making and the challenges of implementing ambiguous programs (civic education). Following Deborah Stone’s causal story policy theory, this argument will be supported by constructing a citizenship education policy narrative at both the elite and classroom level that demonstrates how governments have been unable to deliver an accepted and unambiguous model of citizenship education in Canada. Evidence of the overlapping and ever-changing view of

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<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Whyte, ‘‘Maclean’s Interview: Jason Kenney’’ *Maclean's*, 29 April 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Elections Canada. Official Voting Results. <http://www.elections.ca/scripts/OVR2008/default.html>

citizenship attached to citizenship education in Canada will be demonstrated in federal programs, non-governmental policy initiatives and curriculum delivery (teaching) and resources (textbooks).

The narrative is separated into elite and classroom level to effectively analyze Canadian citizenship education. These two levels of citizenship education policy are influenced by previous research distinctions between macro- and micro-citizenship education.<sup>3</sup> Macro-citizenship education is the aggregate, all-encompassing, and implicit impact of the schooling experience on a young citizen's political development; this is what will be meant by elite level policy and is reflected in the reports of provincial royal commissions on education. This form of education policy will be examined primarily in Chapter Three. Micro-citizenship education is the course-driven, examinable, explicit delivery of civic education to young citizens. This is reflected in classroom level policy and reflected in curriculum and delivery. This form of education policy will be addressed in Chapters Four and Five. In this dissertation, the elite level narrative is constructed using state intentions expressed through the words of education policy actors and education policy documents (reports, curriculum). The classroom level narrative is presented through qualitative interviews with front-line citizenship education teachers in Ontario.

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<sup>3</sup> Yvonne Hebert and Michel Page differentiate between [macro-citizenship education] "models of citizenship, typologies of citizens and contexts in citizenship education" and [micro-citizenship education] "teaching practices in citizenship education". One approach is based on an implicit, cumulative view, while the other approach is structured on an explicit information based model. Yvonne M. Hebert and Michel Page. "Citizenship Education: What Research for the Future?" *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. Pg. 229-231; Keith McLeod also argues for a perspective that accepts both a narrow conception of citizenship education in civics or political education [micro-citizenship education] and a broader notion of citizenship education under the umbrella of "education for citizenship" [macro-citizenship education]. Keith A. McLeod. "Exploring Citizenship Education: Education for Citizenship" *Canada and Citizenship Education*. Ed. Keith A. McLeod. Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989. Pg. 5

While it is useful to scrutinize any state's approach to citizenship education, Canada's unique historical struggles with both internal and external questions of identity produce a dynamic setting for research. The constitutional responsibility of education in Canada complicates the delivery of national citizenship-based goals as Section 93 of the Canada Act, 1867 (or BNA) provides provincial governments with the task of education delivery. This responsibility gives sub-national provincial governments independence over pedagogical decisions on national citizenship within their jurisdiction, though even with the constitutional division, most curricula remain uniform across the country. However, the fragmentation of Canadian education through ten separate provincial deliveries creates challenges in constructing a cohesive and comprehensive pedagogical narrative and meaning for citizenship education. The citizenship education policy narrative is documented in this thesis in three historical periods.

The first such era, 1867-1947, discussed in the second chapter, is a period when Canadian citizenship education was based on a consensus built on religion, imperialism and exclusion. 1867 and Canadian Confederation present a natural starting point for the first era as the Canadian state slowly began its march toward sovereignty. The year 1947 is significant because it was the year Canadian citizenship was officially introduced into law. While south of the border, American citizenship was born out of the American Revolution, many forget Canadian citizenship was also forged out of conflict. In 1947, after visiting the graves of World War II Canadian casualties at Dieppe, Minister Paul Martin Sr. forwarded legislation to end the practice of Canadians as British subjects and create a new Canadian citizenship.<sup>4</sup> Martin later wrote about his visit to the cemetery “of

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<sup>4</sup> Luiza Ch. Savage. “O Canada, Do We Stand On Guard For Thee?” *Maclean’s* 14 August 2006. Pg. 19

whatever origin, these men were Canadians.”<sup>5</sup> Martin’s sentiments were not the only reason for the legal formation of Canadian citizenship, but his words and actions represent a mix of political sentiment and national identity building. Because Canada was eighty years old before introducing official citizenship it is easy to underestimate the impact of the policy. However, from a citizenship education policy perspective it does represent an important step in understanding Canadian citizenship. Before 1947 when the Canadian Citizenship Act was adopted, Canada was composed of British subjects and aliens. Without legal recognition of Canadian citizenship, Canadian citizenship education struggled with articulating an ideal identity to teach.

The second era is based on the ambitious royal commissions from 1950-1994. The reports of the royal commissions present a wealth of government discourse that is useful in constructing a citizenship education policy narrative at the elite level. With provincial governments reforming education at different times, timing is also of concern. Societal and economic trends demonstrate that, across provinces and across time, the timing of the commissions were mostly arbitrary, driven by elusive motives, international fears or administrative necessities instead of the state’s desire to produce engaged and informed citizens. The randomness of these policy contributions did not aid the construction of solutions to citizenship education related public problems. The third era, from 2000-2008 presented in the fourth and fifth chapters, represents the ambiguous state of contemporary citizenship education curriculum in Canada, and the narrative constructed at the classroom level. Both teacher and policy actor interviews support the narrative during this stage with a specific focus on Ontario’s 2000 Grade 10 Civics course.

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<sup>5</sup> Paul Martin. *A Very Public Life*. Ottawa: Deneau, 1983. Pg. 437-453

However, the reasons *why* Canadian citizenship education policy has struggled cannot be discussed without presenting evidence that it *has* struggled to meet objectives. This opening chapter will serve a number of purposes including the unpacking of several contentious and contested terms and concepts that inform citizenship education discourse. The following two sections will present evidence of declining civic literacy and political participation in Canada to demonstrate the presence of citizen apathy and ignorance – two of the problems that citizenship education is intended to solve. The chapter will also outline the theoretical and methodological approach of this thesis and state why the Canadian state is a worthwhile candidate for this treatment of citizenship education policy conception and implementation analysis.

## 1.2 Is there a “massive civic illiteracy” in Canada?

When Jason Kenney described the state of Canadians’ political knowledge, specifically using the term “civic literacy”, he gave political legitimacy to a term that has become widely accepted in the literature. Kenney’s acknowledgement of declining civic literacy also provided a “solvable” problem for policy makers. Much of this acceptance comes from the success of Henry Milner’s work on the relationship between the citizen and the understanding of their political surroundings. In 2002, Milner published *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work*, and defined civic literacy as the combination of both knowledge and citizens’ ability to understand their “political world”.<sup>6</sup> Since this initial work, the relationship between low levels of civic literacy and declining political participation has been well documented.<sup>7</sup> Previous research found that a strong relationship exists between political knowledge and policy preference or vote choice.<sup>8</sup> The relationship between levels of political knowledge and the rest of the Canadian political system are repeatedly articulated in the forms of critiques and warnings. Concern over the problem has made it to mainstream political observers. One of Canada’s best-known journalists’, Peter Mansbridge said in 1997, “Our ignorance is appalling”.<sup>9</sup>

Survey work has also documented the low levels of political knowledge. Polls repeatedly reveal the struggling state of civic literacy in Canada. A 1997 poll found that

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<sup>6</sup> Henry Milner. *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002. Pg. 1

<sup>7</sup> Henry Milner. “Political Knowledge and Participation Among Young Canadians and Americans” *IRPP Working Paper Series*. No. 2007-01. November 2007. Pg. 1; Britons Bernard Crick and Alex Porter described “political literacy” in 1978 as a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes that need to develop together to condition each other. Bernard Crick and Alex Porter. *Political Education and Political Literacy*. London: Longman, 1978. Pg. 13

<sup>8</sup> Milner, “Political Knowledge and Participation Among Young Canadians and Americans”, Pg. 1

<sup>9</sup> Peter Mansbridge. *Canada’s History: Why Do We Know So Little?* Sackville: Centre For Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University, 1997. Pg. 7

barely half of Canadians between the age of eighteen and twenty-four years old could name the first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald.<sup>10</sup> Another poll found most Canadians had no idea when Confederation took place.<sup>11</sup> For the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Citizenship Day, 1947, the Dominion Institute conducted the standardized citizenship testing of 1,350 Canadians; forty-five percent failed.<sup>12</sup> While low levels of political knowledge are found in Canadians of all ages, it is most visible in younger Canadians. The institute declared that young people “hadn’t a clue” about basic civic knowledge.<sup>13</sup> A 2001 survey found only 41% of Canadians between eighteen and twenty-four years old compared to 73% over fifty-five years old followed politics and public issues closely.<sup>14</sup> Almost a decade later, which included change to citizenship education programs across the country, little has changed. In 2007, the Dominion Institute found only 18% of Canadians aged 18 to 24 who were questioned could pass a “simple” exam on Canadian history.<sup>15</sup> Dominion Institute Executive Director, Rudyard Griffiths noted in 2007, “Young people’s knowledge on Macdonald, Confederation and Riel is declining, on average a percentage point a year.”<sup>16</sup> Another 2007 poll showed only one in four Canadians between the ages of 18 and 24 could give the date of Confederation.<sup>17</sup> The late 2008 constitutional crisis provided an opportunity to place attention on the level of

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<sup>10</sup> Desmond Morton. “Teaching and Learning History in Canada” *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*. Ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg. New York: New York University Press, 2000. Pg. 51

<sup>11</sup> Morton, “Teaching and Learning History in Canada”, Pg. 24

<sup>12</sup> Desmond Morton. “Canadian History Teaching in Canada: What’s the Big Deal” *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*. Ed. Ruth W. Sandwell. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. Pg. 24

<sup>13</sup> Morton, “Teaching and Learning History in Canada”, Pg. 52-53

<sup>14</sup> Centre for Research and Information on Canada. *Voter Participation in Canada: Is Canadian democracy in crisis?* CRIC Papers No. 3. Ottawa. 2001. Pg. 20

<sup>15</sup> The Dominion Institute. *The Canadian History Report Card. Curriculum Analysis of High Schools in Canada*. June 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Rudyard Griffiths. “Let’s not be a rootless nation of amnesiacs” *The Globe and Mail*. 12 March 2007.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.,

Canadians' knowledge of how their government and political system works. During the days of parliamentary maneuvering, Canadians were surveyed and 51% of respondents believed incorrectly that the prime minister was directly elected.<sup>18</sup> This poor knowledge of basic facts of Canadian politics and history is a small sample of what Milner and others mean by "civic illiteracy". Along with civic illiteracy, participation in political and civic activities is the other significant variable in demonstrating the failure of citizenship education in Canada. The following section will address this second factor.

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<sup>18</sup> Ipsos Reid. "In Wake of Constitutional Crisis, New Survey Demonstrates that Canadians Lack Basic Understanding of our Country's Parliamentary System" 15 December 2008. Accessed 25 June 2010 <http://www.dominion.ca/polling.htm>

### **1.3 How low is Canadian political participation?**

While civic illiteracy can be illustrated through lack of knowledge found in surveys and polls, low levels of participation become visible at the moments when most Canadians focus on politics - elections. Canadian voter turnout in the last twenty years has dropped by more than 10% and brought much media attention and academic scrutiny. In Canadian federal elections turnout dropped from 75% in 1993 to 64.1% in 2000.<sup>19</sup> The turnout rate dropped another 3% to 61% in the 2004 federal election.<sup>20</sup> There was some improvement in the 2006 federal election, as the turnout returned to 2000 levels at 64.7% but went down another 5 percent in 2008 to 59%.<sup>21</sup>

These trends are at odds with the historically high levels of education we find in Canada. The decline in voting is puzzling if we accept the belief that greater education should lead to greater political participation, especially greater citizenship education designed to spur exactly this sort of participation. While there seems to be a strong consensus over the utility of citizenship education, the following review of recent decline in turnout demonstrates how something in the policy implementation of Canadian citizenship education must be amiss – or that its utility has been overstated. The growth and delivery of both implicit and explicit citizenship education has transpired during a time of increasing youth disengagement. There is no evidence that suggests there is a direct relationship between these two trends so we are left considering the odd

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<sup>19</sup> Elections Canada. *Voter Turnout at Federal Elections and Referendums, 1867-2006*. <http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=pas&document=turnout&lang=e&textonly=false> Accessed 15 May 2008

<sup>20</sup> Henry Milner. "Are Young Canadians Becoming Political Dropouts? A Comparative Perspective" *IRPP Choices*. Vol. 11 No. 3. June 2005. Pg. 2

<sup>21</sup> Report of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada on the 39<sup>th</sup> General Election of January 23, 2006.

coincidence – and analyzing the trail of citizenship education policy left behind by provincial governments.

Canada is not alone in suffering from declining engagement; in fact, Bynner et al say that declining voter turnout is one of the accepted “truisms of political science.”<sup>22</sup> As the following table from LeDuc and Pammett demonstrates, election turnout declined 8% in the developed world from the 1980s to the early 2000s.

**Table 1: Recent Voting Turnout (as of December 2002) in 20 Democracies Compared with 1980s Average**

Country	Turnout		
	Last Election	1980s Average	Net Change
Denmark	87	88	-1
Italy	81	89	-8
Sweden	80	89	-9
Austria	80	91	-11
Netherlands	79	84	-5
Germany	79	87	-8
New Zealand	77	92	-15
Norway	75	83	-8
Greece	75	83	-8
Spain	70	73	-3
Finland	65	74	-9
Ireland	63	74	-11
Portugal	63	78	-15
Canada	61	73	-12
Japan	61	69	-8
India	60	60	0
France	60	73	-13
Britain	59	74	-15
United States	51	52	-1
Switzerland	43	48	-5
Mean Decline			-8

Source: Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. “Elections and Participation: the Meanings of the Turnout Decline” Canadian Political Science Association Proceedings. Dalhousie University. June 1, 2003. Pg. 2

Thus Canada is not alone, though it has seen one of the larger decreases. And the numbers speak for themselves; the last two decades have seen millions fewer voting.

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<sup>22</sup> John M. Bynner, David M. Romney and Nicholas P. Emler. “Dimensions of Political and Related Facets of Identity in Late Adolescence” *Journal of Youth Studies*. Vol. 6. No. 3. 2003. Pg. 319

With a decline in turnout, the search for contributing factors has been enthusiastically pursued in Canada and elsewhere. Why are people voting less? This is unclear but the answer to who is voting less is more definitive.

Young voters are consistently identified as the main reason for voter decline in most democratic states including Canada. The turnout of voters between 18 and 24 years old in the 2000 federal election was estimated at approximately 23% and for those between 18 and 21 in the 2004 election at 38.7%.<sup>23</sup> In the 2006 federal election, an estimated 43.8% of the 18 to 24 years old cohort voted compared to 37% in 2004. Elections Canada noted in 2008 that, “Youth clearly remain on the sidelines of the electoral process, and continued efforts are still warranted to keep up the momentum of improvement.”<sup>24</sup> In the 2008 federal election, the numbers for the youth vote declined again as an estimated 37.4% of the 18 to 24 years old cohort voted.<sup>25</sup> Not surprisingly, fewer young voters has a major impact on aggregate voting numbers. The major demographic problem is that the youngest cohort in elections is not replacing the older generations moving out of the voting pool. In the past, low participation rates have been correlated to generational patterns that are corrected as people age and become more politically involved and aware.<sup>26</sup> Research has shown that this generational replacement is taking place much slower than with previous cohorts but the explanation is not clear.<sup>27</sup> Gidengil et al. note the declining turnout in the current generation is puzzling because if we accept education as a major determinant of voting, it doesn’t make sense that while

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<sup>23</sup> Email Interview. *Elections Canada*. 17 June 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Elections Canada. “Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group at the 39<sup>th</sup> Federal General Election, January 23, 2006” Working Paper. March 2008. Pg. 11

<sup>25</sup> Elections Canada. “Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group at the 40<sup>th</sup> Federal General Election,” Working Paper. February 2010. Pg. 10

<sup>26</sup> LeDuc and Pammett. “Elections and Participation: the Meanings of the Turnout Decline”, Pg. 13

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*,

current young Canadians have more education, they vote less than their grandparents' less educated generation

The lack of voter replacement is found in each individual generational cohort; in other words, each generation votes less than the one before. Studies have shown that turnout is three points lower among baby-boomers than pre-baby boomers; ten points lower among those born in the 1960s than baby-boomers and another ten points among those born since 1970.<sup>28</sup> The Institute for Research on Public Policy reported a gap of twenty-five percent in turnout between Canadians aged eighteen to twenty-seven and those fifty-seven and older in the 1997 federal election.<sup>29</sup> The following two tables present the difference in participation by age during the period of turnout decline.

**Table 2: Generational Differences in Reported Turnout**

Birth Cohort	Voting	
	% 1990	% 2000
1973-1982	-	66
1963-1972	74	69
1953-1962	85	85
1943-1952	93	92
Before 1943	93	91
Total	88	81

Source: O'Neill, "Examining Declining Electoral Turnout Among Canada's Youth", Pg. 16

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<sup>28</sup> Andre Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau. "The Evolving Nature of Non-voting: Evidence from Canada" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 2001.

<sup>29</sup> Brenda O'Neill. "Examining Declining Electoral Turnout Among Canada's Youth" *Electoral Insight*. Elections Canada. Vol. 5. No. 2. July 2003. Pg. 15

**Table 3: Voting and non-voting in 2000, by age cohorts**

Voted in 2000	Age in 2000 (FIRST ELIGIBILITY)								All
	68+ (- 1953)	58-67 (1957- 1963)	48-57 (1968- 1972)	38-47 (1974- 1980)	30-37 (1984- 1988)	25-29 (1993)	21-24 (1997)	18-20 (2000)	
Yes	83.3	80.4	76.4	66.2	54.2	38.2	27.5	22.4	61.3
No	16.7	19.6	23.6	33.8	45.8	61.8	72.5	77.6	38.7
<b>N = 2467</b>									

Source: LeDuc and Pammett. "Elections and Participation: the Meanings of the Turnout Decline", Pg. 12

Why aren't young people voting? A few common reasons routinely surface, some focusing on the individual, others on the state, including lack of trust, globalization, and the transitional stage of life.<sup>30</sup> The abandonment and alienation from the political system may not be confined to non-voting; young citizens are not only opting out of voting but also other activities such as volunteer and association work at rates much greater than previous generations.<sup>31</sup> Rudyard Griffiths believes that young Canadians have a "postmodern" approach that has a detrimental impact on citizenship.<sup>32</sup> Griffiths describes young Canadians as "civic slackers" who are more concerned with consumption than responsibility.<sup>33</sup> This "postmodern" approach includes a disengagement from the traditional public sphere. The approach may not be a deliberate attempt to disengage but simply the reality of how young Canadian citizens feel "ignorant, alienated and agnostic".<sup>34</sup> Brenda O'Neill believes two factors at the individual level present the most

<sup>30</sup> Phillip Haid. "Marketing Voter Participation to the MuchMusic Generation" *Electoral Insight*. July 2003. Pg. 32

<sup>31</sup> O'Neill, "Examining Declining Electoral Turnout Among Canada's Youth" Pg. 15.; Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, Andre Blais and Richard Nadeau. "Turned Off or Tuned Out? Youth Participation in Politics" *Electoral Insight*. July 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Murray Campbell. "Fried and true: Timbit a new national symbol?" *The Globe and Mail*. 30 June 2007. A3

<sup>33</sup> Murray Campbell. "Canadians' self-knowledge dismal, poll shows" *The Globe and Mail*. 29 June 2007. A10

<sup>34</sup> Yvonne Hebert and Alan Sears. *Citizenship Education*. Canadian Education Association. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001. Pg. 4

potential for understanding youth voting patterns: “ability and motivation”.<sup>35</sup> An absence in early development of ambition and motivation or knowledge and skills may have a negative impact on future voting behaviour.

Improved citizenship education is often identified as a possible policy solution to the problem of low political participation in young Canadians. Pammett and LeDuc found that lack of general education was a central trait in non-voters and Paul Howe finds a correlation between political knowledge and electoral participation.<sup>36</sup> The following table shows the variation in voting turnout between those with low political knowledge and those with high knowledge.

**Table 4: The Growing Impact of Knowledge on Electoral Participation, 1984 to 2000\***

Cohort	1984	1990	1993	1997	2000
Pre-1926	10.6	9.1	11.9	15.6	4.2
1926-1938	12.5	7.7	9.1	12.3	20.4
1939-1954	8.3	8.4	10.5	12.6	17.6
1955-1966	27.7	19.6	21.4	21.6	24.2
1967-1975		10.5	31.1	33.8	31.9
1976-1982				35.8	46.9
Total	18.2	13.8	21.4	23.3	32.3

\*Entries represent the gap in voting turnout between those with low political knowledge and those with high knowledge, each representing roughly one third of total respondents. Sources: 1984, 1993, 1997, and 2000 Canadian Election Studies and the Survey of Attitudes About Electoral Reform and the Survey of Attitudes About Electoral Reform (1990). Paul Howe. “Electoral Participation and the Knowledge Deficit” *Electoral Insight*. Election Canada. Vol. 5. No. 2. July 2003 Pg. 21

Howe demonstrates that as time passes the relationship strengthens; a growing correlation exists between the presence of knowledge and turnout in voters, both generally and especially among younger voters.

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<sup>35</sup> Brenda O’Neill. “Youth Participation – What We Know, and What We Don’t Know” *Canadian Democracy: Bringing Youth Back into the Political Process*. The CRIC Papers 15. Centre for Research and Information on Canada. December 2004. Pg. 5

<sup>36</sup> Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc. “Confronting the Problem of Declining Voter Turnout Among Youth” *Electoral Insight*. Elections Canada. Vol. 5. No. 2. July 2003. Pg. 52; Paul Howe. “Electoral Participation and the Knowledge Deficit” *Electoral Insight*. Elections Canada. Vol. 5. No. 2. July 2003. Pg. 23.

While research such as Howe's demonstrates the relationship between knowledge and political participation it is difficult to transfer this directly over to the need for improved education policy. There is no certainty over the appropriate policy response to these problems, and especially whether citizenship education can make a crucial difference; many variables may be influencing the departure from the polls. In the 2000 federal election, a majority of Canadian youth listed lack of interest or personal administrative reasons as the reasons they did not vote.<sup>37</sup> In the United Kingdom, researchers have argued that young people are not voting because of the decreasing relevance of elections to their lives.<sup>38</sup> Others are not convinced there is a defining reason; Richard Kimberlee argued that there is "no clear, single explanation" for young voters' failure to vote.<sup>39</sup>

This section has attempted to present the case that political participation has declined in Canada, especially the key act of voting. But it becomes difficult to identify the solution for solving the growing problem of declining political participation because the reasons are a challenge to identify and isolate. Still, the presence of this problem has been a major impetus to the development of citizenship education in recent years. While citizenship education may not be the perfect solution for declining political participation, it is a solution that the state has the most control over. Hence citizenship education has become a key policy concern for governments, even though it is not entirely clear that it can solve the problems that have made it a priority. Nor is it entirely clear what

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<sup>37</sup> L.S. Tossutti. "Youth Voluntarism and Political Engagement in Canada" Canadian Political Science Association Proceedings. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 3-5 June 2004. Pg. 7

<sup>38</sup> Edward Phelps. "Young Citizens and Changing Electoral Turnout, 1964-2001" *Political Quarterly*. Vol. 75. No. 3. 2004. Pg. 245

<sup>39</sup> Richard H. Kimberlee. "Why Don't British Young People Vote at General Elections?" *Journal of Youth Studies*. Vol. 5. No. 1. 2002. Pg. 87

“citizenship education” is exactly, as it is a dynamic and fluid idea. The following section will trace popular conceptions of citizenship education and how Canadian citizenship education policy has struggled to produce a cohesive narrative.

## **1.4 What is citizenship education?**

As mentioned above, for the state, one of its policy tools for responding to civic illiteracy and declining political participation is citizenship education. To provide clarity and consistency to this analysis, citizenship education policy is identified as two different types – elite level (macro-citizenship education representing the implicit and overall aims and objectives of constructing citizens) and classroom level (micro-citizenship representing the explicit and targeted courses on citizenship within the curriculum). However before going further in the analysis a review of the complex literature on citizenship education is necessary.

The terms “civic education” and “citizenship education” have been used interchangeably in the past and can come across as confusing. “Citizenship education” is sometimes understood as programs for new immigrants in the naturalization process of becoming a citizen. “Civic education” or “civics” is commonly used to refer to a collection of facts on government and political history.<sup>40</sup> It is important to take note of these understandings of “civic” versus “citizenship” education. The notion of “civics” is occasionally attached to the principles of democracy and the need to create informed citizens who exercise their rights and responsibilities (by voting, obeying the law, respecting the rights of others and being loyal to their country). The broader concept of citizenship education is more frequently used in Canada and goes beyond “civics” to include Canadian studies, human rights, multicultural and anti-racism education. For this thesis, “citizenship education” will be used as uniformly as possible unless “civic

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<sup>40</sup> “Civic education” has been used to refer to course work within a formalized school structure while citizenship education has been used as a more inclusive term that includes in and out of school learning and non-formal lessons. John J. Cogan. “Civic Education in the United States” *Canadian and International Education*. Vol. 25. No. 2. December 1996. Pg. 170

education” or “civics” is the term adopted by the source (for example, Ontario’s Grade 10 Civics).

By relying on “citizenship education” to act as the central label for the policy, consideration of the definition of “citizenship” is unavoidable. While the challenge of defining Canadian citizenship through citizenship education policy is the focus of this research, there is a long discursive history of the general notion of citizenship itself. The earliest debates over citizenship centred on the very meaning of the concept; Aristotle observed, “The nature of citizenship...is a question which is often disputed.”<sup>41</sup> Is Aristotle’s description accurate for contemporary times? Some have found consensus in broad accepted traits; the modern definition of citizenship is widely considered to include membership in a political community and based on concepts of rights, duties, participation and identity.<sup>42</sup> But still, the challenge of defining citizenship beyond its legal and statutory definitions emerges because the basis for acceptance can be so abstract.<sup>43</sup> Modern citizenship is said to have become ambiguous due to a number of factors from the domination of liberalism, the idea of the nation-state to the impact of constitutions that create political rather than cultural loyalties.<sup>44</sup> The emergence of the

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<sup>41</sup> Aristotle. *Politics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948. Pg. 1274b

<sup>42</sup> Gerard Delanty. “Models of Citizenship: Defining European Identity and Citizenship” *Citizenship Studies*. Vol. 1. No. 3. 1997. Pg. 285

<sup>43</sup> Pamela Johnston Conover and Donald D. Searing. “A Political Socialization Perspective” *Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000. Pg. 98

<sup>44</sup> Faulks argues that modern citizenship is ambiguous, on one hand dominated by liberalism and on the other hand bound by the nation-state. Keith Faulks. *Citizenship*. London: Routledge, 2000. Pg. 29  
Habermas has advanced an idea of citizenship called constitutional patriotism that is based on a strictly political instead of cultural entity. Jurgen Habermas. “Citizenship and national identity” *The Condition of Citizenship*. Ed. B. Van Steenbergen. London: Sage, 1994. Pg. 20-35

individual through growing civil rights and conflicts between personal and group loyalties has both “categorized” and “fragmented” the concept of citizenship.<sup>45</sup>

This research attempts to uncover the overlapping and ever changing view of citizenship that has been attached to citizenship education policy. The important research question here becomes not; 1) How has citizenship been conceived in Canada by societal forces (bottom up)?, but rather, 2) How has citizenship been conceived in Canada through education state policy (top down), and how have these education policies evolved and constructed a Canadian citizenship narrative?

Canadian citizenship is especially challenging for citizenship education policy makers to articulate in programs and curriculum. Canadian citizenship is described as “dynamic” and “varying”.<sup>46</sup> Democratic citizenship that includes rights, responsibilities and protection from the state is what is generally accepted as the norm in Canada. The Canadian understanding of citizenship can be traced back to early European nation-states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that gave rise to the concept of democratic citizenship.<sup>47</sup> The existence of democratic citizenship creates a much more complex discourse and challenging narrative to coherently articulate in policy. Recently,

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<sup>45</sup> Philippou noted that the explicit legal definition of citizenship originally covered state political membership but since the 1990s it has expanded to cover growing civil rights. Stavroula Philippou. “Curricular Intervention and Greek-Cypriot Pupils’ Constructions of Citizenship: Can ‘Europe’ Include Immigrants?” *Reimagining Civic Education: How Diverse Societies Form Democratic Citizens*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007. Pg. 90; Canadian historian Desmond Morton describes citizenship as a legal and emotional concept. Morton believes that citizenship categorizes individuals and provides them with an identity. Desmond Morton. “Divided Loyalties? Divided Country?” *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*. Ed. William Kaplan. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993. Pg. 50; David Smith complains that citizenship has fragmented as a unifying concept. Smith believes that personal and consumer interests have endangered national loyalties. David E. Smith. “Indices of Citizenship” *From Subjects to Citizens: A Hundred Years of Citizenship in Australia and Canada*. Ed. Pierre Boyer, Linda Cardinal and David Headon. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004. Pg. 28

<sup>46</sup> Jane Jenson. “Fated to Live in Interesting Times: Canada’s Changing Citizenship Regimes” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 30. No. 4. December 1997. Pg. 628

<sup>47</sup> R. Freeman Butts. *The Revival of Civic Learning: A Rationale for Citizenship Education in American Schools*. United States: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1980. Pg. 35

citizenship has attracted more academic interest due to political conflicts between different concepts of nationalism and multiculturalism.<sup>48</sup> In light of the new complexities of citizenship some scholars have argued that citizenship requires a “conscious and intentional process” to meet its fundamental goals.<sup>49</sup> A “conscious and intentional process” is a phrase that nicely fits with citizenship education policy efforts. This process is found in the deliberate attempts to define citizenship in educational policy documents such as curricula or royal commissions.

Similar to the challenge of identifying an ideal notion of citizenship, the idea of citizenship education is also complex and dynamic with a history of attempts at definitive meanings. Much of the ambiguity stems from a belief in strong linkages between not only citizenship and citizenship education but also, simply, citizenship and any form of education. Some of the earliest political philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle appreciated the strong linkages between politics and education. Plato found connections between civic literacy and just governance, believing that education theory was intrinsically connected to political theory and that “every theory of learning is a theory of politics.”<sup>50</sup> In *The Republic* he stressed the importance of political education for achieving a just society.<sup>51</sup> Plato wrote, “What we have in mind is education from

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<sup>48</sup> Canadian political theorist Will Kymlicka wrote that academic interest in citizenship had been impacted by political events and trends throughout the globe, including the increase of youth apathy, the rise of nationalism in Eastern Europe, the increasing multiculturalism of Western Europe. Will Kymlicka. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pg. 294; Kymlicka argues, “[w]hat distinguishes ‘civic’ nations from ‘ethnic’ nations is not the absence of any cultural component to national identity, but rather the fact that anyone can integrate into the common culture, regardless of race or colour.” Will Kymlicka. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Pg. 24

<sup>49</sup> Gordon J. Dirzenzo. “Socialization for Citizenship in Modern Democratic Society” *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy*. Ed. Orit Ichilov. New York: Teachers College Press, 1990. Pg. 42

<sup>50</sup> Ronald Manzer. *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian educational policy in historical perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. Pg. 11

<sup>51</sup> David V.J. Bell. “Political Education and Political Culture” *Political Education in Canada* Ed. Jon Pammett and Jean-Luc Pepin. Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988. Pg. 3; One of Plato’s

childhood in virtue, a training which produces a keen desire to become a perfect citizen who knows how to rule and be ruled as justice demands.”<sup>52</sup> But these formative thinkers did not believe in just reading about politics and citizenship. On the importance of practical experience as a contributing factor to the development of citizenship, Aristotle provided the metaphor, “you do not see men becoming qualified in medicine by reading handbooks on the subject.”<sup>53</sup> As Aristotle believed, “the citizen should be molded to suit the form of government under which he lives.”<sup>54</sup> Centuries later this sentiment fits the ideal of what Canadian governments could be striving to produce – and do not have: knowledgeable and active citizens. With the provincial governments’ monopoly on citizenship education programs creating citizens “molded to suit” the government became a policy goal within reach, and a policy goal that governments have accepted.

Governments have consistently viewed education as an effective tool for building support and national identities in constructing ideal citizens. Leaders of new states such as post-revolution France and America believed in the importance of citizenship education programs. Napoleon suggested, “There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with definitely recognized principles,” while Thomas Jefferson believed schools existed – “to ensure that citizens would know when and how to protect their liberty.”<sup>55</sup> A primary order of business in George Washington’s First

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main pedagogical ideas was that education should not solely focus on knowledge and skills for success but also on a “rational view of reality”. Kieran Egan. “Competing Voices for the Curriculum” *The Struggle for Curriculum: The State, Corporate Sector and the Interests of the Educational Community*. Eds. Marvin F. Wideon and Mary Clare Courtland. Burnaby: Institute for Studies in Teacher Education, 1996. Pg. 13

<sup>52</sup> Plato. *Laws*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970. I. 643

<sup>53</sup> Aristotle. *The Ethics of Aristotle*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955. X.9

<sup>54</sup> Aristotle. *Politics and Poetics*. Trans. Benjamin Jowett and S.H. Butcher. New York: Heritage Press, 1964. Pg. 80-81

<sup>55</sup> Joseph Dunne. “Between State and Civil Society: European Contexts for Education” *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Ed. Kevin McDonough and Walter Feinberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pg. 98; Neil

Annual Message to Congress was citizenship education - “teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights.”<sup>56</sup> The founders of the American republic were adamant about the role education could play in forming an effective democratic government. American citizenship education and training has been routinely based on a desire for a better society, “a society that requires a commitment to educate youth to support the democratic way of life.”<sup>57</sup> Citizenship education policy is a means to honour this commitment; the institutionalization of citizenship through pedagogical policy helps to entrench meaning. This is what makes the Canadian case so ripe for analysis and concern; citizenship education is not just a policy responsibility but also a policy opportunity to strengthen the citizenry and society.

Regardless of the jurisdiction, the practice of providing youth with citizenship education finds wide acceptance as a legitimate role of the state.<sup>58</sup> Within these jurisdictions the most popular form of citizenship education delivery is through public

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Postman. *The End of Education: Redefining the Value of School*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995. Pg. 13; Jefferson, who proposed legislation to create a public school system in Virginia in 1779, believed that mass education was the greatest guard against tyranny, “I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.” Diane Ravitch. “Education and Democracy” *Making Good Citizens: Education and Civil Society*. Ed. Diane Ravitch and Joseph P. Viteritti. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Pg. 16

<sup>56</sup> Lorraine Smith Pangle and Thomas L. Pangle. “What the American Founders Have to Teach Us About Schooling for Democratic Citizenship” *Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000. Pg. 27

<sup>57</sup> Thomas L. Dynneson and Richard E. Gross. “The Education Perspective: Citizenship Education in American Society” *Social Science Perspectives on Citizenship Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1991. Pg. 1

<sup>58</sup> James A. Brown. “Children’s Development of Concepts Related to Country and Nationality: A Canadian Perspective” *Canadian Journal of Education*. Volume 5. Number 3. 1980. Pg. 55; Dunne argues, “Not only has schooling developed, in its universal and compulsory aspect through state support, funding, and regulation but, conversely, it has itself played a crucial role in expanding and stabilizing state formation.” Dunne, Pg. 97; Bourgeault et al., note, “Beyond fostering the development of personal autonomy, the school has to guarantee the acquisition of the knowledge and skills needed to participate in democratic decision making.” Guy Bourgeault, France Gagnon, Marie McAndrew and Michel Page. “Recognition of Cultural and Religious Diversity in the Educational Systems of Liberal Democracies” *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. Pg. 88

schools. While most governments agree on the presence of citizenship education, little consensus is found on the type of citizenship education. The literature on classroom level citizenship education highlights the ambiguity surrounding the changing objectives set forth to legitimize citizenship education through the construction of meaning.<sup>59</sup> When close observers write about citizenship education they identify a variety of pedagogical goals as attitudes and skills (Soltan), rights and responsibilities (DeJaeghere) and rational thinking and participation skills (Cherryholmes).<sup>60</sup> Disciplinary vehicles also vary; history, social studies and civics classes have all shared similar objectives of teaching government, citizenship and law within the curriculum. The reliance on one disciplinary label over another may suggest support for certain pedagogical directions, but examinations of curriculum through the years reveal much overlap and repetition regardless of the somewhat arbitrary name given to the course. For example, “social studies” has been a popular venue for political and civic education in both the United States and Canada, and many students have spent a substantial number of hours in citizenship education courses even if they lacked course titles like “politics” or “civics”. However, some argue that that citizenship education can be demarcated into specific eras - social studies evolved from knowledge based curriculum on facts and dates in the 1960s to moral and value issues in the 1970s, citizenship in the 1980s and job-market driven

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<sup>59</sup> *The Handbook of Basic Citizenship Competencies* lists the goals of citizenship education under seven headings; acquiring and using information; assessing involvement: making decisions; making judgments; communicating; and co-operating promoting interests. Marshall W. Conley. “Theories and Attitudes Towards Political Education” *Canada and Citizenship Education*. Ed. Keith A. McLeod. Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989. Pg. 142

<sup>60</sup> Karol Edward Soltan. “Civic Competence, Attractiveness, and Maturity” *Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions*. Ed. Stephen L. Elkin and Karol Edward Soltan. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1999. Pg. 17; Joan G. DeJaeghere. “Intercultural Meanings of Citizenship in the Australian Secondary Curriculum: Between Critical Contestations and Minimal Constructors” *Reimagining Civic Education: How Diverse Societies Form Democratic Citizens*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007. Pg. 295; Cleo H. Cherryholmes. “Social Knowledge and Citizenship Education: Two Views of Truth and Criticism” *Curriculum Inquiry*. Vol. 10. Vol. 2. Summer 1980. Pg. 118-122

skills in the 1990s in the hope of making students more employable.<sup>61</sup> Within these evolving contextual changes are certain conceptions of social studies and of citizenship education more generally.<sup>62</sup> As will be seen in later chapters, regardless of the time period, Canadian citizenship education has moved in and out of various pedagogical and policy trends. The focus has moved from the community to the individual, from the citizen to the state, from institutions to values.

Not surprisingly then, citizenship education is not without critics and skeptics. Though the objectives have evolved over time, one of the consistent goals of citizenship education has been described as one generation trying to invent the next.<sup>63</sup> The pedagogical policy goals and citizenship values, especially in a federated and identity-challenged state such as Canada are consistently if not constantly in flux. Foucault notes there is a tension, it seems, between “informing consciousness of the next generation” and “imposing a regime or politics of truth”<sup>64</sup> The problem diagnosed by Foucault’s belief is education for citizenship is not straightforward; a tension exists between goals of

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<sup>61</sup> Penny Clark. “The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada” *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 28

<sup>62</sup> Ken Osborne identifies three conceptions of social studies: “First, one sees it as a purely administrative label embracing history, geography, and perhaps other subjects such as economics or sociology...second sees social studies as ‘the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes’ usually taught in some integrated form and organized around themes such as technology, democracy, human rights, and many others...third sees social studies as an interdisciplinary subject in its own right, ‘the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence’.” Ken Osborne. “History and Social Studies: Partners or Rivals?” *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 73

<sup>63</sup> Jean-Claude Couture. “Elusive character(s): Alberta teaches as the lost subjects of citizenship education” *Our Schools, Our Selves*. Vol. 15. No. 1. Fall 2005. Pg. 137; Flanagan and Faison contend that democracies must replace each new generation of citizens to protect the common good and maintain the existence of political engagement. Constance A. Flanagan and Nakesha Faison. “Youth Civic Development: Implications of Research for Social Policy and Programs” *Social Policy Report*. Volume XV. Number 1. 2001. Pg. 3

<sup>64</sup> Michel Foucault. *Truth and Power in The Foucault Reader*. Ed. P. Rainbow. New York: Pantheon, 1980.

democratic freedom and state conformity.<sup>65</sup> The state needs support to maintain legitimacy and if the state is not able to accumulate this support, the consequences can be less than desirable. Freeman and Freeman ask, “If a nation cannot breed its ideal citizen – whether the ideal is that of communism or democracy – how can it insure that its people at least approximate that ideal? Every regime needs support.”<sup>66</sup>

However, when it comes to actual citizenship education, researchers have often been critical and quick to note its failings. While most research is American, there is a consistent story of citizenship education failing to meet its stated objectives in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1950s, American public opinion polls showed that high students who had completed civics courses demonstrated antidemocratic attitudes more often than those who had not taken the course.<sup>67</sup> Somit found that introductory political science courses that stressed political participation had little effect on the attitudes of those students concerning active involvement.<sup>68</sup> In 1963, Litt noted that American citizenship education programs were not reinforcing current political sentiments or affecting attitudes towards political participation and activity.<sup>69</sup> In 1968, Langton and Jennings concluded “our findings certainly do not support the thinking of those who look to the civics curriculum in American high schools as even a minor source of political socialization.”<sup>70</sup> Others

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<sup>65</sup> S.H. Engle and Anna S. Ochoa. *Education for Democratic Citizenship*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1988. Pg. 28; As Neil Postman has argued there is no “one way” to know things. Postman, *The End of Education: Redefining the Value of School*, Pg. 3

<sup>66</sup> P.E. Freeman and Anne Freeman “Political Learning” *The Handbook of Political Behaviour*. Volume 1. Ed. Samuel L. Long. New York: Plenum Press, 1981. Pg. 256

<sup>67</sup> Richard G. Niemi and Jane Junn. *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Pg. 71

<sup>68</sup> Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings. “Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States” *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 62. No. 3. September 1968. Pg. 853

<sup>69</sup> Edgar Litt. “Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination” *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 28. No. 1. February 1963. Pg. 74

<sup>70</sup> Langton and Jennings, “Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum”, Pg. 865; Langton and Jennings wrote, “In addition to the mixed findings of various studies, there is also some

supported the findings of Langton and Jennings.<sup>71</sup> Entwistle argued in 1971 that traditional civics could not provide the experience that leads to “political mastery” and simply regress to a method of teaching processes of government.<sup>72</sup> Following Entwistle, Lawton wrote that civics was generally associated with a “discredited kind of socialization for conformity and obedience.”<sup>73</sup> In 1983, Boyer was very critical of American civics delivery arguing “students are not even beginning to have a basic understanding of the instructions that govern us.”<sup>74</sup> In 1987, Hamilton and Zeldin noted, “Several studies of civic learning in conventional classrooms consistently find them to have negligible effects on both knowledge and attitudes related to citizenship, casting doubt on the assumption that more class time and more courses will automatically improve academic learning.”<sup>75</sup> In 1991, Corbett found that civics in the United States were “not very effective in transmitting either political knowledge or political attitudes.”

<sup>76</sup> Gaston concluded, “There is no evidence that overall levels of civic knowledge have altered much over time. A recent study compared the responses to questions that were

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question as to potential of the secondary school for political socialization. It is possible that by the time students reach high school many of their political orientations have crystallized or have reached a temporary plateau.” Langton and Jennings, “Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum”, Pg. 854; Niemi and Junn note, “Langton and Jennings’s conclusion minced no words; they argued that results gave no support to the notion that the civics curriculum is ‘even a minor source of political socialization’. Reinforcing their view were results from a number of college-level studies in the late 1950s and early 1960s that also failed to establish a connection between courses in political science and how much students knew.” Niemi and Junn, *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn*, Pg. 18

<sup>71</sup> In 1969, William Gardner wrote, “The presence of political content in the curriculum is no guarantee of its effectiveness in stimulating political thought and activities. The various studies which have attempted to assess how instruction affects the degree of political interest and the strength of commitment to ideologies present a blurred picture.” William Gardner. “Political Socialization” *The Teaching of Politics*. Ed. D.B. Heater. London: Methuen Educational Ltd., 1969. Pg. 41

<sup>72</sup> Harold Entwistle. *Political Education in a Democracy*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971. Pg. 31

<sup>73</sup> Dennis Lawton. “Response” *National Consciousness and the Curriculum: The Canadian Case*. Eds. Geoffrey Milburn and John Herbert. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1974. Pg. 31

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>75</sup> Stephen F. Hamilton and R. Shephered Zeldin. “Learning Civics in the Community” *Curriculum Inquiry*. Vol. 17. No. 4. Winter 1987. Pg. 408

<sup>76</sup> Niemi and Junn, *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn*, Pg. 71

asked in both the 1988 and 1998 NAEP Civics Assessment found that percentages of correct answers had hardly changed over the decade between the two assessments.”<sup>77</sup>

However, in the 1990s other studies challenged these findings and argued that citizenship education can have an impact on political socialization and literacy.<sup>78</sup> William Gaston wrote “For three decades, the scholarly consensus has been that formal, classroom-based civic education has no significant effect on civic knowledge...[but] recent findings challenges this consensus.”<sup>79</sup> In 1998, Niemi and Junn published *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn* and presented new evidence that suggested there might be a correlation between civic education and political participation.<sup>80</sup> As we will see, there has been a similar renewed belief in the effectiveness of Canadian citizenship education since the 1990s. The ebb and flow of interest and support for citizenship education is a key concern for this study.

In concluding this section we are still left with more questions than answers. There is little agreement on ideal citizenship education and there is conflicting evidence of its impact on constructing model citizens. Much of the evidence presented is based on American or international studies. By highlighting the Canadian case we can consider

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<sup>77</sup> William Gaston. “Political knowledge, Political engagement, Civic education” *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2001. Vol. 4. Pg. 222

<sup>78</sup> See David Denver and Gordon Hands. “Does Studying Politics Make a Difference? The political knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of school students” *British Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 20. 1990; Richard G. Niemi and Jane Junn. “Civics courses and the political knowledge of high school seniors” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, D.C. 1993; Anders Westholm, Arne Lindquist, and Richard G. Niemi. “Education and the making of the informed citizen: Political literacy in the outside world” *Political Socialization, Citizenship, and Democracy*. Ed. Orit Ichilov. New York: Teachers’ College, 1990

<sup>79</sup> Gaston, Pg. 227

<sup>80</sup> Niemi and Junn found, “The most important message to come out of our study of the political knowledge of high school seniors is that the school civics curriculum does indeed enhance what and how much they know about American government and politics. Furthermore, these educational effects on civic knowledge persist even after accounting for other powerful predictors of knowledge” Niemi and Junn. *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn*, Pg. 147

whether the citizenship education policy narrative has followed the contested and ambiguous route and whether the policies implemented have met with similar mixed results. The following two sections will describe the theoretical and methodological approaches applied in an attempt to reach these research goals.

## **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework selected for this thesis addresses the challenge of both constructing and analyzing a citizenship education policy narrative. An appropriate framework needed to demonstrate how we can see citizenship education policy as a state solution to a public problem. The theory should also help to organize the citizenship education policy narrative produced by Canadian governments over time and province. Ambiguity is a familiar policy state when considering a large time frame and variety of provincial governments and the ambiguity of Canada's citizenship education policy narrative should not be surprising. In fact, most policy fields struggle with meaning. Policy-making has been described as a "form of collective puzzlement on society's behalf."<sup>81</sup> To better understand these puzzles, policy theorists have broken down different parts of the policy making process - with special focus on the relationship between problems and solutions.<sup>82</sup>

Citizenship education policy addresses perceived public problems; however, these problems do not occur naturally; they are constructed by policy makers and other actors. Many of the issues surrounding citizenship education explored in this dissertation rise out of accepting responsibility for addressing public problems without agreement over proper policy solutions or approaches.<sup>83</sup> Connecting public problems to policy solutions can be an eternally contested process. One example is found in the problem of decreasing voter turnout and the solution of education. Many challenge the correlation between the traits

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<sup>81</sup> Hugh Heclo. *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974. Pg. 305-306

<sup>82</sup> Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. Pg. 5; Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 240

<sup>83</sup> In 1968, Langton and Jennings argued, "While most educators can agree that the development of good citizenship is important, the 'good citizen' is something of an ideal type whose attitudes and behaviour vary with the values of those defining the construct." Langton and Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum", Pg. 852

of the individual citizen and voter turnout, yet as we have seen, citizenship education is often promoted as the solution to declines in turnout.<sup>84</sup> Considering the abstract nature of problems and solutions, possibly the most useful policy theory for understanding these dynamics is Deborah Stone's work on causal stories and the formation of policy agendas. I adopt Stone's policy theory on causal stories because it helps to produce a coherent policy narrative on a complex and historical policy area such as citizenship education. Central to Stone's theory are the concepts of problem definition and policy solution.<sup>85</sup> The definition of public problems and more specifically solvable "causes" allows for an analysis of the policy-driven "stories" created by the state. Stone writes, "I take a social constructionist view of policy problems. That is to say, I believe our understanding of real situations is always mediated by ideas; those ideas in turn are created, changed, and fought over in politics."<sup>86</sup> Stone explains this at length:

The conversion of difficulties into problems is said to...move policy problems onto the public agenda. Problem definition is a process of image making, where the images have to do fundamentally with attributing cause, blame, and responsibility. Conditions, difficulties, or issues thus do not have inherent properties that make them more or less likely to be seen as problems or to be expanded. Rather, political actors deliberately portray them in ways calculated to gain support for their side. And political actors, in turn, do not simply accept

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<sup>84</sup> Mark Franklin observed, "That turnout should be a mark of civic virtue is not self-evident...The idea that declining turnout is due largely to 'something about citizens' runs counter to some very obvious facts. In the first place, turnout varies from election to election both up and down; and while it is possible to imagine secular trends in civic virtue, it is hard to imagine what would cause it to fluctuate both up and down from election to election...Presumably it is not something about those citizens that makes them more likely to vote in some elections than in others" Mark N. Franklin. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pg. 2-3; Delli Carpini and Keeter found that levels of political knowledge were similar in the mid-1990s to the 1940s when election turnout for younger cohorts was much higher. Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter. *What Americans Know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996. 197-98

<sup>85</sup> As Stone writes, "There is an old saw in political science that difficult conditions become problems only when people come to see them as amenable to human action. Until then, difficulties remain embedded in the realm of nature, accident, and fate – a realm where there is no choice about what happens to us" Deborah A. Stone "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas" *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 104. No. 2. Summer 1989. Pg. 282

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.,

causal models that are given from science or popular culture or any other source. They compose stories that describe harms and difficulties, attribute them to actions of other individuals or organizations, and thereby claim the right to invoke government power to stop the harm.<sup>87</sup>

To illustrate her ideas, Stone refers to Ralph Nader's book, *Unsafe At Any Speed*, which blamed car accident not on drivers or mechanical failures but design decisions made by manufacturers.<sup>88</sup> In doing so, Nader shifted the causal narrative from mechanical/accidental causes to inadvertent causes that required solutions. In this dissertation we find that citizenship education is dominated by such competing ideas and "causal stories" that identify public problems, diagnose their causes, and increasingly prescribe citizenship education as the solution.<sup>89</sup> While citizenship education ideas are not necessarily fought over in partisan politics, the ideas are contested in the narratives of academics, policy-makers and others. Similar to Nader's target of responsibility, this thesis focuses on the "design" or policy decisions made by "manufacturers" or governments. As Stone writes, "Causal theories, if they are successful, do more than convincingly demonstrate the possibility of human control over bad conditions... by identifying causal agents, they can assign responsibility to particular political actors...they can legitimate and empower particular actors as 'fixers' of the problem."<sup>90</sup> In this context, governments are seen as the "fixers" of whatever problem is identified,

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>88</sup> Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas", Pg. 289

<sup>89</sup> Goldstein and Keohane contend, "Causal beliefs imply strategies for the attainment of goals, themselves valued because of shared principled beliefs, and understandable only within the context of broader world views" Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane. "Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytic Framework" *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change*. Ed. Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1993. Pg. 10; Baumgartner argued, "Policymaking is strongly influenced not only by changing definitions of what social conditions are subject to government response...but also and at the same time by changing definitions of what would be the most effective solution to a give public problem...Policymakers have powerful incentives, therefore, to manipulate both aspects of the public debate" Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 29

<sup>90</sup> Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas", Pg. 295

however as will be seen in later chapters, other policy actors including non-government organizations can also play a role of possible “fixer” for the problems identified by citizenship education policy. The definition of the problem is essential to the articulation of the solution, as without it there is no target for policy and program objectives and goals are impossible to define. Defining problems can help influence discourse toward possible solutions and pedagogical directions. As will be seen in chapter three, problem definition can play a driving force in citizenship education policy formation. All of the royal commissions on education examined in chapter three attempt in some manner to articulate the problems their policy recommendations are addressing. When the problems relate to an abstract and generally normative concept such as citizenship, the definitions are bound to vary between jurisdictions, regardless of institutional or societal similarities. Manitoba and Ontario may share many similar traits but the way in which they conceptualize citizenship education and its related problems can greatly differ.

The Canadian state has been lacking strong formative mythologies and clear citizen identities. In most states, education is the policy tool adopted to fill these gaps. But the Canadian citizenship education narrative is a multitude and hodgepodge of solutions, arguably reflecting ambiguities in Canadian identity itself.<sup>91</sup> The number of different approaches is due to provinces’ continual efforts at reform and change, as citizenship education is reconceptualized and developed. Other detrimental factors are related to the slow emergence of a sovereign and unique Canada. The slow departure

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<sup>91</sup> As Jerome Bruner wrote in 1973 on education, “we do the greater part of our work by manipulating our representations or models of reality rather than by acting directly on the world itself.” Jerome Bruner. *The Relevance of Education*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1973.Pg. 6; Werner et al. argue, “Curriculum developers appear to be culturally monopolized at times, developing programs from their own taken for granted perspectives” Walter Werner, Bryan Connors, Ted Aoki and Jorgen Dahlie. *Whose Culture? Whose Heritage? Ethnicity within Canadian Social Studies Curricula*. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1977. Pg. 56

from British imperialism and underdevelopment of Canadian nationalism created inconsistent provincial action on citizenship education due to the lack of common causal stories related to a distinct Canadian citizenship. In the dissertation, we will see how different actors have put forward competing narratives on Canadian citizenship, struggling both over identifying problems and the required solutions to such problems. In doing so, the actors focus on framing causes that the state can solve, rather than accidental or other causes beyond state solutions.

It is also important to remember that the construction of citizenship education policy is not a one-time occurrence; the construction of the policy in Canada has been drawn out over many reforms, changes and evolutions. Hence theories on policy timing are of some interest to this research. Helpful in explaining the timing of “causal stories” and complementing Stone’s theoretical contribution, the punctuated equilibrium theory is a tool in understanding these breaks for policy reform. Political scientists Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones adopted the term “punctuated equilibrium” to illustrate certain phenomenon in the political world.<sup>92</sup> Baumgartner and Jones argued “waves of popular enthusiasm surrounding a given issue provide the circumstances for policymakers to create new institutions to support their programs.”<sup>93</sup> The perspective has been used to examine shifts in American policy on tobacco, nuclear power, welfare, and

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<sup>92</sup> The term punctuated equilibrium was proposed by paleontologists Niles Eldredge and Stephen Jay Gould in an effort to describe breaks in the evolutionary record. For their own research purposes Baumgartner and Jones describe a punctuated equilibrium model of policy change in American politics “based on the emergence and the recession of policy issues from the public agenda...during periods when issues emerge, new institutional structures are often created that remain in place for decades, structuring participation and creating the illusion of equilibrium.” Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 84

<sup>93</sup> Another way to describe the ‘punctuated equilibrium’ model is as follows: “Change is envisioned as involving alternations between long periods of stability involving incremental adaptations and brief periods of revolutionary upheaval.” Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 84

the environment.<sup>94</sup> The model serves as a guide for how policies can undergo sudden and dramatic shifts and as chapter three reveals, in the policy narrative of Canadian citizenship education it is difficult to locate clear reasons for the punctuated equilibrium on policy conception. While some reforms arose from a certain level of “popular enthusiasm”, more than often the enthusiasm was a discursive construct of the state. In the late 1950s, commissions were completed in a number of provinces followed by reform activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s and the late 1980s and early 1990s. All of these bursts of activity represent breaks in policy stability, but also an addition to the growing policy narratives of struggles over problems, causes and solutions, as identified by Stone. Baumgartner and Jones describe problem formulation in this way:

Social conditions do not automatically generate policy actions. Arguments must be made and accepted that a given problem can be solved by government action before a social condition becomes a public policy problem. So before a problem is likely to attract the attention of government officials, there must be an image, or an understanding, that links the problem with a possible government solution.<sup>95</sup>

As we will see, provincial governments themselves play a major role in the problem formulation for citizenship education and the construction of causal narratives.<sup>96</sup>

The effectiveness of the discourse can lead to acceptance of certain policy agendas and in hindsight can provide useful historical records of what certain governments or policy actors may have been thinking. Neil Bradford argues, “Policy discourses are neither invented by the state nor dictated by social forces. They are historical constructions – interpretive frameworks created and maintained by political

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<sup>94</sup> Robert S. Wood. “The Dynamics of Incrementalism: Subsystems, Politics, and Public Lands” *The Policy Studies Journal*. Vol. 34. No. 1. 2006. Pg. 2

<sup>95</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 27

<sup>96</sup> Marsha A. Chandler and William M. Chandler. *Public Policy and Provincial Politics*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979. Pg. 137; Howlett and Ramesh argue that once a government identified a public problem, policy-makers decide on a specific course of action. Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh. *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pg. 122

actors engaged in an on-going struggle to embed “official” understandings of complex situations.”<sup>97</sup> Bradford’s sentiments on policy relate directly to the evolution and existence of citizenship education policy. Citizenship education curriculum exists as interpretive frameworks that are constantly in flux. The ten provincial approaches present differing and competing frameworks over time and jurisdiction. Actors including ministry officials, non-governmental organizations and teachers all contribute to the struggle for “official understandings of complex situations.” Stone’s ideas about how policy problems and solutions are constructed through struggles over underlying causes, and Baumgartner and Jones’s ideas of “punctuated equilibria” driving sudden policy change, both allow us to make better sense of the different eras and twists in the Canadian citizenship education policy narrative. The following section will explain how this approach will be carried out using a mixed methodology that looks both at elite level discourse and the classroom implementation of Canadian citizenship education policy.

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<sup>97</sup> Neil Bradford. “Ideas, Institutions, and Innovation: Economic Policy in Canada and Sweden” *The Political Influence of Ideas: Policy Communities and the Social Sciences*. Ed. Stephen Brooks and Alain-G. Gagnon. Westport: Praeger, 1994. Pg. 5

## **1.6 Methodological Framework**

The methodological framework for this study was selected to answer two central questions: 1) How has Canadian citizenship education policy been constructed at the elite level? 2) How has Canadian citizenship education policy and curriculum been implemented at the classroom level? The first question is answered using state produced texts and reports of royal commissions on education from 1950 to 1994 and for the pre-1947 era, other sources and texts. The second question was answered with a focus on one case province: Ontario. Both elite- and delivery-level policy actors (former education ministers, bureaucrats and twenty-five Grade 10 Civics teachers in Ontario) were interviewed to better understand the implementation of the policy. The combination of both discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews provides support in answering the research questions. The following section will review the reasons why this methodological framework was adopted for this work.

In the past, research on citizenship education has been predominately conducted through large-scale surveys that both test students and assess the programs. However, these works are less focused on policy creation and delivery and more on the impact of citizenship education. My approach is centered on the policy-making steps before impact, which are more suited to qualitative and interpretive methods.

As mentioned, the methodological framework for this thesis includes primary and secondary literature analysis and interviews with both educators and policy actors in the education field. The second chapter, which focuses on both elite level and classroom level citizenship education in Canada before 1947, will be an analysis and review of selected primary and secondary literature. The third chapter, examining elite level

citizenship education narrative from 1947 to 1994, will apply discourse analysis (which will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs) to provincial royal commissions on education. The fourth and fifth chapters will rely on curricula and government documents and semi-structured interviews to examine contemporary cases (2000-2008) of implemented classroom citizenship education policies and specifically Ontario's Grade 10 civics course.

Discourse analysis is used as a methodological approach because of citizenship education's focus on identity and this thesis' concern with producing a narrative based on the constructed identity of Canadian citizenship. In recent years, citizenship research has identified identity as one of the key aspects in producing a definition of modern citizenship.<sup>98</sup> Anyone remotely familiar with Canadian history and political development appreciates that the question of identity is central to the Canadian experience. Even with this in mind, identity can be an elusive concept to isolate and analyze. Discourse analysis is an appropriate method for considering many "meanings and forms" and "complexity and multilayered" aspects of identity.<sup>99</sup> Two main tenets of discourse analysis identified by Fairclough and Wodak are that "discourse is historical" and "discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory".<sup>100</sup> While political scientists have yet to enthusiastically adopt critical discourse, political texts are very suitable to examine "the role of political

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<sup>98</sup> Michael Krzyzanowski and Ruth Wodak. "Multiple Identities, Migration and Belonging: 'Voices of Migrants'" Eds. Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Rick Iedema. *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Pg. 100

<sup>99</sup> Krzyzanowski et al., Pg. 114; Since the late 1970s, discourse analysis, mostly in the form of Critical Discourse Analysis, has been concerned with issues of gender, racism, media discourse and dimensions of identity. Methodological approaches to CDA present minimal consistency of technique, from small qualitative studies to mass data analysis. Wodak, "What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments", Pg. 3

<sup>100</sup> N.L. Fairclough and Ruth Wodak. "Critical discourse analysis" *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2. Discourse as Social Interaction*. Ed. T.A. van Dijk. London: Sage, 1997. Pg. 271-280

discourse in the enactment, reproduction and legitimization of power and domination.”<sup>101</sup>

The reports of the royal commission are ideal for this type of methodological approach.

Fairclough et al. argue that discourse analysis is empirically appropriate for researching citizenship because it helps to answer “how discourse figures in relation to other social elements in processes of social and institutional change.”<sup>102</sup> Again, this comes into play in Chapter Three as the royal commissions discourse is placed in the context of political, economic and social changes. An effective example of discourse analysis for Canadian researchers to follow is the work being done on European identity.

A common case study for citizenship and identity has been European identity, as increased continental integration and the strengthening of the European Union have impacted both national and transnational identities. Discourse analysis has been extensively used in the recent academic interest in the construction of European identities.<sup>103</sup> With such goals as “making meaning of Europe”, methodological approaches involving discourse analysis have been appealing and appropriate for national identity scholars. The Canadian case shares many similarities in both the state’s and society’s goal of making meaning of Canada.

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<sup>101</sup> Teun A. van Dijk. “Critical Discourse Analysis” *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Eds. Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2001. Pg. 360

<sup>102</sup> Norman Fairclough, Simon Pardoe and Bronislaw Szerszynski. “Critical Discourse Analysis and Citizenship” *Analyzing Citizenship Talk: Social positioning in political and legal decision-making process*. Eds. Heiko Hausendorf and Alfons Bora. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006. Pg. 103; Fairclough et al. write, “This recognition both of the implicit social and governmental

conceptions/pre-constructions of citizenship, and of the conflicts and shifts over time and across the social, governmental and theoretical fields, makes it clear that the empirical study of citizenship as a communicative achievement has to attend both to the performance of citizenship and to its various pre-constructions. The research must entail seeing the object of research – citizenship – as a continuing focus of thought and debate.” Pg. 101

<sup>103</sup> Ruth Wodak and Gilbert Weiss. “Analyzing European Union discourses: Theories and applications” *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis: Theory, Methodology and Interdisciplinary*. Eds. Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005. Pg. 128

The challenge of adopting discourse analysis is selecting the proper approach. There are a number of different approaches to discourse analysis with no “uniform, common theory”.<sup>104</sup> The method of discourse analysis that this thesis follows is the approach to analyzing text proposed by Michael Hoey described as the “problem-solution discourse”.<sup>105</sup> Recommended for use in studying everything from advertisements to government reports, Hoey’s method considers discourse as four components: 1) situation, 2) problem, 3) response and 4) result and evaluation.<sup>106</sup> Hoey was influenced by the work of anthropologist Gregory Bateson who believed that statements have two implications: 1) report (how things are) and 2) command (what should be done).<sup>107</sup> This type of methodological approach for the Canadian case is appropriate because it provides a structure for a consistent narrative across provinces of different policy jurisdictions (provinces) working toward a similar objective (national citizenship). The approach works well with Deborah Stone’s theory of causal stories because it helps us to produce the “story” for the application of the theory. Through the separation of the policy into a situation, problem and response we are producing a narrative that fits Stone’s notion of a constructed policy story.

Hoey’s approach will be used in the empirical work completed for the third chapter elite-level construction of citizenship education narratives. Many of the royal

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<sup>104</sup> Wodak et al, “Analyzing European Union discourses: Theories and applications”, Pg. 123

<sup>105</sup> Hoey argues, “One common pattern – the Problem-Solution pattern – has therefore been selected for detailed study, the methods of description shown for that pattern being, however, equally applicable to the other patterns discussed in less detail elsewhere (By pattern I mean combination of relations organizing part of a discourse),” and “The organization of a discourse can also be identified by the use of questions...we begin by using narrative interrogation.” Michael Hoey. *On the Surface of Discourse*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983. Pg. 31, Pg. 64

<sup>106</sup> Roger Gomm. *Social Research Methodology*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003. Pg. 259

<sup>107</sup> Gomm, Pg. 258; As stated in *Social Research Methodology*, problem-solution discourse “draws attention to the pragmatics of writing...that is to the purpose for which the text is composed and how the purpose is likely to influence the way in which one event is told as leading to another, and what personalities and motives the characters had.” Gomm, Pg. 263

commission reports are hundreds of pages long and only a few pages are normally dedicated to explicit discussion of citizenship. In this dissertation, the preambles and introductions of the reports is where Hoey's problem-solution pattern is applied to attempt to extract and articulate the state's position on Canadian citizenship. Hoey's approach is especially useful for examining small sections from large texts. Hoey provides the following example of how the problem-solution pattern is applied.

**Table 5: Hoey's Problem-Solution Pattern**

Text	"I was once a teacher of English Language. One day some students came to me unable to write their names. I taught them text analysis. Now they all write novels."
Situation	I was once a language teacher.
Problem	My students came to me unable to write their names.
Solution	I taught them text analysis.

Source: Michael Hoey. *Textual Interaction: An introduction to written discourse analysis*. London: Routledge, 2001. Pg. 123

Hoey contends his aim is "projecting a text into dialogue in such a way is to ensure that the questions spell out the relationship...the dialogue should make sense and there should be no distortion of the meaning of the text."<sup>108</sup> Here is an example of how Hoey's pattern could be applied to a royal commission report:

**Table 6: Using Hoey's Problem-Solution Pattern**

Text	1960 British Columbia Royal Commission on Education
Situation	Relative increase in immigration, steady population growth and stable employment
Problem	"rapid growth and expanding economy" (context), "merge the interests of the community with the development of the individual" (needs)
Solution	"promoting the intellectual development of pupils" (education), "develops children – as individual persons and as citizens" (citizenship)

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<sup>108</sup> Hoey writes, "This approach to the analysis of text is concerned to unpack the political, social and cultural implications of the texts that we encounter (and produce)...on occasion, where appropriate, social/cultural implications are drawn out." Michael Hoey. *Textual Interaction: An introduction to written discourse analysis*. London: Routledge, 2001. Pg. 123

Discourse analysis is especially suitable for royal commission reports because it is rare for these texts to be the work of one author.<sup>109</sup> The many actors involved help to create definitions and conceptions of citizenship. Some of these actors are the focus of the second methodological approach of this study.

The second major methodological approach used is semi-structured interviews. Beth Leech notes, “Semi-structured interviews allow respondents the chance to be the experts and to inform the research.”<sup>110</sup> To produce a narrative of contemporary citizenship education policy two sets of interviews were conducted. The first set of interviews was script based with open-ended questions at the end of the interview. The interviews were conducted with twenty Ontario Grade 10 Civics teachers from across the province. Selection of teachers was random within the school boards who gave ethics approval. While school boards are notoriously difficult for approving research, this was somewhat surprising since the proposal involved no school visits (all telephone interviews) and teachers, schools and boards were all guaranteed anonymity. Still, the number seemed appropriate once data saturation began to emerge.<sup>111</sup>

The second set of interviews was conducted with high-level political actors, both from the political and bureaucratic side. As Aberbach et al. attest, “studying elite political

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<sup>109</sup> Wodak, “What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments”, Pg. 11

<sup>110</sup> Beth Leech. “Asking Questions: Techniques for Semi-structured Interviews” *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Vol. 35. No. 4. December 2002. 668

<sup>111</sup> “The concept of data saturation was introduced to the field of qualitative research by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and referred to the point in data collection when no new additional data are found that develop aspects of a conceptual concept.” B.G. Glaser and A. Strauss. *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967 in Jill Francis, Marie Johnston, Clare Robertson, Liz Glidewell, Vikki Entwistle, Martin Eccles and Jeremy Grimshaw. “What is an adequate sample size? Operationalizing data saturation for theory-based interview studies” *Psychology and Health*. November 2009. Pg. 2

attitudes, values and beliefs is a difficult undertaking.”<sup>112</sup> While the task may be difficult the outcome can be significant: “political attitudes, values and beliefs of bureaucrats and politicians are important determinants of the ways in which governments respond to social change and to the pressure brought to bear on them by groups of society.”<sup>113</sup> Questioning of elite political actors for this research was based on one basic question: “Where did the policy (of citizenship education) come from?” As will be demonstrated in the fifth chapter, the answers to such a simple question did not come as easy as one might assume.

The combination of discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews seeks to present the policy narrative or story of Canadian citizenship education policy in the most effective and objective manner. However, in terms of methodology there must be some justification around the selection of Canada as a case. The following section describes why Canada is an excellent choice of jurisdiction for the study of citizenship education policy.

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<sup>112</sup> Joel D. Aberbach, James D. Chesney and Bert A. Rockman. “Exploring Elite Political Attitudes: Some Methodological Lessons” *Political Methodology*. Vol. 2. 1975. Pg. 1

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.,

## 1.7 The Canadian Case

Canada is an ideal case study for research on citizenship education not only because it is a state built on constructed and borrowed beliefs informing identity - many states around the world share these traits - but because both Canadian state and society have expressed such an obsession with identity construction.<sup>114</sup> It is telling that two prime ministers who played central roles in creating and reforming Canada's constitution one hundred years apart agreed on the lack of a unified Canadian identity. John A. Macdonald argued Canada had "no paramount race" while Pierre Trudeau supported the idea of "no official (Canadian) culture".<sup>115</sup> Of course, the presence of both of these beliefs were central in creating a bi-cultural and later multicultural state, but both of these beliefs also fractured the success of any unifying myth to simplify what Canadians should know and how they should act. This is not an indictment against what some have called a "multidimensional society".<sup>116</sup> It is more an allusion to the struggle of state-building. As written by many and succinctly stated by Sears et al., "While Canada exists as a state, it is not a nation in the sense of Canadians sharing a profound sense of group affinity and shared values."<sup>117</sup> If Canada lacks shared values, can policy tools at the disposal of the

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<sup>114</sup> The search for a national identity has led to an endless stream of books, studies, commissions and occasional calls of alarm or as what famed Canadian author Margaret Atwood described as "paranoid schizophrenia." Margaret Atwood. *The Journals of Suzanna Moodie: Poems*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970. Pg. 62; Noted Canadian political scientist Alan Cairns described the search for theory and practice of Canadian citizenship as an "unending debate". Alan Cairns. "The Fragmentation of Canadian Citizenship" *Reconfigurations: Canadian Citizenship and Constitutional Change*. Ed. Douglas E. Williams. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995. Pg. 181; Noted Canadian sociologist John Porter described the Canadian question of nationalism as an "obsession". Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald. "Introduction" *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*. Ed. Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1977. Pg. 1

<sup>115</sup> Keith A. McLeod. "Canadian Society, Ethnic Pluralism, and Education" *Options: Reforms and Alternatives for Canadian Education*. Ed. Terence Morrison and Anthony Burton. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1973. Pg. 308

<sup>116</sup> Michel Page. "Pluralistic Citizenship: A Reference for Citizenship Education" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. Vol. XXIX. No. 2. 1997. Pg. 23

<sup>117</sup> Sears et al., "Canadian Citizenship Education", Pg. 118

state act to construct feelings of shared citizenship and identity? A policy tool appropriate for this task may be education.

Education is consistently presented by pedagogical experts and policy advisors as a central socializing tool of the state.<sup>118</sup> As mentioned earlier, the state can present citizenship education as a policy response by the means of specific courses such as “civics”, “social studies” or “history”, and/or by addressing lessons of citizenship throughout the entire curriculum.<sup>119</sup> Both federal and provincial Canadian governments have attempted to define Canadian citizenship and deliver effective education throughout the nation’s transformation from a bi-cultural nation to multicultural state. Yet much of this remains unstudied - prior research has struggled to produce a comprehensive and theoretically satisfying historical and comparative analysis of the conception and implementation of citizenship education across the Canadian provinces.<sup>120</sup> Shields and Ramsay note “citizenship is commonly stated as the *raison d'être* of social studies education, but very little is actually known about what goes on in Canadian social studies classrooms to teach for citizenship.”<sup>121</sup> The Canadian political science discipline, while

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<sup>118</sup> In 1952, H.L. Campbell wrote, “Perhaps no aspect of our way of life is in greater need of thoughtful consideration than is that of education for democratic living both in society and in schools.” H.L. Campbell. *Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education*. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1952. Pg. 94

<sup>119</sup> In 1983, Patte claimed that while remaining a central function of education, the goals and specifics of citizenship education are not entirely agreed upon. Richard Patte. *The Civic Imperative: Examining the Need for Civic Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1983. Pg. 3; Briton Bernard Crick used the term “political literacy” in 1978 to describe the level of knowledge, skills and attitudes of individuals. Crick and Porter, Pg. 1-2; In 1998, Niemi and Junn described citizenship education as a controversial subject with an “imperfect” agreement on meaning and testing. Niemi and Junn, Pg. 12

<sup>120</sup> In 1988, Pammett and Pepin observed, “Political education has been a neglected subject in Canada, both in theory and practice. Academic writing scarcely mentions it, preferring to deal with the way the political socialization process transmits and perpetuates the political culture.” Jon Pammett and Jean-Luc Pepin “Preface” *Political Education in Canada* Ed. Jon Pammett and Jean-Luc Pepin. Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988. Pg. xv

<sup>121</sup> Patricia N. Shields and Douglas Ramsay. “Social Studies Across English Canada” *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 42

appearing to have a self-vested interest in citizenship education, has paid little attention to the policy area. In 1988, Ronald Landes assessed the state of citizenship education research in Canadian political science and noted there was no full-length treatment of political learning in Canada.<sup>122</sup> This appears to have not changed.

Canada's ongoing identity crisis has become a dominant theme in the literature on citizenship and citizenship education, dating back over a century.<sup>123</sup> Ontario's Minister of Education George Ross asked at the 1892 Dominion Educational Association Conference, "Are we going to be provincial in our education or are we going to be national? I fear we are obliged to say that confederation is not as solidified as it ought to be."<sup>124</sup> At the 1917 Dominion Education Association conference, Dr. J.F. White warned, "Surely if Canada is ever going to be a nation, we must train our children so that they have things in common."<sup>125</sup> In 1926, Vincent Massey argued,

In a country with so scattered a population as ours and a vast frontier exposed to alien influences, the task of creating a truly national feeling must inevitably be arduous, but this is the undertaking to which our education systems must address themselves, for by true education alone will the problems be solved. To our schools we must look for the good Canadian.<sup>126</sup>

The accumulation of history and shared experiences has not brought Canada any closer to a consensus on national identity and common citizenship. The 1993 senate committee report "Canadian Citizenship: Sharing the Responsibility" admitted "there seems to be

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<sup>122</sup> Ronald G Landes. "Political Education and Political Socialization" *Political Education in Canada*. Ed. Jon Pammett and Jean-Luc Pepin. Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988. Pg. 16.

<sup>123</sup> Alan Sears. "What Research Tells Us About Citizenship Education in English Canada" *Canadian Social Studies*. Vol. 30. No. 3. Spring 1996. Pg. 121

<sup>124</sup> Alf Chaiton. "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education" *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*. Ed. Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1977. Pg. 118

<sup>125</sup> Chaiton, Pg. 130

<sup>126</sup> G. Milburn (ed). *Teaching History in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1972. Pg. 100

little agreement on what being a good ‘Canadian citizen’ exactly entails”.<sup>127</sup> For the elite-level citizenship education policy narrative, this thesis focuses on the many narratives produced in the seventy-year gap between Massey and the 1993 senate committee report. The absence of a common and accepted Canadian identity adds to the ambiguity of citizenship education narratives and the need for a historical and comparative analysis of provincial policy conceptualization and implementation.

For federal states such as Canada, citizenship education can be a greater challenge in absence of an existing and robust national identity.<sup>128</sup> The combination of Canada’s federal status and the policy area of education reserved for provincial jurisdiction means there has never been a national education ministry.<sup>129</sup> Still, the presence of a federal system provides opportunities for policy sharing and experimentation, especially in periods of “punctuated equilibria”. Baumgartner and Jones write “Sub-national jurisdictions often are the areas where new ideas are tried out, later to be adopted and mimicked by others if they are successful, or abandoned if they are found unworkable.”<sup>130</sup> While, the federal system may challenge clear articulation of Canadian citizenship it can provide for the testing and evaluating of policy options. But the type of policy sharing identified by Baumgartner and Jones has only sporadically emerged in Canadian education.

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<sup>127</sup> David Cameron. *Taking Stock: Canadian Studies in the Nineties*. Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 1996. Pg. 13

<sup>128</sup> Kevin McDonough. “Multinational Civic Education” *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Ed. Kevin McDonough and Walter Feinberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pg. 351

<sup>129</sup> Conley and Osborne, Pg. 83; Ken Osborne writes that “Canada is one of the very few countries in the world without a national ministry of education” Ken Osborne. *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?* Toronto: Penguin Books, 1999. Pg. 9

<sup>130</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 216

To fill the gap on citizenship training left by the federal government, provincial authorities adopted the task of promoting and defining the concept of citizenship – but this can be problematic. A province’s policy freedom in the education file has allowed them to construct unique sub-national narratives and provinces have enjoyed the jurisdictional power to respond to their own unique challenges created by societal, economic and political conditions. Citizenship education policy is a unique vehicle for these province-building objectives. A 1970 study by Trudel and Jain found textbooks were presented much more through provincial rather than national lenses and Carty and Ward contend, “All provincial governments have attempted to use their governmental resources to create a provincial community.”<sup>131</sup> Overall then, the provincial pedagogical regime creates an interesting dynamic for both policy and political reasons. The combination of Canada’s demographics, geography, and political and economic contexts has meant that the country’s educational scene is neither a duplicate nor duplicated by others.<sup>132</sup>

On this point we move to the second chapter and early evidence of failure in the Canadian citizenship education conception and implementation. This review will outline a time of, borrowing from Troper, the “mythical imperial connection”. The time period between confederation and 1947 arguably represents a series of missed opportunities for policy makers and educators. Even though the World Wars and changing elite views

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<sup>131</sup> M. Trudel and G. Jain. *Canadian History Textbooks: A comparative study*. Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. No. 5. Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1970; R. Kenneth Carty and W. Peter Ward. “The Making of a Canadian Political Citizenship” *National Politics and Community in Canada*. Ed. R. Kenneth Carty and W. Peter Ward. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986. Pg. 77

<sup>132</sup> Wilfred B.W. Martin and Allan J. Macdonell. *Canadian Education: A Sociological Analysis*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Inc., 1982. Pg. 19

helped in constructing the non-British Canadian citizenship narrative, the construction of a more uniform and consumable Canadian identity was incomplete.

## **Chapter Two – Solvable Causes - The Early Beginnings of Canadian Citizenship Education**

### **2.1 Introduction: Pre-Confederation and the Roots of Canadian Citizenship Education**

Prior to 1947 and the adoption of the first Canadian Citizenship Act, Canadians were legally considered to be British subjects and aliens. The slow departure from British imperialism meant there was no uniquely Canadian citizenship available for pedagogical delivery, which in any event was left to provincial education regimes. Provinces were able to take up the task of defining and promoting citizenship following early notions of British patriotism and a self-consciousness of the provincial community.<sup>133</sup> Ultimately, most citizenship education policy remained tied to British, imperial and Christian values. These values provided key parameters for the creation of citizenship education solutions in relation to causal stories. The presence of these entrenched values provide for the identification of solvable problems attached to policy development.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian citizenship education policy has been well documented in both the historical and pedagogical literature. Most research identifies common themes of imperialism, conservatism and religion throughout the early curricula and policy statements. During this early period of Canadian education development, state and policy actors consistently supported these themes that left little room for a unique and common Canadian identity and citizenship. At the same time, the state's belief in the importance and socializing force of education was growing – making the policy directions and classroom content even more significant.

This chapter will present the historical foundations of contemporary citizenship education in Canada. It will also demonstrate how the legacy of conservatism entrenched

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<sup>133</sup> Carney, Pg. 15

in early Canadian citizenship education delayed any initial formation of Canadian citizenship or identity. From the early nineteenth century to the legal recognition of Canadian citizenship in 1947, the words and actions of key pedagogical actors and governments will serve as the empirical evidence for this contextual chapter.

What we do not see in this era is much evidence of struggles over “causal stories” or “punctuated equilibria.” Instead, this period reveals more of an unassailable certainty about the purposes of citizenship education in installing values of imperial patriotism, morality and acceptance of state, societal and economic institutions.

Similar to other political and policy traditions, the delivery of early Canadian education was an aggregate of foreign models. British, French and American practices shaped the initial stages of development. Before the influence of the United States began to infiltrate Canadian public policy development, Canadian schools were a product of heredity and environment; early British North American education reflected parish schools of pre-revolutionary France and grammar schools of nineteenth century Britain.<sup>134</sup> The narrow scope of citizenship education was confined by the system’s focus on the conceptualization of Canadian identity and character based on British traditions.<sup>135</sup> Tomkins described curricula during the 1892-1945 period as, “an anglo-conformist ethnocentrism...that left no room for any positive treatment of ethnicity or cultural pluralism.”<sup>136</sup> The notion of ethnocentrism is accompanied by charges of homogeneity. Bruno-Jofre suggests that early Canadian education attempted to create a homogeneous

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<sup>134</sup> Henry F. Johnson. *A Brief History of Canadian Education*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1968. Pg. 3

<sup>135</sup> Paul Collins. “Canadian Studies: Something Old – Something New” *Precepts, Policy and Process: Perspectives on Contemporary Canadian Education*. Ed. Hugh A. Stevenson and J. Donald Wilson. London: Blake Associates, 1977. Pg. 231

<sup>136</sup> George S. Tomkins. *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986. Pg. 171

country based on British institutions, practices and the Empire.<sup>137</sup> While these observations may not be surprising to even the casual observer of Canadian history, it is important to review not only Canada's conservative political society but also conservative pedagogical practices.

While public support in pre-Confederation Canada for education was growing, the focus was more on the adoption of the policy and not as much on the content. The *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* stated in 1848, "a country is great as it is educated and intelligent; and it is happy as it is moral and virtuous."<sup>138</sup> A central narrative during this time was the growing importance of the state in education and the importance of education to the state. Levin recently argued that education during this era was "shaped by the changing views of the role of the state."<sup>139</sup> A connection between well-trained citizens and an orderly state was omnipresent within the early curriculum documents. Citizenship education content was a mix of Christian and British lessons and legends. Early objectives of Canadian history classes included stories of "great men" to instill positive feelings towards the British Empire and acquaint students with tales from the Old Testament.<sup>140</sup> Most citizenship education lessons were also consistent with a nationalist or patriotic narrative. Part of these narratives included important content for the future, more developed form of Canadian identity. Early patriotism found in Canadian classrooms included the singing of "The Maple Leaf Forever" and the telling of war

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<sup>137</sup> Rosa Bruno-Jofre. "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba between the End of the First World War and the End of the Second World War" *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. Pg. 113

<sup>138</sup> J. Donald Wilson. "The Ryerson Years in Canada West" *Canadian Education: A History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Phillipe Audet. Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970. Pg. 65

<sup>139</sup> Benjamin Levin. *Reforming Education: From origins to outcomes*. London: Routledge Falmer, 2001. Pg. 7

<sup>140</sup> W.G. Fleming. *Schools, Pupils, and Teachers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971. Pg. 218

victories such as the War of 1812's Battle of Queenston Heights.<sup>141</sup> Quite tellingly, the state's conceptions were restrictive in definitions of democratic citizenship. Kymlicka describes this type of pedagogical delivery as promoting "an unreflective patriotism" that glorified the past and vilified opponents of the accepted political system.<sup>142</sup> This unreflective patriotism did not represent the pluralistic model eventually embraced by Canadian political culture and institutions; thus stunting citizenship growth in this direction.

As the Canadian state slowly developed its policy role within the education field, gaps in delivery remained. When the state did not meet all of society's educational needs, private interests and actors assumed policy and program efforts. The church was one private actor that played a crucial role in the development of education in British North American colonies. Between 1800 and 1867, control over pedagogical policy development was a struggle between the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church, legislative assemblies and colonial administrations. The struggles between church and state in pre-confederation Upper and Lower Canada represent early debates over pedagogical solutions to public problems. While these developments occurred more as high-level policy objectives and not curriculum content, they still demonstrate that disagreement over citizenship education policy did not begin in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Canadian school.

Religion-sponsored education was not highly inclusive; specific parts of the population were left out including farmers, labourers and immigrants.<sup>143</sup> Before the

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<sup>141</sup> Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, Pg. 43

<sup>142</sup> Kymlicka, "Education for Citizenship", Pg. 93

<sup>143</sup> Howard Adams. *The Education of Canadians 1800-1867: The Roots of Separatism*. Montreal: Harvest House, 1968. Pg. 109

adoption of public education, an individual's faith was a stronger determinant than an individual's citizenship of who received organized schooling. This model of exclusivity followed a practice already in place in early public schools. District schools established in Upper Canada (1807) and grammar schools in Nova Scotia (1811) and New Brunswick (1816) followed the British model of providing education exclusively to the children of the colonial upper class – government officials, military officers, lawyers, doctors and merchants.<sup>144</sup>

Gradually non-denominational schools emerged with the help of volunteers and public support, producing the initial models of public education. Meanwhile, a number of legislative acts established public education in both Upper and Lower Canada.<sup>145</sup> New political and administrative creations were producing identities, but the identities were almost entirely reliant on British traditions. Neil Macdonald writes,

The federation of the British-American colonies raised a number of critical questions for nineteenth century schoolmen. Among the most important was the orientation of the loyalties of youth to 'the new nationality'...essential to accepting this broader framework is the knowledge that the belief in the power of the school to politically socialize youth was as firmly held as it was promoted in nineteenth century Canada.<sup>146</sup>

The lessons of loyalty were much more for the state's benefit than the citizen.<sup>147</sup>

Curricula focused on duty and not responsibilities. The 1831 'Rules for the Establishment

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<sup>144</sup> Manzer. *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 53

<sup>145</sup> The 1807 District Schools Act is viewed as the beginning of state organized education in Upper Canada. Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice. *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pg. 25

<sup>146</sup> Neil McDonald. "Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890" *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*. Ed. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 93

<sup>147</sup> Bruce Curtis contends, "Education was centrally concerned with the making of political subjects, with subjectification. But these political subjects were not seen as self-creating. They were to be made by their

of Schools in Lower Canada' which "Required students to love God, defer to the master, be silent throughout class clean the classroom, avoid idleness, and 'wash their hands and faces, also their feet if they are bare.'"<sup>148</sup> The rules demonstrate a pedagogical philosophy built on morality and conformity present in most lessons on how to act in day-to-day life - or what might be viewed as early versions of citizenship education.

Certain key policy actors played a role in both the creation and delivery of these early versions of citizenship education. These actors also contributed to the policy narrative based on identification of public problems and the creation of causal stories. Egerton Ryerson was one of the central individuals in early Canadian education policy and his beliefs had a major impact on early Canadian citizenship education. He is a useful archetype for understanding the prevailing education policy of the mid-1800s and how certain causal stories formed. Superintendent of Education from 1846 to 1876, Ryerson is credited with creating a true system of public education in Upper Canada. Along with the introduction of mass schooling, Ryerson also welcomed such policy characteristics as state control, a standardized curriculum, trained staff, compulsory attendance and free schooling (stopping the practice of fee-based schools).<sup>149</sup> Ryerson's views are significant in understanding the early intentions of both theoretical and practical citizenship education in Canadian schools. The views also represent how formative policy actors were tied to conservative sentiments and which delayed the development of a unique notion of Canadian citizenship. He believed education would

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governors after the image of an easily governed population." Bruce Curtis. *Building the educational state: Canada West, 1836-1871*. London: The Althouse Press, 1988. Pg. 102

<sup>148</sup> Paul Axelrod. *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997. Pg. 21

<sup>149</sup> R.D. Gidney. "Making Nineteenth Century School Systems: the Upper Canadian Experience and its Relevance to English Historiography" *History of Education*. Vol. IX. No. 2 1980 Pg. 111

help prepare individuals for “life as Christians, as persons of business and members of the civic community.”<sup>150</sup> Ryerson’s key contribution was raising the importance of education as a role for the state as he argued, “education is the chief element in forming the mind and heart of an individual, or a Nation.”<sup>151</sup> Without the move beyond private and religious institutions, citizenship education could not have taken on the added significance as a program delivered by the state. But even though Ryerson wanted to take education out of religious authorities’ hands, he still accepted the Christian values attached to citizenship education. Ryerson’s Christian intentions for Canada’s schools were mixed with a nostalgic touch of British and Canadian ideals. However, he did recognize the utility of a unique Canadian citizenship. Ryerson enthusiastically claimed that the educational system of Canada West must be “not only British, but Canadian.”<sup>152</sup> Ryerson’s intentions represent the inconsistency of certain causal stories even when the policy ideas are coming from the same voice. Ryerson’s notion that young citizens of Canada West not only needed British but also Canadian influence is an early example of how Canadian citizenship education policy development originated with a discourse of ambiguity over identity.

As well, Ryerson stated his goal was “to impart to the public mind the greatest amount of useful knowledge based upon, and interwoven throughout with sound Christian principles, but to render the Educational system...the indirect but powerful instrument of British Constitutional Government.”<sup>153</sup> The emphasis created a

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<sup>150</sup> Egerton Ryerson. *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1847. Pg. 9

<sup>151</sup> McDonald, “Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890”, Pg. 93

<sup>152</sup> Egerton Ryerson, 1841 address, Ryerson Letters, 1840-1846, Victoria College Archives

<sup>153</sup> Marvin Lazerson. “Canadian Educational Historiography: Some Observations” *Egerton Ryerson and His Times*. Ed. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978. Pg. 5

counterforce to any influence from south of the border. Ryerson wanted to replace American textbooks with British ones, asserting, “The advocacy of their use in our schools appears to be both anti-British and unpatriotic.”<sup>154</sup>

As mentioned above, while promoting Canada and some new directions for public education, Ryerson was by all accounts conservative in nature. Morality and character were central to Ryerson’s program. He also believed that education could help to ensure support for the political status quo.<sup>155</sup> Ryerson believed “if the parent or guardian cannot provide him [the student/citizen] with such [compulsory] an education, the State is bound to do so.”<sup>156</sup> In summary, Ryerson is an appropriate model of citizenship education based causal stories found during this era. Ryerson supported the role of the state but held on to Christian lessons and British influence.

Buoyed by the influence of Ryerson, the institutionalization of public education gained momentum in the 1840s and 1850s. Governments became more introspective in their role in education.<sup>157</sup> These state concerns support R.D. Gidney’s notion that, “The purposes of schooling became increasingly ‘public’ ones – schools existed to serve the political, economic and social needs of the state and the society.”<sup>158</sup> Connecting the welfare of the state to the education of the citizenry became the central argument for state

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<sup>154</sup> Wilson, Pg. 67

<sup>155</sup> Don Dawson and Brian Titley. “The Origins of Schooling in Selected Regions of Canada: An Interpretation” *Education in Canada: An Introduction*. Ed. Brian Titley and Peter Miller. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 15

<sup>156</sup> Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, Pg. 7

<sup>157</sup> The 1839 Upper Canada Commission chaired by Dr. John McCaul examined the state of education and made recommendations concerning teacher aptitude and school facilities. Walter N. Bell. *The Development of the Ontario High School*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1918. Pg. 151

<sup>158</sup> R.D. Gidney. “Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment” *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario’s Past*. Ed. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975. Pg. 21

involvement in education.<sup>159</sup> By 1867, education was roundly acknowledged as an important policy field in building an independent nation. In the decades leading up to Confederation, politicians from William Lyon Mackenzie to Louis Papineau to A.A. Dorion to George Brown had articulated the importance of schools to the formation of a new political entity.<sup>160</sup>

By the 1860s, courses began to take on a more permanent and distinctive shape.<sup>161</sup> Pedagogical debates expanded from struggles over administrative concerns and denominational aspects of teaching to specialized curriculum and mandatory programs. Courses such as English and history were becoming established as permanent parts of the curriculum and with this new permanence, traditional objectives remained. Even though government was playing a new role in education, British imperial values remained preeminent. The aim of history was “to instill respect and affection for the great and glorious British Empire.”<sup>162</sup> In teaching only British topics, history and civics courses were based on achievements of the “mother country and her national heroes”.<sup>163</sup> Due to the state’s acceptance of the Empire and a conservative tradition, the citizenship education causal policy story resulted in a stable period of curriculum consensus that was explicitly indifferent to a distinct Canadian identity.

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<sup>159</sup> In 1851, Ontario’s Committee on Free Schools noted, “The education of the young is intimately and inseparably connected with the welfare of the State.” Peter N. Ross. “The Free School Controversy in Toronto, 1848-1852” *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario’s Past*. Ed. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975. Pg. 69

<sup>160</sup> Adams, Pg. 89

<sup>161</sup> Houston and Prentice, Pg. 272

<sup>162</sup> Fleming, Pg. 218

<sup>163</sup> Adams, Pg. 111

## **2.2 For God and the Empire: Pre-war Canadian Citizenship Education (1867-1914)**

While pedagogical objectives remained a topic of debate, the task of delivering programs was relatively straightforward in the early stages of Canadian education. Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867 placed the responsibility of education delivery on the provinces. Even with the decision to give the power over education policy to provinces, entrenched British influence did not allow for a straightforward path to an understanding of Canadian citizenship. The following section will demonstrate how British and Christian ideals stunted the growth of Canadianization of citizenship education while economically based citizenship education policies hinted at a possible consensus on the pedagogical solutions. This focus however, would not last, as growing provincial education regimes discovered and developed various approaches to citizenship education.

Some early policy leaders identified the challenge of delivering national citizenship education through education policies administered by provincial governments. George Ross, Ontario Minister of Education, said in 1892:

I have perused with great care the various histories in use in all the provinces of the Dominion, and I have found them merely to be provincial histories, without reference to our common country...Can't we agree upon certain broad features common to the whole this Dominion with which we can indoctrinate our pupils, so that when a child takes up the history of Canada, he feels that he is not simply taking up the history of Canada, such as the old Canada was, but that he is taking up the history of a great country?<sup>164</sup>

The search for agreement on “certain broad features” began with interest groups focused on education. National attempts were made at organizing, cooperating and consolidating educational policy efforts. Attempts to create national associations of education include

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<sup>164</sup> Chaiton and McDonald, Pg. 14-15

the Dominion Educational Association (Canadian Education Association) in 1892 and the National Council on Education in 1919. Dominion Education Association president, David Goggin, presented a pan-Canada pedagogical philosophy on citizenship education in Canada at the 1904 convention,

Education within the provinces tends to become parochial in spirit, and narrow in view, while the type of education which it is the function of school to build up, should have a national rather than a provincial outlook.<sup>165</sup>

The possible nation-building role of schools was not lost on those politicians seeking to bring the large federation together. Support for the pan-Canadian narrative is found in Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's belief that the new federation's schools "could be instrumental in helping replace local loyalties with national loyalties."<sup>166</sup> However, similar to Macdonald's loyalties to the motherland, Great Britain, the citizenship education policy narrative demonstrated the difficulty Canadian educators had in cutting traditional and conservative ties to the empire.

Still, a sense of consensus existed in early policy development and delivery. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the key institutional components of modern education in Canada were in place.<sup>167</sup> Levels of contestation and reform by governments were low as most educational practices were agreed upon across jurisdictions. Pedagogical policy leaders accepted the role of education for creating social consensus and this consensus was loyalty to British traditions and colonial ideals.<sup>168</sup> English-

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<sup>165</sup> David James Goggin. "Reply to Address of Welcome" *Dominion Educational Association Proceedings*. Ottawa, 1904. Pg. 34-35

<sup>166</sup> McDonald, "Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890", Pg. 95

<sup>167</sup> However limited, sometimes for only four months between the ages of seven and twelve, young boys and girls were expected to attend state-funded and -administered schools.

<sup>168</sup> Axelrod, Pg. 68; Carney, Pg. 43

speaking schools in Canada engaged in a number of patriotic and nation building exercises including daily flag saluting, patriotic song singing and poetry reading.<sup>169</sup>

The period's educational narrative did not exclusively include pro-British sentiments, but also a number of anti-American messages. Boards of education were advised by the Toronto publication, the *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, to "cleanse the fountains of Canadian Education from Yankee discolourant and defilement" by using only British textbooks.<sup>170</sup> While highlighting differences from their southern neighbours, Canadian educators held on to British roots rather than promote a new identity for the young country. As well, the policy makers' acceptance of a simple and narrow form of citizenship ignored and excluded other cultures. The imperial citizen was explicitly taught to support the legitimacy of the state. The lessons found in social studies and history textbooks such as the 1880s Gage's Fourth Reader are steeped in colonial and British sentiments.<sup>171</sup> Canadian historian A.R. Lower described what he believed was the ideal end product of this educational mix of nationalism and imperialism, "the Canadian public school...was not making Canadians but young Englishmen."<sup>172</sup> As governments became more concerned with the development of the citizen, more attention was paid to citizenship education in classroom curriculum development. One goal emerging from the sparse but developing North-West Territories (including the future Alberta and

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<sup>169</sup> Robert Stamp. "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870s to 1914" *Canadian Education: A History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970. Pg. 305

<sup>170</sup> James Love. "Anti-American Ideology and Education Reform in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Upper Canada" *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1984. Pg. 170

<sup>171</sup> According to the text, the Canadian domain had but one aim: "to seek, in the consolidation of the empire, a common imperial citizenship, with common responsibilities and a common heritage." Timothy J. Stanley. "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study" *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*. Ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, J. Donald Wilson. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995. Pg. 43

<sup>172</sup> A.R.M. Lower. *Canadians in the Making*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958. Pg. 352

Saskatchewan) was “intelligent patriotism”. The 1896 North-West Territories Report of the Council of Public Instruction stated,

History in recording men’s deeds, sets forth their relations to each other and to the state. The relation of men to the state involves citizenship.

Accordingly one use of history is to form moral notions in children and another is to teach patriotism and civic duty... (and)... A study of the lives of those men who have made our country what it is will tend to teach our pupils to have high aims and to be true to those aims. A knowledge of the struggles through which the country has passed in attaining its present condition will make for intelligent patriotism.<sup>173</sup>

This reflects the early beliefs that introducing students to historical heroes was essential to the development of “intelligent patriotism”. According to the Saskatchewan Annual Report of the Department of Education in 1901, the lives of great historical figures were studied “to form moral notions in children” and “to teach patriotism and civic duty.”<sup>174</sup>

Closely linked to heroism, morality was a key tenet of the citizenship education discourse. The 1907 Alberta curriculum stated, “Selections of poetry and prose inculcating reverence... and admiration of moral courage are to be committed to memory.”<sup>175</sup> The Ontario Readers, used in the early part of the twentieth century, focused “on traditional moral and political values, Britain’s past military glories, and Canada’s place in the Empire.”<sup>176</sup> Similarly, the curricular connections to military ideals were at

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<sup>173</sup> Nick Kach. “Education and Ethnic Acculturation: A Case Study” *Essays on Canadian Education*. Eds. Nick Kach, Kas Mazurek, Robert S. Patterson, Ivan DeFaveri. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986. Pg. 47

<sup>174</sup> McDonald, “Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884-1905”, Pg. 143; Ontario’s Minister Ross believed “the educator’s first priority was not to impart knowledge but to mould the character of his students through suppression of ‘evil tendencies’ and through the search for ‘what is good and true for their own sakes.’” Robert Stamp. *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982. Pg. 10

<sup>175</sup> Nancy M. Sheehan. “Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House” *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*. Ed. David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, Robert M. Stamp. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1979. Pg. 225

<sup>176</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 105

times not only theoretical and metaphorical but also practical and applied.<sup>177</sup> These policy attempts are significant because they represent very early attempts at achieving what current observers believe is still missing – a civic educated and civic active public. The idea of “intelligent patriotism” infers both action and knowledge. We may see these policies as early attempts at what would later be described as civic literacy. Even if the policy ideas were not entirely articulated, they demonstrate the incremental nature of citizenship education. Therefore, at the beginning of the Canadian citizenship education narrative there was hope and ambition set on narrow and exclusive visions of Canadian citizenship. A simple causal story supplied reason for a simple policy response.

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<sup>177</sup> In 1910, Nova Scotia Superintendent A.H. MacKay designed many lessons to promote citizenship such as calisthenics and military drills. B. Anne Wood. “Canadian Citizenship for a Progressive State” *Canada and Citizenship Education*. Ed. Keith A. McLeod. Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989. Pg. 21

## 2.3 Narrow and Exclusive Visions of Citizenship

In addition to pedagogical objectives based on British traditions, religion was a framing value. The early Canadian state was greatly influenced by Christian leaders, values and ideals. In 1894, devotional exercises were applied in 93 percent of schools in Ontario and legislation in 1896 made it an obligation for teachers to “inculcate by precept and example, respect for religion and the principles of Christian morality.”<sup>178</sup> The Christian message of teachers was supported by assigned readings. Various studies of Ontario and British Columbia textbooks between 1872 and 1925 found that “godly virtues” were overtly advanced in subjects from grammar to chemistry to geography.<sup>179</sup> While Canadian education policy makers would eventually shed explicit Christian tendencies from the curriculum, most discussion and struggle at the time centred on denominational struggles within Christianity. In Quebec, the Ministry of Public Instruction was established in 1867 only to be dismantled by Catholic leaders in 1875.<sup>180</sup> Clerics returned to writing textbooks and designing courses. In the same year, the federal government introduced education policy with the North-West Territories Act that allowed for the voluntary establishment of schools that protected the rights and privileges of Catholics and Protestants.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 39

<sup>179</sup> George S. Tomkins. “The Moral, Cultural, and Intellectual Foundations of the Canadian Curriculum” *Curriculum Canada V: School Subject Research and Curriculum/Instruction Theory*. Ed. Douglas A. Roberts and John O. Fritz. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1984. Pg. 5

<sup>180</sup> Stephane Levesque. “History and Social Studies in Quebec: An Historical Perspective” *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 57; The clerics wrote much of the Canadian history texts, stressing religious elements and reducing Canadian history to a foreign history, Quebec. Roger Magnuson. *A Brief History of Quebec Education: From New France to Parti Quebecois*. Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1980. Pg. 53

<sup>181</sup> M.P. Scharf. “An Historical Overview of the Organization of Education in Saskatchewan” *A History of Education in Saskatchewan: Selected Readings*. Ed. Brian Noonan, Dianne Hallman, Murray Scharf. Regina: University of Regina, 2006. Pg. 4

As the causal stories changed, the policy solutions of this era became founded more on moral principles. Policy makers strongly believed in this moral direction, based on religion or imperial values. In 1876, Ontario's Minister of Education Ross argued, "the real threat to Canadian nationhood was not the politically involved or disinterested citizen, but the immoral and unethical citizen."<sup>182</sup> The minister's focus demonstrates the struggle between producing a participatory citizen versus an obedient citizen. In this era, character education consistently trumped participatory concerns. In 1878, Manitoba Superintendent of Education Tasse supported Ross's view on the importance of working to avoid the "immoral and unethical citizen",

Moral instruction forms the Christian, the devoted citizen, the steady soul, the grateful child, the good father; - almost the whole of man. It is in this direction that the teacher should bend the weight of his efforts. The religious sentiment is the foundation of all society; and the teacher should cultivate it in the hearts of his pupils with assiduous constancy.<sup>183</sup>

Tasse and Ross demonstrate an example of the pedagogical agreement on moral and character based citizenship education crossing provincial boundaries.

The morality taught during this period was linked to ideas now considered excessively offensive and racist. In 1870 Manitoba, a European education was believed to help the North American Indian with "white man's knowledge and religion."<sup>184</sup> In 1901, Dominion Education Association president David Goggin described the common aim of Canadian education as the "molding of different races and creeds into the homogeneous

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<sup>182</sup> McDonald, "Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890", Pg. 66

<sup>183</sup> Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson. *The Development of Education in Manitoba*. Dubuque: Kendall Hunt, 1984. Pg. 41; Similarly, educators and politicians in the North-West Territories regarded "the character of its citizens" as a primary concern. Neil McDonald. "Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884-1905" *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*. Ed. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 144

<sup>184</sup> Gregor and Wilson, Pg. 27

product, the Canadian youth.”<sup>185</sup> Evidence of blatant racism-driven nationalism is found in the following passage from a Manitoba school inspector:

The great work of the public school in Canada is the formation and development of a high type of national life. This is particularly true in Western Canada, with its heterogeneous population... The incongruous elements (of this population) have to be assimilated, have to be welded into a harmonious whole if Canada is to attain the position that we, who belong here by right of birth and blood, claim for her.<sup>186</sup>

The notion of belonging based on right of birth and blood is an example of xenophobic ideas found in the Canadian education system that would be eventually succumb to progressive movements influencing Canadian society.

Racism was also extensive in early Canadian social studies texts. The Ontario School Geography textbook of 1910 was especially blatant in its racism. The text described Caucasians as “the most active, enterprising and intelligent race in the world”, the ‘Yellow’ race as “some of the most backward tribes of the world”, the ‘Red’ race was “but little civilized” and the ‘Black’ race was “somewhat indolent...often impulsive in their actions.”<sup>187</sup> R.G. MacBeth’s 1912 text, *Our Task in Canada*, argued, “For the most part those who have been coming in recent years are of inferior races and lower civilizations. And our task is to make them Christian citizens of Canada.”<sup>188</sup> Similar to the diluting factor of British influence, the Christian and race-based element of the early Canadian citizenship education narrative contributed to a delay in constructing a clear pedagogical policy for Canadian citizenship.

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<sup>185</sup> Neil G. McDonald. “David J. Goggin: Promoter of National Schools” *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*. Ed. David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, Robert M. Stamp. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1979. Pg. 23

<sup>186</sup> Government of Manitoba. Department of Education. *Annual Report*. Winnipeg: Author, 1906. Pg. 31

<sup>187</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 92

<sup>188</sup> R.G. MacBeth. *Our Task in Canada*. Toronto: The Westminster Company Limited, 1912. Pg. 21

## **2.4 Economic Visions of Citizenship**

Where the Canadian citizenship education policy could have found a more “Canadian” message is in the production of a viable economic citizen.<sup>189</sup> The moment of opportunity came with an evolution in the Canadian economy. Between 1871 and 1881 the number of industrial employees grew from 87,000 to 118,000 and to 167,000 in 1891.<sup>190</sup> The call for practical education was rapidly growing.<sup>191</sup> The education policy causal story was changing. Economic goals were presented in education narratives as the main purpose of education policy. Policy makers framed turn of the century education policy as preparation for the labour market. Some of this discourse was placed in the context of criticizing previous policy efforts. In 1894, an Ontario principal argued,

The true aim of education is being lost sight of, and what is demanded is not true education at all but merely instruction, especially instruction that will speedily equip for work in the factory, the office, the store, or on the farm. The instruction that will fit for making money is considered of primal importance; the education that develops character, manliness, patriotism is considered of secondary importance.<sup>192</sup>

The type of practical education in Canada the principal was identifying was a mix of agricultural and technical education. Technical education began to eclipse agricultural education in importance - one example was the 1897 Technical Education Act in

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<sup>189</sup> Ronald Manzer notes that along with creating loyal and virtuous citizens, public education began to assign occupational classes and provide vocational training. Ronald Manzer. *Educational Regimes and Anglo-American Democracy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. Pg. 80

<sup>190</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 43

<sup>191</sup> In 1889, the federal Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital recommended that school curriculum become more practical: “we must see that the education that the children are receiving is one adapted to our industrial condition.” Rebecca Priegert Coulter. “Persistent Themes: Some Reflections on the History of Schooling and Work” *Reform and Relevance in Schooling: Dropouts, De-streaming and the Common Curriculum*. Eds. Derek J. Allison and Jerry Paquette. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1991. Pg. 29 *Canada Educational Monthly* contended that the curriculum should address the majority of students entered agricultural, industrial and commercial careers. Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 42

<sup>192</sup> Stamp, “Education and the Economic and Social Milieu”, Pg. 294

Ontario.<sup>193</sup> The act empowered board trustees to create technical schools or change any existing high school into a technical school.<sup>194</sup> Stamp writes that “There was more to late nineteenth-century Ontario education than religion, language and patriotism; indeed, educators of the 1880s and 1890s faced economic and social pressures that were as significant as the cultural challenges.”<sup>195</sup>

One of the reasons for greater attention to the economic goals of citizenship education was the combination of international economic pressures and domestic support and lobbying.<sup>196</sup> The discourse of major education policy actors and lobby groups reflect the shift in objectives. The push for technical and vocational education continued into the twentieth century and challenged some of the emerging trends in citizenship education programs. As the National Education Association’s 1910 *Report of the Committee on the Place of Industries in Public Education* rationalized, “Industry, as a controlling factor in social progress, has for education a fundamental and permanent significance.”<sup>197</sup> Provincial governments responded to these demands placed on their educational systems with new education legislation.<sup>198</sup> In 1913, the superintendent of Winnipeg schools noted that “the traditional educational goals for what he called ‘culture and discipline’ were no longer enough...in the new world education had to produce in children a sense of civic

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<sup>193</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 100

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>195</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 36

<sup>196</sup> John Seath, an Ontario superintendent of education, observed three factors driving the push for industrial training in 1909: “rivalry among the nations for commercial supremacy, imperfect provision for trained skilled workers, and the need to extend the scope of state education to include vocational as well as cultural training. Manzer, *Educational Regimes and Anglo-American Democracy*, Pg. 91

<sup>197</sup> Martin Carnoy. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974. Pg. 249

<sup>198</sup> In 1911, the Ontario government passed the Industrial Education Act which lead to the implementation of two-year general industrial schools, technical high schools and technical departments within secondary schools. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 82

duty, a patriotic spirit, good health and preparation for jobs.”<sup>199</sup> Education interest groups supported the idea of combining economic and democratic goals. At their 1901 and 1904 conventions, the Canadian Education Association lobbied for education in frontier, railway construction and lumbering areas combined with enhanced moral instruction and more emphasis on patriotism.<sup>200</sup> The simple focus on Christian morals and imperial ideals was changing but a new Canadian identity was not taking its place – economics were trumping politics as the focus of school-based citizenship development.

The federal 1913 Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education advised on the growth of technical and industrial training in Canadian high schools. The commission’s report stated that secondary education should not only provide for “the learned professions, other professional occupations, or the leisure class” but also “those persons who are to follow manual industrial occupations, producing occupations such as agriculture, conserving occupations such as housekeeping, and commercial and business occupations.”<sup>201</sup> The report listed some of the following aims of vocational education: “1) The preservation of health and the vigour of life, 2) The formation of good habits, 3) The development of the sense of responsibility and duty, 4) The preparation of the body, mind and spirit for following some useful occupation.”<sup>202</sup> The list embodies a combination of both traditional citizenship education and new forms of technical education, seeking the development of “responsibility and duty” and the preparation for “useful occupation”. The commission represents another layer of policy

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<sup>199</sup> Osborne, *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?*, Pg. 9

<sup>200</sup> F.K. Stewart. *Interprovincial Co-operation in Education: The Story of the Canadian Education Association*. Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1957. Pg. 19

<sup>201</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 96

<sup>202</sup> Royal Commission on Industrial and Technical Education. Report of the Commissioners. Ottawa, 1913. Part I. Pg. 18

inputs into the citizenship education narrative, a narrative already made complex by numerous provincial governments and policy actors.

Meanwhile, as a young country, Canada was experiencing shared events that would contribute towards the construction of Canadian citizenship. Battles and sacrifices created new national and patriotic stories. Following the First World War, “Canadian” began to replace “British” in the citizenship education narrative influencing both explicit and implicit pedagogical references to the development of the citizen. Still, the parameters for Canadian citizenship had been set; British and Christian influences stalled the development of a formative pedagogical narrative creating an array of provincial (internal) and pluralistic (external) influences. These early policy actions and narratives would continue to influence Canadian citizenship education for years to come.

## **2.5 The impact of war: A New Citizenship Education Paradigm (1914-1947)**

Gradually a Canadian narrative began to emerge out of the British and Christian messages of the earliest Canadian citizenship education policies. However, while a more independent narrative emerged, it did not produce a cohesive conception of the Canadian citizen. A number of reasons can be identified for the stunted development including: provincial policy responsibility, policy concerned more with administration than content and an accepted reluctance to shed British traditions and loyalties.

By the 1920s, Canadian public schooling reached an important policy landmark as provinces made school attendance compulsory. Ken Osborne notes, “[It had] become too important to be left to parents or to private initiative or to the churches. It had become the concern of the state.”<sup>203</sup> Supporting Osborne’s argument are the actions of provincial governments and their defence of certain policy directions. When Manitoba’s Minister of Education introduced compulsory attendance in 1916, the focus was on the policy’s benefit not to the citizen, but to the state:

The reason why the state assumes to interfere is two-fold. First, it does so for its own protection. Boys and girls, the citizens of the future, must be qualified to discharge the duties of citizenship. Second, the state interferes in education for the benefit of the children themselves, who must fitted to aid themselves so that they may not become a charge on the public.<sup>204</sup>

During this period, as the importance of education was embraced, jurisdictional struggles between provincial and federal governments increased. Beginning the long debate over responsibility for training versus education, the federal government began to mark its territory with a variety of commissions, acts and spending initiatives. Following the commission on industrial training in 1913 that argued for more public money to be spent

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<sup>203</sup> Osborne, “Education is the Best National Insurance”, Pg. 33

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.,

on training, the federal 1919 Technical Education Act committed 10 million dollars over ten years to education. Over a decade later, the federal government continued building a presence in education policy and programs. In 1931, more federal efforts to fund industrial education were made with the Vocational Education Act that promised \$750,000 annually for programs.<sup>205</sup> The source of education policy was not the only aspect of Canadian pedagogical practices changing; the content of education policy was changing as well. Sears notes, “The preoccupation with assimilative nationalism of the earlier period becomes muted... schooling became more technical, more professionalized, more a matter of specialized expertise.”<sup>206</sup>

The new pedagogical period was framed by two world wars that started a path towards an institutionalized and official conception of Canadian citizenship. The shifts in citizenship education policy included increased curricular emphasis on citizenship education. Courses with the moniker “civics” began to appear in Canadian schools. The 1915 Civics Program in Ontario had three aims:

- 1) To instruct in the mechanism of government [Descriptive], 2) To instruct in the history of national institutions so as to show the line of development, and also to impress the fact that existing institutions are capable of development are not fixed [Historical], 3) To show the cost of each institution in the efforts and sacrifices of past generations and to quicken and make permanent the children’s interest in public life and their sense of responsibility to their fellow citizens [Patriotic and Ethical].<sup>207</sup>

The 1915 curriculum illustrates the simple and direct aims of citizenship of the period. Citizenship education was mostly composed of historical, patriotic and ethical lessons, as

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<sup>205</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 111

<sup>206</sup> Alan Sears. “‘Something Different to Everyone’: Conceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education” *Canadian and International Education*. Vol. 25. No. 2. December 1996. Pg. 40

<sup>207</sup> Mark Evans. “Educating for Citizenship in Schools in Canada” *Orbit*. Vol. 33. No. 2. 2003. Pg. 33

indicated in square brackets above.<sup>208</sup> However, the patriotism alludes to an ambiguous Canadian identity, identifying efforts and sacrifices of past generations without explicitly stating a Canadian past. This reflected the practical realities of Canada's relationship to Britain during the period.

The notion of a Canadian, rather than British identity began to appear by the end of the First World War. In 1918, Manitoba's Minister of Education, R.S. Thornton said "Our aim is to plant schools with Canadian teachers setting forth Canadian ideals and teaching the language of the country."<sup>209</sup> Assigned textbooks contained the story of Canadian involvement in the war; *The 1918 Canada War Book* included stories of war heroes and military battles and approved by most education departments to be available for teachers, schools and libraries.<sup>210</sup> Post-war textbooks noted the impact the events had on Canadian identity and sovereignty, "In her relations with the foreign countries Canada has become less and less dependent upon the motherland."<sup>211</sup> By 1921, alongside singing "God Save the King", students sang "Canada! Maple Land!" and the "Dominion Hymn" and the Union Jack began to share its billing with the Canadian red ensign.<sup>212</sup> A distinct Canadian identity appeared to be emerging in the citizenship education narrative.

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<sup>208</sup> In 1922, Albertan schools supported the belief that their role was to aid in the development of a child's morality and good character. Sheehan, "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House", Pg. 224; In the 1924 revision of Ontario curriculum character education became a central goal of the school. Robert S. Patterson. "Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude: 1914-1945" *Canadian Education: A History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970. Pg. 370

<sup>209</sup> Bruno-Jofre, Pg. 114

<sup>210</sup> Nancy M. Sheehan. "World War I and Provincial Educational Policy in English Canada" *Historical Perspectives on Educational Policy in Canada: Issues, Debates and Case Studies*. Eds. Eric W. Ricker and B. Anne Wood. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1995. Pg. 262

<sup>211</sup> Harro Van Brummelen. "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925" *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*. Eds. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986. Pg. 27

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.,

While Canadian educational regimes attempted to shed British ties, notions of racism and assimilation remained within the citizenship narrative. J.T.M. Anderson wrote in his 1918 textbook *The Education of the New Canadian*, “It is surely manifest that the greatest agency in racial assimilation is the common or public school. This is the great melting-pot into which must be placed these diverse racial groups, and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of citizenship.”<sup>213</sup> The idealized Canadian mosaic was still many years away.

Following the trend of growing public scrutiny of education was the growth of education policy communities. Many of these policy actors had ideas that may have helped early consensus building an accepted Canadian identity for citizenship education. Groups such as the National Council of Education promoted provincial cooperation on policy development. The council was founded by the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association at the end of the First World War.<sup>214</sup> Private interests in public education continued as the business sector funded the 1919 National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship in Winnipeg.<sup>215</sup> As the education lobby developed in Canada, the construction of a citizenship education narrative would need to accommodate more policy demands and inputs. The challenge of adopting more ambitious positions would create more discursive ambiguity.

During the inter-war period, a unique and pan-Canadian citizenship narrative continued to slowly and incrementally develop. A focus on character began to replace patriotism and morality along with labour market concerns that challenged democratic

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<sup>213</sup> J.T.M. Anderson. *The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1918. Pg. 114

<sup>214</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 100

<sup>215</sup> Bruno-Jofre, Pg. 114

citizenship concerns in the education policy field.<sup>216</sup> As well, various activities promoted a sense of new Canadian national responsibility.<sup>217</sup> The Manitoba Minister of Education stated in 1920: “A teacher should be a teacher, not for one province but for all Canada. Our schools should not be a Manitoba school, but Canadian schools located in Manitoba.”<sup>218</sup> Sears notes,

As in Canadian cultural and intellectual life generally, Canadian content began to be valued for its own sake, simply because it was Canadian. To take an obvious example, Canadian history was no longer taught as an adjunct to British history, but as a subject in its own right, while British history slowly began to disappear from school curricula altogether, especially after 1945.<sup>219</sup>

Still, while Canadian identity gradually developed, British influence was difficult to ignore for citizenship education curriculum developers. In textbooks such as the 1923 Ontario Readers the British Empire was described in overtly positive tones. Governor General Earl Grey wrote in this third installment of the reader, “the British Empire stands out before the whole world as the fearless champion of freedom, fair play and equal rights; that its watchwords are responsibility, duty, sympathy and self-sacrifice, and that special responsibility rests with you individually to be true to the traditions and the mission of your race.”<sup>220</sup> Grey’s message incorporates most of the conservative values driving early citizenship education in Canada. Students were implored to accept

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<sup>216</sup> Sears notes, “It was no coincidence that a major national conference in October 1919, was officially styled The National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship or that the words Character Education were printed twice as large in the title as Citizenship Education.” Sears, “‘Something Different to Everyone’: Conceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education”, Pg. 42

<sup>217</sup> Robert Patterson. “Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude: 1914-1945” *Canadian Education: A History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970. Pg. 380

<sup>218</sup> Tomkins. *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, Pg. 147

<sup>219</sup> Sears, “‘Something Different to Everyone’: Conceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education”, Pg. 45

<sup>220</sup> Satu Repo. “From Pilgrim’s Progress to Sesame Street: 125 Years of Colonial Readers” *The Politics of the Canadian Public School*. Ed. George Martell. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1974. Pg. 118

responsibility and uphold deferential attitudes towards the British Empire and its global mission.

New policy actors did not guarantee change, as certain pedagogical tendencies were difficult to leave behind. In May 1918, Henry J. Cody, rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Toronto, became Ontario's new Minister of Education. Cody believed that history was a “great vehicle of patriotic instruction” and saw “the value of the subject in promoting patriotism, in providing material for a clear grasp on Canadian civics and in expounding Canada’s Imperial relations and her place in the Empire.”<sup>221</sup>

Another significant development of this period was the emergence of large-scale investigations on public education. As a consensus was forming on the importance of education policy to the state it is no surprise that provincial governments began to seriously contemplate their delivery of education. In 1919, the Ontario minister of education noted “the world today looks to the schools more than any other agency to heal and guard the past and to direct and stabilize progress in the future.”<sup>222</sup> In the years after the First World War, studies on education were completed in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia.<sup>223</sup> The studies focused on a variety of issues affecting the growth of Canadian education.<sup>224</sup> Manitoba’s 1924 Murray Commission studied concerns such as

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<sup>221</sup> Stamp writes that Cody’s “promotion of imperialism and moral rectitude went far beyond the formal school...he sought to attract returned soldiers into the teaching profession for their ‘moral force and influence’.” Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 105

<sup>222</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 97

<sup>223</sup> George S. Tomkins. “Foreign Influences on Curriculum Policy Making and Development in Canada: Some Impressions in Historical and Contemporary Perspective” *Curriculum Canada II: Curriculum Policy and Curriculum Development*. Eds. Jean-Jacques Bernier and George S. Tomkins. Vancouver: Center for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, July 1980. Pg. 132

<sup>224</sup> Nova Scotia completed a royal commission in 1927 on the fishing industry that recommended an educational program for fishermen. Patterson, “Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude: 1914-1945”, Pg. 365; A 1930 Commission in Prince Edward Island chaired by Dr. Cyrus MacMillan recommended consolidating schools and introducing higher salaries for teachers. Government of Prince Edward Island. *Report of the Commissioner on Educational Finance and Related Problems in Administration*. Charlottetown: 1960. Pg. 9

the “The needs of the more recently settled and less developed districts of the province for better educational facilities, and the ways and means of providing such facilities.”<sup>225</sup> In British Columbia, increasing dissatisfaction with the delivery of education led to what C.E. Phillips called “the most thorough examination of any school system in Canada to that time.”<sup>226</sup> Part of this examination directly addressed the delivery of citizenship education curriculum delivery. Concerning citizenship education, the British Columbia government’s 1924 investigation of public education, the Putnam-Weir Survey, suggested, “In Canadian history more stress should be placed upon civics, current events, and projects. Dramatization methods of teaching are too seldom used in the majority of schools. Any means that will render the teaching of history less ‘factual’ and more thought-stimulating should be promoted.”<sup>227</sup> While foreshadowing future areas of attention, this period of pedagogical investigations would not match the later attention paid to education renewal and reform by royal commissions across the country. The period represented an initial spike in the policy attention to aims and objectives of citizenship education in Canada.

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<sup>225</sup> Government of Manitoba. Report of the Commission on the Possibility of Readjusting the Relations of the Higher Institutions of Learning, 1924. Pg. 4

<sup>226</sup> The Putnam-Weir Report was an idea that originated with the British Columbia Teachers’ Federation 1922 spring convention. F. Henry Johnson. *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1964. Pg. 101; The 1925 Putnam-Weir Survey recommended less discipline, greater curricular flexibility and more differentiation in instruction. Patterson, “Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude: 1914-1945”, Pg. 371

<sup>227</sup> J.H. Putnam and G.M. Weir. *Survey of the School System*. Victoria: King’s Printer, 1925. Pg. 42

## 2.6 A More Concentrated Solution: The Development of Specific “Civics” Education in Canada

The late 1920s and 1930s experienced a renewed push to reform curriculum and solidify the aims and objectives of the public school; the push provided for more exercises in navel gazing and self examination for burgeoning provincial governments. At a Canadian Education Association convention in 1929, Nova Scotia’s superintendent of education, Dr. Henry F. Munro argued, “the capacity and integrity of our democracy depend on the public school...the ideas and ideals of citizenship must come home to men’s bosom through the heart and conscience as well as the processes of the mind.”<sup>228</sup> While some policy actors attached the potential of education to the growth of Canadian identity, Section 93’s designation of provincial jurisdiction over education made it a policy that was also used for province building. In 1934 Alberta Deputy Minister of Education G.W. Gorman reported “the greatness of the province will ultimately be determined by the type of education we provide for all the people within our borders, more especially children.”<sup>229</sup> Education policy held hope for governments and their efforts to maximize the aggregate utility of their citizens.

During the 1930s, a handful of reforms took place in schooling programs across the country: Nova Scotia (1930), Alberta (1936), Ontario (1937), and British Columbia, Manitoba and New Brunswick (1939).<sup>230</sup> Cynicism met many of the reform attempts. A 1943 Canadian Education Association report declared, “None of the proposed reforms will turn out to be anything more than mere tinkering with obsolete machinery unless schools are established and maintained on such a basis that they can enlist and retain the

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<sup>228</sup> B. Anne Wood, Pg. 20

<sup>229</sup> Nick Kach. “Progressive Education in Alberta” *Essays on Canadian Education*. Ed. Nick Kach, Kas Mazurek, Robert S. Patterson, Ivan DeFaveri. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986. Pg. 97

<sup>230</sup> Manzer, *Public Policies and Political Development in Canada*, Pg. 134-135

interest, attention and energy of the pupils.”<sup>231</sup> Regardless of skeptics, governments believed they were responding to real forces. The various investigations noted changes in demographics, and economic and social changes. As Canadians continued to move from the country to the city, a majority of the administrative changes involved amalgamating and centralizing school boards. In twenty years, the number of school boards went from 20,000 to roughly 5,000.<sup>232</sup> The new urban student was spending more time in school as well. In 1911 the average student’s school tenure was eight years and increased to ten by 1941.<sup>233</sup>

Peter Sandiford argued that there was a common element to be found in the reforms. Sandiford wrote “These revisions are based on a new conception of education, explicitly stated as the development of character and citizenship and the provision for pupils of ‘a stimulating environment in which their natural tendencies will be directed into useful habits and describe attitudes.’”<sup>234</sup> Educators echoed Sandiford’s sentiments. Clarence Moore, principal of the Brandon Normal School, wrote in 1939, “(the objective of education) was to produce a generation of informed, thinking, and socially disposed citizens...it no longer suffices to teach the bare facts of geography and history...complex and varied situations demand radical variations in materials and teaching methods.”<sup>235</sup> The attitudes of education policy makers such as Moore played a role in the advent of a more robust delivery of citizenship education and influenced new directions in curriculum.

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<sup>231</sup> J.G. Althouse. *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education*. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1949. Pg. 44

<sup>232</sup> Woodrow S. Lloyd. *The Role of Government in Canadian Education*. Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1959. Pg. 33

<sup>233</sup> G.W. Bancroft. “Some Sociological Considerations on Education in Canada” *Canadian Education and Research Digest*. Vol. 4. No. 1. March 1964. Pg. 26

<sup>234</sup> Peter Sandiford. “Curriculum Revision in Canada” *The School*. February 1938. Pg. 475-477

<sup>235</sup> Bruno-Jofre, Pg. 119

In 1922, “Civics” was one of the obligatory courses in Ontario high schools.<sup>236</sup> In 1923, the University of Toronto history department prepared a report on the teaching of history and civics for the National Council of Education.<sup>237</sup> The report caused considerable controversy as it suggested that history should not be the arena for patriotic or moral lessons.<sup>238</sup> This was an obvious shift from previous intentions and program directions. Nova Scotia’s Superintendent of Education, Dr. Henry F. Munro argued in 1928 that history was of prime importance to citizenship and unfortunately “the most poorly taught subject in the whole curriculum.”<sup>239</sup> Outside of Ontario and Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan introduced a course in 1931 called “Citizenship and Character Education.”<sup>240</sup> Expectations were high for the possibilities of these curriculum reforms. The National Council of Education tempered the expectations of new civics programs but accepted the course’s place in the scholastic program:

Enthusiasts for popular education should therefore be warned against overestimating the possibilities of any system of instruction. But seeing that the successful working of democratic government depends upon the existence of an electorate trained to some appreciation of national and international problems, and seeing that this appreciation depends very largely upon some knowledge of history, the educationalist has no alternative but to go forward in the hope that a satisfactory number of pupils may profit from the instruction given.<sup>241</sup>

The Council’s position supports the unavoidable role public schooling acquired in delivering citizenship education. In this unavoidable role, the state has responsibility over

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<sup>236</sup> W.F. Dyde. *Public Secondary Education in Canada*. New York City: Teachers College, 1929. Pg. 204

<sup>237</sup> Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, Pg. 226

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>239</sup> Edwin C. Guillet. *In the Cause of Education: Centennial History of the Ontario Educational Association, 1861-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960. Pg. 310

<sup>240</sup> Government of Saskatchewan. *Public School Curriculum and Teacher’s Guide, Grades I-VIII*. Regina: King’s Printer, 1931. Pg. 10

<sup>241</sup> National Council of Education. *Observations on the Teaching of History and Civics in Primary and Secondary Schools of Canada*. Winnipeg: National Council of Education, 1923. Pg. 4

the policy without clear direction of how to develop or implement the policy. Without clear direction a variety of causal stories are formed.

The following examples demonstrate the citizenship education curriculum trends in the provinces. In 1934, Ontario Deputy Minister of Education Duncan McArthur noted “the structure of good citizenship...must be laid in schools” with social studies as a central component of the curriculum “creating and promoting right social attitudes.”<sup>242</sup> In 1935, Alberta’s Department of Education contended that, “The social studies classroom instead of being a place where children ‘learn’ history, geography and civics, is to be a real laboratory, where co-operation, initiative, originality and responsibility are developed.”<sup>243</sup> Alberta’s version of citizenship education foreshadows contemporary citizenship education curriculum in most Canadian provinces. Included in the 1937 Ontario curriculum was the promotion of social studies as an aggregate of specific disciplines such as history and geography. W.G. Fleming writes that the 1937 social studies course,

Was not intended to be an ill-blended combination of these specific subjects. It began, rather, with the idea that the child should be given an opportunity to understand something of the physical characteristics of the world around him, of man’s place in it, of the nature of human society in its various manifestations – all with reference to the temporal as well as the spatial dimension.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> George Tomkins. “The Social Studies in Canada” *A Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Jim Parsons, Geoff Milburn and Max van Manen. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1983. Pg. 18

<sup>243</sup> Penney Clark and Roland Case. “Four Purposes of Citizenship Education” *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*. Ed. Roland Case, Penney Clark. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1999. Pg. 23; A 1936 Alberta curriculum handbook stated ‘the new curriculum must be made to contribute its full share to the development of character, right attitudes and good citizenship in Alberta youth.’” Sheehan, “Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House”, Pg. 226

<sup>244</sup> Fleming, Pg. 219

The policy direction at the time would appear to be on target for understandings of citizenship education, however, a variety of pedagogical and ideological trends influencing the citizenship education narrative would delay development.

As history and social studies curriculum changed, so did textbooks used in the classrooms. The changes were similar in moving from British to Canadian influences and values. The Canadian Readers, the Royal Readers and the Ontario Readers eventually replaced the early texts, the Irish Readers in Ontario schools.<sup>245</sup> William Sherwood Fox, president of University of Western Ontario in the 1930s, called the Canadian Readers “the first authorized Readers which even remotely deserve the name Canadian.”<sup>246</sup> Publishers were not shy in boasting about the burgeoning young nation. The 1940s included the arrival of such Canadian history textbooks as the *Building the Canadian Nation, Colony to Nation* and *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be*.<sup>247</sup> Similar to other areas of the economic landscape, Canadian ownership over educational resources was an important step. However, like much of the citizenship education progress of the time, a consensus over Canadian identity would not clearly emerge.

The waning British influence was replaced by American influence. Between 1923 and 1938 more than one thousand Canadians enrolled in Columbia University’s graduate

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<sup>245</sup> Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Pg. 11; The Irish Readers were the first textbooks authorized by Upper Canada in 1846 and seen by many as a rebuke to American options. Robert J. Graham. “The Irish Readers Revisited: The Power of the Text(book)” *Canadian Journal of Education*. V. 14. No. 4. 1989

<sup>246</sup> McDonald, “Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890”, Pg. 97; A 1933 textbook survey found that history was broadly employed as an instrument of nationalism. Ken Osborne. “An Early Example of the Analysis of History Textbooks in Canada” *Canadian Social Studies*. Vol. 29. No. 1. Fall 1994. Pg. 22

<sup>247</sup> Conley, Pg. 144

school of education.<sup>248</sup> Colonial and Christian themes were on the decline; the education of Canadian citizens was opening up to more complex and challenging goals but this period would not produce a lasting and accepted version of Canadian citizenship for classroom consumption.

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<sup>248</sup> George Tomkins. "Foreign Influences on Curriculum and Curriculum Policy Making in Canada: Some Impressions in Historical and Contemporary Perspective" *Curriculum Inquiry*. Vol. 11. No.2 Summer 1981. Pg. 161

## **2.7 Conclusion – Finding the “Canadian” in Canadian Citizenship Education**

During the pre-1947 era in Canadian citizenship education, Britain’s paternal relationship with Canada was not hidden from young Canadian students. A key component in the formation of policy causal stories, the relationship was best expressed in the passage quoted earlier equating the British-Canadian relationship to that “of a fond parent to a full-grown son.”<sup>249</sup> The lasting image and presence of the colonial parent did not allow a unique version of Canadian citizenship education to emerge. Observers recognized the impact this type of narrative could have on developing citizens.

Concerning Canada’s early years of education, Lower writes, “The wonder is that the tender plant of Canadian nationalism survived at all, for all little Canadian boys and girls have been subjected from the day on which they start to school to an unending steeping in the liquid of ‘imperialism’.”<sup>250</sup> Finding a unique Canadian identity in the early citizenship education narrative policy paths is challenging but the formative meanings are significant to later pedagogical developments.

During this period, the school became the policy responsibility of the state, providing a venue for governments to articulate certain aims and objectives of education.<sup>251</sup> The curriculum gained legitimacy and greater meaning for analysis as the

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<sup>249</sup> McArthur, Pg. 484; The evolution of material began as soon as the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867. However, Robert Stamp argued that Confederation brought little change to citizenship education in Canadian schools. George Tomkins. “Canadian Education and the Development of a National Consciousness: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives” *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*. Ed. Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1977. Pg. 11

<sup>250</sup> Lower, Pg. 350

<sup>251</sup> W.G. Fleming writes that the purpose of social studies in 1930s “was said to be to help the child understand the society in which he lived and the duties and responsibilities of its members to one another.” Fleming, Pg. 124; The course was organized by combining geography, history and citizenship. H.C. Newlands, a leading Alberta educator in the 1930s, noted, “If a course in social studies defines the goals of social endeavour...we shall have a curriculum which will in a considerable measure discard the tradition of book learning, and of culture in vacuum; all learning and all education will have a direct bearing on the social purpose which is to be achieved.” Bob Davis. *Whatever Happened to High School History? Burying the Political Memory of Ontario Youth: 1945-1995*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Limited, 1995.

state moved away reliance on the church or home for political socialization. The acceptance of public education allowed for various policy directions to be pursued.

Alongside the growth of public education came an increase in public expectations and more ambitious and unattainable aims and objectives for education policy. As Crystal and DeBell contend, the aims of education for democratic civil society have been “rather lofty.”<sup>252</sup> The loftiness was found in the words of early pedagogical pioneers such as Ryerson and Ross and in the hyperbolic history textbooks assigned to young students. Regarding Canadian textbooks, Keasly and Warrian wrote “Canadian history has been painted as a sweeping heroic canvas where great men do battle against the insurmountable odds of a brutal climate and powerful rivals... Ordinary Canadians rarely appear in this picture.”<sup>253</sup> This type of mythology produced an ambiguous direction for how to act as a Canadian citizen.

Even if directions were vague, citizenship education became a regular part of Canadian curricula. The most popular view of early citizenship education was the lessons of imperialism and Christianity based in responsibilities of the citizen. The belief in the public school as an agent of change would be echoed in the royal commissions reviewed in the third chapter and the contemporary citizenship education curriculum examined in the fourth and fifth chapters.

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Pg. 23; A similar practical sentiment was expressed in Ontario’s 1937 curriculum: “The social virtues of the good citizen are not things merely to learn about. They are to be achieved by practicing them.” Government of Ontario. Department of Education. *Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI of the Public and Separate Schools*. 1937. Pg. 60; Similarly, the 1936-37 Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia argued that the curriculum should mirror society: “From the point of view of society, the schools in any state exist to develop citizens, or subjects, according to the prevailing or dominating ideals of the state or society.” Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, Pg. 155

<sup>252</sup> Jean Bethke Elshtain. “Civil Society, Religion and the Formation of Citizens” *Making Good Citizens: Education and Civil Society*. Ed. Diane Ravitch and Joseph P. Viteritti. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Pg. 270

<sup>253</sup> G.S. Kealey and P. Warrian. *Essays in Canadian Working Class History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976. Pg. 8

The narrative of pre-1947 Canadian citizenship education differed greatly from later developments in the area. Built on lessons of conformity and colonialism, the citizenship education lessons emphasized a narrow and conservative Canada, reluctant to accept others and leave British ties behind. Early Canadian citizenship education was a simple policy to deliver because it was based on a simple Canada, one resistant to cultural change or societal progress. By 1947, Canadian citizenship education was about to begin a slow transformation to present day form. However, as will be seen in the following chapters, a more inclusive and pluralistic approach to Canadian citizenship education policy would not lead to a cohesive policy or agreed set of causal stories and solutions.

When Prime Minister Mackenzie King received the first Canadian citizenship he said, “As Canadians we have a national citizenship, a Commonwealth citizenship and a world citizenship.”<sup>254</sup> For a new citizenship there would be new challenges for citizenship education.<sup>255</sup> During the next sixty years, these changes would be articulated in both elite and classroom level citizenship education narratives constructed by Canadian governments; however, as I will argue in the next two chapters, the changes did not result in the end of overlapping and ever changing citizenship education policies. Versions of citizenship education found in the many provincial royal commissions on education between 1947 and 1994 did not produce an accepted notion of citizenship for

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<sup>254</sup> Tamsin McMahon. “The importance of being earnest – and Canadian” *The Record*. 30 December 2006. A1

<sup>255</sup> As much as there is a tradition of citizenship education, there is also a tradition of criticizing citizenship education in Canadian curricula. An Ontario School Inspector noted in 1893, “the class work generally consists of a lesson assigned in the textbook, and is confined to the story given there. Entirely too much time is spent on detail.” Richard M. Alway. “The Future of Canadian History in the High School: A Response to the Challenge” *Teaching for Tomorrow: A Symposium on the Social Studies in Canada*. Ed. John Lewis. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1969. Pg. 70; History and civics classes have consistently shifted between an emphasis on details and facts and a stress on the greater societal and political landscape. Some have described Canadian curriculum history as a struggle over ideology and the worth of certain knowledge. George Tomkins. “Towards a History of Curriculum Development in Canada” *The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective*. Vancouver: Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 1979. Pg. 12

pedagogical policy makers across the country. Citizenship education delivery in the form of policies such as the 2000 Ontario Civics course has not been met with tales of success.

## **Chapter Three: Moving Policy Targets: The Three Narratives of Canadian Macro-Citizenship Education Reform, 1947-1994**

### **3.1 Introduction**

*"The popular faith in education, already remarkable by 1950, reached religious proportions by 1960. In the minds of some, education became confused with evolution. The schools were expected to provide liberty, equality, and fraternity, to end crime, abolish welfare, guarantee good jobs, cultivate the mind, liberate the spirit, underwrite democracy, elevate moral standards, cure (or prevent) mental illness, guarantee happiness, stimulate enquiry, manufacture wise men, combat alcoholism, protect the public health, ensure a healthy sex life, and end pre-marital sex and pregnancy. ,<sup>256</sup>*

- 1974 Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial Municipal Relations

A very rich collection of material that represents the evolution and conception of the Canadian citizenship education policy narrative is found in the series of post-war royal commissions on education. The commission reports provide the wide range of solutions that provincial policy makers articulated through education objectives related to citizenship. The various conceptions represent the overlapping and ever changing views of citizenship presented by the provinces. These views can be placed in Stone's causal story notion that policies rely on solvable causes because in articulating policy directions, each commission also articulates the identified causes of the problems they are meant to solve.

The causes and solutions described in each commission can be viewed in aggregate as the narrative of macro-citizenship education policy in Canada. Adopting Deborah Stone's causal theory, the commission reports are viewed as narratives that identify specific causes within society that led to select education policy solutions. As

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<sup>256</sup> Government of Nova Scotia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations*. Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1974. Chapter 36, 30-31

discussed in the first chapter, macro-citizenship education is a reference to the overarching goals and themes of education policy compared to the more specific and targeted policies found in explicit curricula, which may be referred to as micro-citizenship education. The citizenship education narrative found in the royal commissions reflects the evolving conceptions of Canadian citizenship. The lack of consensus in citizenship education philosophies between provinces and over time is significant due to timing of this narrative, produced in a new era of greater state control over education and during the formative years of Canada's post-war search for national identity.

The following chapter starts off where the second chapter ended, soon after the Second World War and on the cusp of a new period of Canadian sovereignty. The elite level citizenship narrative presented in this chapter is constructed using the discourse of royal commissions on education. The discussion of citizenship demonstrates a tentative Canadian nationalism that never settles on a clear identity and pluralistic platitudes that never present a unique direction for Canadians. Central to building this policy narrative is a belief in the importance of education policy.

Education is routinely identified as the central socializing tool of the state. Yet because of its ubiquitous nature it is easy to underestimate the power of education in shaping national identity and citizenship construction in liberal democracies where the presence of free will and individual rights eclipse fears of explicit government indoctrination or socialization. Nevertheless, the education and citizenship education policy discourse can reveal signs of the state's intentions for citizenship construction. The meanings for citizenship found in the royal commission reports help to tell the story of

how citizenship education policy has helped to contribute to the challenges of Canadian identity construction.

The development of government policy is normally influenced by previous policy practices and actions including attempts to move away from them.<sup>257</sup> Periodically, the Canadian education paradigm is modified by recommendations to address educational systems that “are no longer in tune with the times.”<sup>258</sup> This is often driven by hope of state influenced economic growth. In the state’s discourse, education’s positive impact on the economic engine consistently competes for attention with education’s impact on the democratic health of the nation.<sup>259</sup> Regardless of the effects, governments have a short memory when it comes to policy reform – and education is no exception.

In 1947, the Canadian government took a major step in institutionalizing the country’s notion of official citizenship. When introducing the 1947 Citizenship Act in the House of Commons, cabinet minister Paul Martin Sr. stated, “Citizenship means more than the right to vote; more than the right to hold and transfer property; more than the right to move freely under the protection of the state; citizenship is the right to full partnership in the fortunes and in the future of the nation.”<sup>260</sup> Eighty years after Confederation, the country’s participation in World War II made Canadian citizenship a

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<sup>257</sup> K.A. Leithwood, J.S. Clipsham, Florence Maynes and P.B. Baxter. *Planning Curriculum Change: A Model and Case Study*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976. Pg. 307

<sup>258</sup> Joseph Katz. *Society, Schools and Progress in Canada*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969. Pg. 108

<sup>259</sup> Heater writes, “The education of young citizens must therefore embrace sociological and economic understanding of two reasons; because the political cannot comprehend without the socio-economic; and because, as we have seen, citizenship has an intrinsic social content.” Derek Heater. *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*. Third Edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004. Pg. 282

<sup>260</sup> William Kaplan, “Introduction” *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*. Ed. William Kaplan. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993. Pg. 21.

“logical step”.<sup>261</sup> After visiting Europe and gaining an appreciation for the role Canadians played in the war, Martin Sr. and many others were convinced the concept of Canadian citizenship was in need of official status. The historic change in citizenship provides an appropriate starting point in examining the conceptual interpretations of citizenship through state pedagogical reports. In the years following the Citizenship Act, Canadian provinces left a notable trail of ambitious reports of royal commissions on education that provide substantial policy discourse on the production of Canadian citizens.

The theoretical direction of this chapter is informed by both punctuated equilibrium and causal story policy theories that stress the timing and justification attached to policy direction. Education is a policy field where policy problems are continuously “structured and restructured by ideas and discussion, sometimes taking the shape of ‘causal stories’.”<sup>262</sup> Introduced in the first chapter, causal stories stress that situations are caused by human actions and are “amenable to human intervention”.<sup>263</sup> The struggles arise over how to diagnose the “cause” or problem and the relevant solution. The causal stories can create challenges for policy development and delivery because there is no effective check on reliability or legitimacy of the stories. Educational objectives are thus defined by subjective appeals from changing government actors.<sup>264</sup> The consequences of sporadic policy interest can be significant. Even a brief punctuated

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<sup>261</sup> Desmond Morton, “Divided Loyalties? Divided Country?” *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*. Ed. William Kaplan. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993. Pg. 59

<sup>262</sup> Claudio M. Radaelli. “The role of knowledge in the policy process” *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol. 2. No. 2 June 1995. Pg. 170

<sup>263</sup> Stone “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 281

<sup>264</sup> In his work, Kingdon wonders what makes some subjects matter and others not. John Kingdon. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. Pg. 1; Bradford asks similar policy questions concerning the attractiveness of some ideas over others. Neil Bradford. “The Policy Influence of Economic Ideas: Interests, Institutions and Innovation in Canada” *Restructuring and Resistance: Canadian Public Policy in an Age of Global Capitalism*. Eds. Mike Burke et al. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2000. Pg. 50

equilibrium in curriculum concern can have a major impact.<sup>265</sup> Relying on the interaction between ideas and actions of the state and the citizenry, the punctuated-equilibrium theory posits the presence of long stages of incremental change punctuated by brief periods of major policy reform.<sup>266</sup> Three eras of reform are identified for this analysis. The periods are developed with a break between each era in the accepted education policy equilibrium, or more simply put, common directions and practices. In an attempt to identify the influential factors that motivated the break in direction, demographic figures are examined to uncover possible motivating factors that led to these sporadic policy changes.<sup>267</sup>

As mentioned in the opening chapter, the method of discourse analysis this article adopts is the approach to analyzing text presented by Michael Hoey described as the “problem-solution discourse”.<sup>268</sup> While the questions are relatively common sense, Hoey is kept in mind: – 1) What was the perceived problem with society/citizens? (in terms of context and needs), 2) What was the solution offered? (in terms of broad educational objectives and more explicit citizenship goals).

Canada has a tradition of relying on royal commissions to study complex and important issues.<sup>269</sup> To move forward with this methodological approach, royal

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<sup>265</sup> Baumgartner and Jones argue that short-term public interest can lead to long-term policy consequences. Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 88; Borrowed from the natural sciences, equilibrium models help to explain the empirical realities. Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. Pg. 25

<sup>266</sup> Paul A. Sabatier. “The Need for Better Theories” *Theories of the Policy Process: Theoretical Lenses on Public Policy*. Ed. Paul A. Sabatier. Boulder: Westview, 1999. Pg. 9

<sup>267</sup> The rationale for curriculum reform can be identified by analyzing demographic, economic, social, technological, or professional changes, and public views or professional views of education. Leithwood et al., Pg. 306

<sup>268</sup> Hoey has created a method of breaking down discourse into four components: 1) situation, 2) problem, 3) response and 4) result and evaluation. Gomm, Pg. 259; Hoey, Pg. 64

<sup>269</sup> Jean Barman and Neil Sutherland. “Royal Commission Retrospective” *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*. Ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, J. Donald Wilson. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995. Pg. 411

commissions must be seen as a legitimate and useful text to analyze. The methodology adopted for this treatment of citizenship education discourse is reliant on the assumption that royal commissions and other major provincially sanctioned education reports matter to both policy makers and the public. The reports suggest a tone of self-importance; for example, as the 1987 British Columbia Royal Commission on Education states, “Royal Commissions provide an important opportunity for people to express their views and, in doing so, to shape educational policy and the values and priorities we place on learning.”<sup>270</sup> Sometimes it may appear that the reports overstep their bounds. It is important to remember that the acceptance of royal commissions as persuasive policy actors has not been unanimous. Hugh Stevenson argues,

(Royal commissions) have generated a great deal of public discussion; they have even identified some very important formats. The fact remains that their implementation depends ultimately on political desirability, not educational need. Consequently, the record of change resulting directly from them has not been very impressive. Royal Commissions have become the burying ground for the ideas of our best thinkers.<sup>271</sup>

Some have viewed commissions as a means of discovering policy directions while others have believed that commissions can legitimize existing policy. Henry Marshall Tory once playfully remarked, “if we are going to change it (education) must first appoint a royal commission to tell us how it is done” and as one editorial writer commented, “whenever there is a hot political potato we usually refer it to a royal commission...this is a sure way to cool it off.”<sup>272</sup> Along with the hot potato metaphor, we can allude to the killing of a fly with a sledgehammer; some public problems may not require the lengthy treatise on

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<sup>270</sup> Government of British Columbia. *A Legacy for Learners: The Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1988. Pg. 3

<sup>271</sup> Hugh A. Stevenson. “Ten Years to Know-where” *The Failure of Educational Reform in Canada*. Ed. Douglas Myers. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973. Pg. 53

<sup>272</sup> Johnson, Pg. 168

policy solutions. While accepting the contested nature of royal commissions, the documents that the commissions produce can still be viewed as an official and public record of policy intentions and efforts. The frequency of royal commissions on a variety of topics has produced a number of skeptics yet many still find worth in their existence. Gillett writes, “(royal commissions) have all, in one way or another, sought to reassess the Canadian scene, to develop institutional forms appropriate to this country and to improve existing conditions.”<sup>273</sup>

This chapter will present three periods of pedagogical discourse in Canadian education history to consider the citizenship narrative: Reactive (1950-1960), Philosophical (1963-1974) and Proactive (1988-1997). The first period was dominated by a pedagogical discourse concerned with financial and administrative issues associated with public education (Reactive). The second period was a discursive turn to more philosophical trends penetrating educational circles (Philosophical). The last period included a series of prognostications of the future challenges to the state (Proactive). This analysis attempts to answer two central research questions: 1) When do provincial governments desire to change the direction of education and, implicitly or explicitly, the construction of citizens (the problem)? and, 2) How do provincial governments define the ideal citizen once reform is initiated (the solution)? Provincial governments have not followed a predictable pattern of education reform and have not constructed a coherent national Canadian citizenship narrative. Due to inconsistent objectives and conflicting views of citizenship, provincial governments have not strengthened the understanding of Canadian identity and contributed positively to a consensual acceptance of Canadian

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<sup>273</sup> Margaret Gillett. *A History of Education: Thought and Practice*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1966. Pg. 399

citizenship for pedagogical purposes. Provincial jurisdiction over education in combination with the lack of a strong consensus on national identity hampered the creation of a cohesive citizenship narrative and consistent causal story.

### **3.2 The History of Royal Commissions on Education**

The three periods of education reform are created to identify three separate eras of elite level citizenship education policy direction. The first period (Reactive) was a time of policy immaturity and initial construction, the second stage (Philosophical) occurred during an atmosphere of growing popularity for education, and the third era (Proactive) emerged amidst a troubling economy. These three identified eras of citizenship education policy reform help us understand trends and locate the contradictions of the provincial governments' pedagogical policy narratives. The following section will provide contextual and historical background for the three periods identified.

### 3.2.1 Reactive Era

In post-war Canada, education problems were defined as crises due to the rising population and increasing economic demands. Increased state intervention in education was part of the governments' growing role in Canadian society.<sup>274</sup> Major immigration and the baby boom transformed Canadian society and created major demands for more schools and more ambitious education policy.<sup>275</sup> Along with changing demographics, some questioned the effectiveness of new policy models such as progressive education.<sup>276</sup> The gradual move to progressive education was set in the context of a changing Canadian economy. Again, democratic and economic goals of education had the opportunity to either clash or co-exist. In the reactive reform period, economic concerns appeared to take precedent. During the 1950s, Canada's economy continued to evolve from one based on natural resources to a focus on more manufacturing and services. In response to these societal changes, the state attempted to implement new educational policies that articulated an updated economic model citizen.

The central factors influencing the 1950s Canadian educational "crisis" were demographic changes that placed financial pressures on facilities and curricula.<sup>277</sup> The Canadian state reacted with a flurry of policy and program evaluations. Scarfe noted in 1963, "Secondary education almost all over the world is undergoing revolutionary

<sup>274</sup> The introduction to the 1950 Ontario Hope Report described education as "everybody's business". Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 23

<sup>275</sup> Joan Price Boase. "Trends in Social Policy: Towards the Millennium" *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*. Ed. Christopher Dunn. Orchard Park: Broadview, 1996. Pg. 457; Hugh A. Stevenson. "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960" *Canadian Education: A History*. Ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970. Pg. 411

<sup>276</sup> The departure from progressive education was rooted in post-war concerns with individual contributions to society. Practical pedagogical goals emerged as more important than abstract ideals. Hilda Neatby's influential work, *So Little for the Mind* criticized the curriculum content of the 1950s. Neatby complained that progressive education weakened respect for authority and indoctrinated Canadian children both intellectually and morally. Hilda Neatby. *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education*. Toronto: Clarke, 1953. Pg. 17. Progressivism would later surface in Ontario's Hall-Dennis report.

<sup>277</sup> Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960", Pg. 390

change...nowhere is this change more evident than in Canada, where at least six royal commissions have, within the space of ten years, undertaken to review and revise secondary education.”<sup>278</sup> The following table lists the major and minor reports completed on education policy in the provinces during this era. For this study, I focus on only the major endeavours – the reports of royal commissions on education from Ontario, Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia between 1950 and 1960.

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<sup>278</sup> N.V. Scarfe. “Foreward” *The Canadian Secondary School: An Appraisal and a Forecast*. A collection of the papers delivered at the Conference on the Canadian High School sponsored by the Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta. Ed. Lawrence W. Downey and L. Ruth Dawson. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1963. Pg. v

**Table 7: Major and Minor Education Reports of the Reactive Reform Era (1950-1960)**

*Major Reports*

Year	Province	Report
1950	Ontario	Royal Commission of Education in Ontario
1959	Alberta	Royal Commission on Education in Alberta
1959	Manitoba	Royal Commission on Education in Manitoba
1960	British Columbia	Royal Commission on Education in British Columbia

*Minor Reports*<sup>279</sup>

Year	Province	Report
1954	Nova Scotia	Royal Commission on Public School Finance
1956	Saskatchewan	Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life: Rural Education
1960	P.E.I.	Royal Commission on Educational Finance and Related Problems in Administration

The first contribution to the post-1947 elite level citizenship education policy narrative was Ontario's Hope Report. The largest investigation of education at the time in Canadian history, the Hope Report was a result of campaign promises made by Ontario Premier George Drew in 1945.<sup>280</sup> The Hope report was intimidating in its size and scope. The commission lasted five years (1945-50), heard from 475 witnesses, and received 258

<sup>279</sup> While the Hope Commission was an example of a sweeping statement on education, Nova Scotia's 1954 and Saskatchewan's 1956 efforts were much narrower in scope. Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 109; Nova Scotia's 1954 commission was not concerned with curriculum or pedagogical objectives but rather the financing of public schools in the province. Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*, Pg. 172; Between 1942 and 1953, twelve hundred new classrooms were opened in Nova Scotia as post-war babies entered the school system. The aim was to obtain information on financial problems in other jurisdictions. Government of Nova Scotia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations*. Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1974. Pg. 15, 24; The Saskatchewan government launched a minor investigation into the state of the province's education system. Rasmussen notes the commission, "began the slow process of embedding the state within society." Ken Rasmussen. "From Entrepreneurial State to Embedded State" *The Provincial State in Canada: Politics in the Provinces and Territories*. Eds. Keith Brownsey and Michael Howlett. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2001. Pg. 246; The Saskatchewan report recognized the growing utility of education, "Youth must be prepared to contribute to social progress, to understand and adapt themselves to a changing environment, to acquire new skills, and to be able to make full use of new social and economic techniques." Government of Saskatchewan. *Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life*. Report No. 6 Rural Education. 1956. Pg. 244; In 1960, the Prince Edward Island government appointed Milton Ezra LaZerte as commissioner of an inquiry into the administrative and financial aspects of the province's education system. Government of Prince Edward Island. *Report of the Commissioner on Educational Finance and Related Problems in Administration*. Charlottetown: 1960. Pg. 2

<sup>280</sup> Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960", Pg. 396; Chaired by John Andrew Hope and consisting of twenty individuals, the commission began work in 1945. R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. Pg. 23

briefs and 44 memoranda. The result was a massive, somber tome of 933 pages. Policy recommendations included creating a mandatory ten years of schooling, establishing kindergarten and abolishing grade thirteen.<sup>281</sup>

While the Hope Report was viewed as a moderately progressive document that accepted the ever-popular stance that the school can cure the ills of society, the report was received with a mix of apathy and criticism.<sup>282</sup> Few politicians read the report, the government gave it little attention and a *Globe and Mail* editorial described the commission as a “tragedy of errors”.<sup>283</sup> The government ignored most of the recommendations and commissioners experienced political interference.<sup>284</sup> Hugh Stevenson argued, “The Hope Commission remains a classic example of the ways Royal Commissions and the governments who appoint them sometimes fail to serve the best interests of the public.”<sup>285</sup> Substantial education reform in Ontario was not completed until the early 1960s when government committees continued the task started by the Hope Commission.<sup>286</sup> The Hope Report was also an example of how the slow pace of policy reform added to the other institutional (federalism) and ideological barriers

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<sup>281</sup> Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, Pg. 23

<sup>282</sup> Tomkins, “Tradition and Change in Canadian Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives”, Pg. 9; Released near Christmas, the document was unbound with no advance or abbreviated copies available for the press. The public response was described as “nil”. Douglas Myers. “From Hope to Hall-Dennis: the official report as an instrument of educational reform” *Means and Ends in Education: Comments on Living and Learning*. Ed. Brian Crittenden. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969. Pg. 14

<sup>283</sup> Tomkins, “Tradition and Change in Canadian Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives”, Pg. 9

<sup>284</sup> Stevenson, “Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960”, Pg. 396; Premier Leslie Frost inherited the report after Drew left in 1949. While Frost supported educational change, the 933-page report was seen as too explosive to unconditionally accept. Stevenson, “Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960”, Pg. 397; Gidney argues that while some of the recommendations on attendance were followed, the major plans to reorganize the education systems were considered both too expensive and unnecessary. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, Pg. 24

<sup>285</sup> Stevenson, “Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960”, Pg. 399

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.,

(imperialism) that challenged the emergence of a cohesive Canadian citizenship education narrative.

In the late 1950s, three Western Canadian provinces completed royal commissions on education: Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia. Initiated by an Order-in-Council on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1957 and led by Senator Donald Cameron, Alberta completed a Royal Commission on Education in 1959. In just under two years, the commission spent 162 days in 60 meetings.<sup>287</sup> The British Columbia commission led by Sperrin Chant began its comprehensive inquiry in January 1958. As the Alberta commission included a substantial component of public participation, so too did British Columbia's commission. The commission received 366 briefs and conducted 34 public hearings.<sup>288</sup> Similar to other provinces, population growth was a major concern.<sup>289</sup> Allowing for a reflective view of its own product, the Chant Commission recognized the banal declarations of previous pedagogical philosophies and earlier reports:

The Commission found that some of the general statements of the philosophy and aims of education that were obtained from educational literature, briefs, and other sources were so broad and all-inclusive that they appeared to have little direct bearing upon the educational practices that were being carried out in the schools.<sup>290</sup>

The public reaction to the Chant Commission was mixed but mostly favourable.<sup>291</sup>

The “Reactive Reform” era lacked wider visions and ideas about education beyond responding to demographic crises and economic challenges. In comparison,

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<sup>287</sup> Chalmers, Pg. 164

<sup>288</sup> Government of British Columbia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1960. Pg. 4

<sup>289</sup> Government of British Columbia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1960. Pg. 36

<sup>290</sup> Government of British Columbia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1960. Pg. 14

<sup>291</sup> In 1961, the British Columbia Minister of Education, Leslie Peterson, announced the government's intentions to implement some but not all of the recommendations. Johnson, Pg. 267

commissions and reports of the next era were driven by “big” ideas.<sup>292</sup> Public policy scholarship shows that while political economy and societal trends dictate much policy direction, ideas can have a major influence in their own right.<sup>293</sup> In the “Philosophical Reform” era of education, policy-elites placed big ideas amongst other education reform proposals. The policy road maps of the second phase of Canadian education reform were philosophically more sophisticated than the previous era. While the suggestions of the 1950s were direct administrative and curricula changes, the prognoses of the Parent, Hall-Dennis and Worth reports were a mess of pedagogical cul-de-sacs and roundabouts.

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<sup>292</sup> Myers notes, in the 1960s, “Education, we were told, was the keystone of the entire social structure.” Douglas Myers. “Introduction” *The Failure of Educational Reform in Canada*. Ed. Douglas Myers. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973. Pg. 11

<sup>293</sup> Frank Fischer contends “ideas can be statements of value or worth: they can specify causal relationships; they can be solutions to public problems.” Frank Fischer. *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. London: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pg. 24; Policy theorists such as Goldstein and Koehane view ideas as ‘road maps’ that help navigate through an increasingly multifaceted world. Fischer, Pg. 22

### **3.2.2. Philosophical Era**

The 1960s are a frustrating period when considering the development of a cohesive narrative in Canadian citizenship education. Progressive ideas and new constructions were emerging but the goals of the pedagogical directives by different provinces were irreconcilable. Elite level citizenship narratives found in royal commissions on education were simply too vast and varied to construct a single or at least similar story of Canadian citizenship. The context of the period makes these outcomes not surprising. In 1963, Lawrence Downey wrote, “Citizens are clamouring for a redefinition of the high school’s purposes; employers are expressing dissatisfaction with the quality of its products; and scholars claim to be dismayed with the obsolescence of its programmes.”<sup>294</sup> With many versions of the public problems, many solutions were offered. The opportunity for a more diverse and robust curriculum was indicative of education policy in the 1960s.<sup>295</sup> A major education policy idea of the period was progressivism. Progressivism, in terms of education, is generally viewed as ‘child-centered’ and focused on the learning experience and learning styles.<sup>296</sup> Influenced by new progressive dimensions of education, the Parent (Quebec), Hall-Dennis (Ontario) and Worth (Alberta) reports all dominated educational development and policy discourse in Canada during the 1960s and early 1970s and present elements of progressivism in

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<sup>294</sup> Lawrence W. Downey. “Secondary Education: A Perspective” *The Canadian Secondary School: An Appraisal and A Forecast*. Ed. Lawrence W. Downey and L. Ruth Godwin. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1963. Pg. v; South of the border, pedagogical positions were changing as well, in the 1960s, the United States was involved in full-fledged national educational reform. Michael Fullan. *The New Meaning of Educational Change*. Third Edition. New York: Teachers College Press, 2001. Pg. 4

<sup>295</sup> Some used the motto “let a thousand courses bloom” to describe the curriculum explosion of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Davis, Pg. 7; The period was known as a time where educational circles accepted decentralization, openness and experimentalism. Stevenson, “‘So Little for the Mind?’ Reaction and Reform in the Modern Curriculum”, Pg. 105

<sup>296</sup> Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, Pg 31

their prognosis of society and recommendations for education policy.<sup>297</sup> The 1960s and early 1970s saw education reform in response to philosophical ideals instead of socio-economic or demographic realities. The following table lists the major and minor reports completed on education policy in the provinces during this era.

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<sup>297</sup> In all, there were fifteen major provincial commissions of enquiry into education between 1960 and 1973, with the bulk of them in the last ten years. Not one provincial educational system was unaffected, since every one launched at least one inquiry, and four provinces – Alberta, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Prince Edward Island – each had two major royal commissions on education in that period. J. Donald Wilson. “From the Swinging Sixties to the Sobering Seventies” *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*. Ed. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 197

**Table 8: Major and Minor Education Reports of the Philosophical Reform Era (1963-1974)**

*Major Reports*

Year	Province	Report
1963	Quebec	Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education
1967	Newfoundland	Royal Commission on Education and Youth
1968	Ontario	Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education
1974	Nova Scotia	Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations

*Minor Reports*<sup>298</sup>

Year	Province	Report
1962	New Brunswick	Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick
1968	British Columbia	The Report of the Commission on Education of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation
1972	Alberta	Report of the Commission on Educational Planning

The first major reform initiative of the period occurred in Quebec in 1963. The effort mirrored momentous change taking place throughout the province and was seen by some as being at the “heart of the Quiet Revolution”.<sup>299</sup> The newly elected Liberal government promised to expand and democratize education in the province; in the process strategically undermining the position of the Catholic church in education. The Lesage government appointed the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education or better known after its chair, Alphonse Parent, vice-rector of Universite Laval, as the ‘Parent Commission.’<sup>300</sup> The commission was very critical of the state of Quebec education and its supposed elitist character. This critique reflected the commission’s desire to

<sup>298</sup> Similar to the Hall-Dennis report in Ontario, the Government of Alberta produced the Worth Report in 1972. The document was filled with “flowery rhetoric” based on “self-actualization”. Also similar to Hall-Dennis, the Worth Report found surprising public popularity for a government publication, selling 15,000 copies. Titley and Mazurek, Pg. 117. The Worth Report was ambiguous in its approach and delivery of education: “This report represents a choice of futures in the same way that a television schedule represents a choice of features; that is, the final choice belongs to the reader...The report is intended to be an invitation, not a command; a catalyst, not a conclusion; the first stage of a development plan, not a finished blueprint.” Government of Alberta. *A Future of Choices, A Choice of Futures. Report of the Commission on Educational Planning.* Edmonton: Queen’s Printer for the Province of Alberta, 1972. Introduction

<sup>299</sup> Henry Milner. *The Long Road to Reform: Restructuring Public Education in Quebec.* Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986. Pg. 3

<sup>300</sup> Levesque, Pg. 61

modernize Quebec's education system and regain the confidence of Quebec's youth.<sup>301</sup>

The commission declared "we are moving in the direction we desire, toward a less individualistic school, a school better attuned to the requirements of social life, more concerned with the shaping of future citizens."<sup>302</sup> The declarations represented a continuation of Quebec's dependence on education policy as a central component of presenting a strong Quebecois nationality for the province, leaving behind the paternalistic nature of the Union Nationale era of government.

Another province concerned with shaping its provincial identity was Newfoundland. Entering Canada just over a decade earlier, Newfoundland had a cultural and geographical gap from the rest of the country. By the 1960s, the new provincial addition to the federation had yet to address its largely traditional school system based on church and private pedagogical models. The 1964 Newfoundland Government appointed a royal commission to investigate "all aspects of education in Newfoundland".<sup>303</sup> As he began his investigation, the commission chair commented, "While there is agreement on the importance of education, there are many questions in education to which there are no easy answers."<sup>304</sup> The chair's view reflected the growing importance of education as mentioned in chapter two. By the 1960s, governments did not need to solely focus on defending the presence of education but rather defend the objectives they attached to education. Published in 1967, the Warren Commission Report acknowledged that Newfoundland needed a much greater effort to raise the level of secondary education in

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<sup>301</sup> Katz, *Society, Schools and Progress in Canada*, Pg. 109

<sup>302</sup> Government of Quebec, *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, Quebec: Des Marais, 1963-1966. Part Four. Pg. 3

<sup>303</sup> Johnson, Pg. 179

<sup>304</sup> The chair, Dr. P.J. Warren was a Professor of Education at Memorial University. Johnson, Pg. 179

the province to the standards of others across the country.<sup>305</sup> The Warren Report was based on public hearings held between September and June 1966 in 22 communities and received 147 written submissions and briefs from 5 church authorities, 40 school boards, 42 organizations and associations and 39 individuals.<sup>306</sup>

Unlike Quebec and Newfoundland, Ontario had just recently completed a large review on education with the 1950 Hope Report. Regardless, the country's most populated province continued to investigate its education system. The Conservative premier John Robarts appointed Justice Emmett Hall and Lloyd Dennis to investigate education in Ontario.<sup>307</sup> The report received much attention, stimulating discussion in educational circles.<sup>308</sup> While many were distracted by the publication's 1960s-friendly layout and artwork, some downplayed the progressive or radical nature of the report.<sup>309</sup> The report sparked considerable debate, with some arguing it went too far and turned students into "intellectual mush", and others arguing that it was ultimately a "tame and

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<sup>305</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 157

<sup>306</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth*, 1967. Pg. xv

<sup>307</sup> Manzer, *Educational Regimes and Anglo-American Democracy*, Pg. 150; Hall was a labour-oriented judge, while Dennis a liberal-minded Toronto school principal. Hennesey, Pg. 58; At the time, education was emerging as a major government venture for the Ontario government. Enrolment went from 666,284 in 1945 to 1,597,374 in 1963 while expenditures rose from \$62,154,000 in 1945 to \$583,161,000 in 1963. David M. Cameron. *Schools for Ontario: Policy-making, administration, and finance in the 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972. Pg. 67, Pg. 76

<sup>308</sup> Myers, "From Hope to Hall-Dennis: the official report as an instrument of educational reform", Pg. 14

<sup>309</sup> G.L. McDiarmid noted, "The physical production of Living and Learning differs as much from its 1950s predecessor, the Hope report, as the contemporary glass-walled school does from the one-room country school-house." G.L. McDiarmid. "The future of education in Ontario" *Means and Ends in Education: Comments on Living and Learning*. Ed. Brian Crittenden. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969. Pg. 25; The report was also ridiculed for its size. Peter Hennesey commenting, "The Hall-Dennis Report needed a coffee table to hold it." Hennesey, Pg. 61; James Daly believed one of the central assertions was about putting blame on the system or teacher instead of the child. James Daly. *Education or Molasses? A Critical Look at the Hall-Dennis Report*. Hamilton: Cromlech Press, 1976. Pg. 8; Daly chided the Hall-Dennis approach, "Children learn a great deal just staring at the clouds; time wasted is sometimes well spent." Daly, Pg. 67

safe document” that accepted too much of the status quo.<sup>310</sup> While Hall-Dennis was a popular target of intellectual and policy critics, the document did leave a notable imprint on Ontario’s education regime through policy change and reflected the new possibilities for education policy.

The other major education report of this period was completed six years later in Nova Scotia. One of the first acts of the Regan Liberal government elected in 1970 was to appoint a royal commission on education, public services and provincial-municipal relations under the chairmanship of Dalhousie economic professor Dr. John F. Graham.

<sup>311</sup> The commission held 140 private meetings, received 575 written submissions and held 394 presentations at 39 public hearings in 25 centres.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Even though some believed the ideas it contained were “unthinkable” before the late 1960s, the report accepted many of the consensus views, such as compulsory education and class-based understandings of education. Michael B. Katz. *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975. Pg. 138; Other criticism focused on the overtly philosophical tone of the report. One of the main critics of Hall-Dennis, George Rawanski, complained the approach left students “floundering around in intellectual mush.” Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 239; Critics were ambivalent in their assessment of the report; “At its best, it was eloquent and even poetic. In many passages, the language was clear, forceful, and pungent. On the other hand, the critic could easily find examples of clichés, flawed images, and the jargon that writers on educational topics seem unable to avoid.” Fleming, Pg. 501

<sup>311</sup> Peter McCreath. “Current Developments in Education in Atlantic Canada” *The Failure of Educational Reform in Canada*. Ed. Douglas Myers. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973. Pg. 169

<sup>312</sup> Government of Nova Scotia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations*. Halifax: Queen’s Printer, 1974. Pg. 3

### 3.2.3 Proactive Era

By the mid-1970s the ambitious education rhetoric was reflected by growing criticism from the public and close observers.<sup>313</sup> It was also a much different period for countries such as Canada; the grand optimism of the early 1960s was replaced by pessimism due to heightened mistrust of public officials, economic and social concerns and a general malaise around society. In response to these new public problems, rhetoric played an even more important role in the Canadian pedagogical policy scene. Brian Crittenden observed, “Each report has something of the character of a massive slogan.”<sup>314</sup> In comparison to the reform attempts of the 1950s, proposed pedagogical mottos were becoming as influential as proposed pedagogical practices, with Alberta’s “A Future of Choices, A Choice of Futures” acting as an appropriate example. The trends did not help the new found hope in the Canadian nation that emerged from such reports as Hall-Dennis (Ontario 1968). The proactive concerns of the provincial reports were more insular than inclusive and representative of the growing trend of more general decentralization in Canada.

The time between the second and third eras was highlighted by both internal and external concerns with education policy.<sup>315</sup> While these concerns arose during the 1970s,

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<sup>313</sup> Levin, *Reforming Education: From origins to outcomes*, Pg. 7; The educational expansion in the 1960s in Canada is seen in the share of the Gross National Product devoted to education. The rate rose from 4.3 percent in 1961 to 7.6 percent in 1969 and the level of expenditures at all government levels rose from 14 per cent in 1961 to 22 percent in 1971. Pitman, “Unrealistic Hopes and Missed Opportunities – The 60’s in Canadian Education”, Pg. 27; In Ontario in the 1960s, construction costs for each additional student rose from \$1360 to \$3580. Martell, “The Schools, the State and the Corporations”, Pg. 6; By 1969, Canada was the leading major industrial country in terms of share of Gross National Product used for public education. Wilson, “From the Swinging Sixties to the Sobering Seventies”, Pg. 22

<sup>314</sup> Brian Crittenden. “Slogans – handle with care” *Means and Ends in Education: Comments on Living and Learning*. Ed. Brian Crittenden. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969. Pg. 25

<sup>315</sup> During the 1970s most Western societies conceived their education systems as being in crisis. Christopher J. Hurn. *The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling: An Introduction to the Sociology of Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1978. Pg. 1; Levin argues, “In the 1970s, however, the atmosphere began to change. All of the drivers of the expansion of education, and of the public sector

a new era of education reform did not fully emerge until the 1980s.<sup>316</sup> The 1980s direction for education was framed by neo-liberal, business-like language and economically driven policy solutions.<sup>317</sup> The Economic Council of Canada stated in 1987 that, “The accelerating pace of change will lead to rapid obsolescence of skills. The education system therefore faces a profound challenge. It must prepare individuals to be mobile, flexible, adaptable and versatile. The ability to learn will be the premium skill of the future.”<sup>318</sup> The council’s sentiments defined the era’s citizenship education concerns, planning for the future with economically viable citizens and market ready workers. When education came under scrutiny in the late 1980s and 1990s, most observers agreed that the education system had not improved since the previous reform efforts and that state spending on education had diminished since the last era of reform.<sup>319</sup> Alongside

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generally, altered. As the Baby Boomers moved through the school system, not only did enrolments shrink but the proportion of the population with children in school began to shrink, and other social policy concerns, particularly health care, grew in importance.” Levin, *Reforming Education: From origins to outcomes*, Pg. 8; In 1971, the Economic Council of Canada argued, “too many people are emerging from the educational system to find their knowledge and skills are not as marketable as they have been led to expect.” Marvin Lazerson and Timothy Dunn. “Schools and the Work Crisis: Vocationalism in Canadian Education” *Precepts, Policy and Process: Perspectives on Contemporary Canadian Education*. Ed. Hugh A. Stevenson and J. Donald Wilson. London: Blake Associates, 1977. Pg. 295

<sup>316</sup> In 1976, a Gallup Poll found only 47 percent of Canadians believed they were receiving “good value from their educational system.” Lazerson and Dunn, Pg. 285; The late 1970s experienced a handful of modest educational reports across Canada. The 1977 Harder Report, released by the Government of Alberta, prescribed employment-oriented education and standardized evaluation. Concern over deteriorating basic English and math skills was expressed in Ontario’s Interface Study of 1977. Titley and Mazurek, Pg. 121-122; The Parti Quebecois government issued the “Green Paper” in the fall of 1977 that acknowledged Quebec’s school need to be improved and modernized. Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas*, Pg. 160

<sup>317</sup> Before Canadian provincial governments acted, American federal and state governments were engaging in a major wave of education policy reform. In the early 1980s, nearly thirty major reports were on the subject of improving American education. Marvin J. Cetron, Barbara Soriano and Margaret Gayle. *Schools of the Future: How American Business and Education Can Cooperate to Save Our Schools*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1985. Pg. 146; By 1985, the warnings were dire: “If public education is not changed to make it useful and valuable to its students, an even greater crisis than the present one will occur. There will be massive dropouts, causing a shortage of both vocationally trained and college-eligible students.” Cetron et al., Pg. 6

<sup>318</sup> Don Dawson “Education and the Future of Work” *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*. Ed. Brian Titley. Calgary: Deselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 186

<sup>319</sup> Price Boase, Pg. 469; The total public expenditure on education in Canada declined from 19 percent of total government expenditure in 1970-1 to 12 percent in 1990-1. Manzer, *Public Schools and Political*

these concerns, by the 1990s the pedagogical field was dominated by complex questions concerning administration, financing and delivery.<sup>320</sup> Scrutiny and concern of educational costs rose as the recession deepened and governments were faced with difficulty budgetary decisions.<sup>321</sup> The worrisome nature of the period was reflected in the content; economic fears coalesced with societal fears to influence education reform during this period.<sup>322</sup> As well, numbers indicating decay in the behaviour of young Canadians founded greater social concerns.<sup>323</sup> After a variety of incremental policy activities since 1974, the provinces began another round of major reviews starting with British Columbia in 1988.<sup>324</sup>

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*Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 208; Out of the wake of a worrisome 1980s, education reform was presented with a new policy opportunity in the form of public support for greater intervention. A much publicized American report in 1983 described the nation “at risk” if the education system was not improved. Carole L. Hahn. “Challenges to Civic Education in the United States” *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam: The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1999. Pg. 585

<sup>320</sup> In 1991, Canada’s governments were spending \$50.5 billion a year on education. Lewington and Orpwood, Pg. 13

<sup>321</sup> A 1993 survey found that 46 percent of Canadians polled believed that the current quality of education was worse than twenty-five years ago. The Angus Reid/Southam News Poll. *Making the Grade: Public Opinion on Education in Canada*. Toronto: Angus Reid Group, 1993; Ken Osborne argued, “Educational policy-makers in the 1990s have become obsessed with what they see as the economic benefits of education. Their emphasis is on high-tech skills, computer literacy, competitiveness, entrepreneurialism, adaptability, and on linking the schools with the corporate world. In this view, citizenship simply does not appear on the policy agenda of education.” Ken Osborne. “Citizenship Education and Social Studies” *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Ian Wright and Alan Sears. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997. Pg. 62

<sup>322</sup> Decore and Pannu note that education reform in the 1980s and 1990s responded to calls from employers and interest groups who sought more “instantly employable” entrants into the labour market. A.M. Decore and R.S. Pannu. “Alberta Political Economy in Crisis: Whither Education?” *Hitting the Books: The Politics of Educational Retrenchment*. Ed. Terry Wotherspoon. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1991. Pg. 81

<sup>323</sup> Between 1986 and 1991 the number of juveniles charged with violent crimes in Canada increased from 9,300 to 18,800. Susan Hargraves. “Peace Education: Politics in the Classroom?” *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*. Eds. Roland Case, Penney Clark. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1999. Pg. 110

<sup>324</sup> In 1991, Michael Fullan wrote, “As we approach the 1990s we are in the midst of an educational reform movement the likes of which we have never before seen.” Fullan, Pg. 16

**Table 9: Major and Minor Education Reports of the Proactive Reform Era (1988-1997)**

*Major Reforms*

Year	Province	Report
1988	British Columbia	Royal Commission on Education
1992	New Brunswick	The Commission on Excellence in Education
1992	Newfoundland	Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, Secondary Education
1994	Ontario	Royal Commission on Learning

*Minor Reforms<sup>325</sup>*

Year	Province	Report
1993	Prince Edward Island	Final Report on the Structure and Governance of the Prince Edward Island Educational System
1997	Quebec	Report of the Commission for the Estates General

Initiated on March 14, 1987, the British Columbia Royal Commission on Education was chaired by Barry Sullivan.<sup>326</sup> The commission received 2,112 written and 227 oral submissions.<sup>327</sup> Gradually rising government costs, an economic recession and public opinion stunted the impact of the Sullivan Report as a developing “back-to-basics” program that had gained popularity in British Columbia pedagogical circles.<sup>328</sup> In Newfoundland, appointed in August 1990, the Williams Commission received 1,041 written and oral presentations from 3,677 individuals and 384 groups and submissions

<sup>325</sup> In 1993, the Government of Prince Edward Island completed an examination of the structure and governance of education in the province. The report followed three years of education reform efforts in the form of cabinet committees, task forces and steering committees. Government of Prince Edward Island. *Towards Excellence: Final Report on the Structure and Governance of the PEI Educational System*. 1993. Pg. 1-2 The Quebec report recognized the differences that exist in society and believed citizenship education could play a role in building unity: “Schools introduce students to the world of knowledge; they must also introduce them to the duties of citizenship. They must dispense civic education by bringing students together, despite their differences, while instilling respect for differences. By organizing themselves as small-scale societies, schools will establish structures that will encourage participation in and the exercise of democracy, and will provide opportunities for true commitment.” Government of Quebec. *Report of the Commission for the Estates General*. 1997.

<sup>326</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 3

<sup>327</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 14

<sup>328</sup> Barman and Sutherland, Pg. 423; As Tom Morton wrote, “It is probably unfair to say definitively that B.C.’s Legacy for Learners of the 1990s had no impact... However, for a project that filled so many headlines at the time, dominated so much of teachers’ professional development time and the ministry’s budget, and introduced so many children to new content and pedagogy, this is not enough.” Tom Morton. “Dead dogs and legacies: A Comparison of Educational Reform in British Columbia and Quebec” *Orbit*. Vol. 35. No. 1. Pg. 11

from 173 communities, 128 petitions listing 8,787 names.<sup>329</sup> In New Brunswick, Premier Frank McKenna established the Commission on Excellence in Education in November 1991.

Similar to the first two periods of education reform examined, Canada's largest province participated in this reform era. It had been two and a half decades since Hall-Dennis but over forty years since Ontario had conducted a full-scale royal commission on education with the Hope Report. In the 1993 Ontario Throne Speech, the NDP government announced it would be forming a royal commission, reviewing the entire education system.<sup>330</sup> With public schools strongly criticized by parents and interest groups, the government launched the Royal Commission on Learning co-chaired by Monique Begin and Gerald Caplan to examine the direction and purpose of Ontario's education system.<sup>331</sup> The commission heard presentations from 1,396 groups in 27 cities, and received 3,500 written submissions.<sup>332</sup> The commission's recommendations were made with awareness of the precarious political situation in Ontario.<sup>333</sup>

Part of the reason these commissions contribute to the challenge of producing a

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<sup>329</sup> Government of Newfoundland. *Our Children, Our Future: The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, Secondary Education*. 1992. Pg. 13; The report came at a time when polls suggested Newfoundlanders were also expressing a heightened interest in education from 60% in 1986 to 79% in 1991. Government of Newfoundland, *Our Children, Our Future*, Pg. 70

<sup>330</sup> Brian O'Sullivan. "Global Change and Educational Reform in Ontario and Canada" *Canadian Journal of Education*. Vol. 24. No. 3. 1999. Pg. 318

<sup>331</sup> Caplan was a veteran advisor for the New Democratic Party and Begin had been a health minister in the Trudeau government. Hennessey, Pg. 121

<sup>332</sup> Government of Ontario. *For the Love of Learning: Report of the Royal Commission on Learning*. Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1994. Pg. 2

<sup>333</sup> The Begin-Caplan Ontario commission understood the vulnerability of their recommendations, stating: "Everyone knows a provincial election is just around the corner, and we'd be deeply disappointed – as we know the thousands of citizens who shared their views with us would be – if this report ended up being a political football thrown around during an election for short-term electoral purposes. There is nothing of partisan politics in this report, and we call on all three political parties to put the needs of our students first and to commit themselves to action on our major recommendations." Government of Ontario, *For the Love of Learning*, Pg. 56

cohesive Canadian citizenship education narrative is simply found in their policy positioning for the future. A proactive policy outlook, while possibly effective for addressing developing economic and social challenges does not provide the reflection necessary for building on past developments toward a clear, Canadian citizenship narrative. While the departure from British imperialism was mostly complete by this stage, the lack of strong Canadian nationalism and provincial delivery of education programs worked strongly against a common policy narrative.

Having outlined the three eras of education reform since 1945 and the twelve royal commissions under study, the next step will be to analyze the narrative found in the actual reports of the commission. The following results will analyze the reports, using the Hoey problem-solution discourse pattern to build a better understanding of the state policy initiated citizenship discourse.

### **3.3 Results**

The following section includes a number of questions about the context and recommendations of the various royal commissions. First, while the commissions expressed varying policy solutions for responding to changing societal trends, what were the actual trends? Can we find a relationship between population, immigration and employment trends and how the commission interpreted the province's political, social and economic climate? Or were commissions acting more in response to new ideas and "causal stories" about supposed trends and perceived crises? Second, how did commissions address the concept of "ideal citizens" and the education system's role in producing them? The following tables are summaries of the citizenship education narrative traced through the three periods using Hoey's problem-solution discourse. Added to the problem question (What was the problem with society/citizens?) and the solution question (What was the solution offered?) is the context articulated through population, immigration and employment figures and how the commission interpreted the province's political, social and economic climate. Following the results tables, the next section further addresses the findings of the discourse analysis and demonstrates how these government actions fit into the problematic citizenship education policy narrative. In general, few common trends are found and provincial governments are seen more acting out on their own.

For the three tables in the results section, notable direct quotes from commission reports were selected to represent the conception of citizenship for each. Each table has four sections for narrative analysis: problem (context), problem (needs), solution (education) and solution (citizenship). The "problem" is separated into context and needs

to isolate the narrative construction of: 1) what ailed the province in question and 2) what the problem required for resolution. The “solution” is separated into education and citizenship sections to isolate the narrative construction of both the aggregate aim of education and the ideal type of citizenship hoped to produce. The words and phrases in quotation marks are direct quotes from the text of the reports.

The first two columns of the tables, under the title “situation” present the demographic and economic context of the province in the five years leading up to the commission. The first column, “province”, presents the percentage rate of change for population, immigration and unemployment within the province. For example, in the five years leading up to the 1959 Alberta commission, population grew by 19.5%. The second column, “relative”, presents the percentage rate of change for provincial population, immigration and unemployment compared to the national rate of change. For example, in the five years leading up to the 1959 Alberta commission, population grew 1.4% more than the national rate of population growth. The final two rows at the bottom of the tables present some of the noticeable discursive similarities and differences between the commission reports. While some similarities did exist, the amount of common narrative discursive trends was relatively underwhelming.

**Table 10: Problem-Solution Discourse Analysis - Reactive Reform (1950-1960)**

	Situation		Problem: Context	Problem: Needs	Solution: Education	Solution: Citizenship
	Province	Relative				
ON 1950	P: ↑ 12.1 I: ↑ 89.0 U: ↓ 0.4	P: - 1.9 I: - 82.0 U: - 0.6	“wars, “social upheaval”	“adequate preparation”	“honesty, love, service”	“informed, Christian”
AB 1959	P: ↑ 19.5 I: ↑ 32.3 U: ↑ 0.6*	P: +1.7 I: +47.5 U: -0.9	“rapid growth and shift of populations”, “unprecedented publicity”	“competency for (university, employment, religious life)”	“stimulate initiative, critical thinking, intellectually self-directing”	“knowledgeable (about Canadian scene)”
MB 1959	P: ↑ 9.5 I: ↑ 37.3 U: ↑ 0.6*	P: -.8.3 I: +52.5 U: -0.9	“increasing complexity and expenditure”	“development of broad literacy and the promotion of democratic citizenship”	“to free each man to make his own choices, his own judgments”	“reinforce the church and the home”
BC 1960	P: ↑ 20.0 I: ↑ 25.2 U: ↓ 0.8	P: +2.2 I: +40.4 U: -2.3	“rapid growth and expanding economy”	“merge the interests of the community with the development of the individual”	“promoting the intellectual development of pupils”	“develops children – as individual persons and as citizens”
Sim.	Pop, Imm. Growth, No change in emp.	No change in emp.	Growth, expansion	Competent, adequate preparation, community and individual	Critical, individual thought	Informed, knowledgeable
Diff.	---	Greater growth in AB, MB, BC	Publicity – MB Social change - ON	---	Service – ON	Church/Christian – ON, MB

Situation figures created using Census of Canada 1941-1991, Canada Yearbook 1941-1991, Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey. “Relative” Figure – Difference in five-year rate of change between provincial and federal rate. “Province” Figure – Five-year rate of change (provincial). All rates based on closest census year figures. \*Prairie Province Figures. P = Population, I = Immigration, U = Unemployment. Sources: Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950 (pgs. 161, 28, 39, 136), Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta*, 1959 (pgs. 3, 44, 104), Government of Manitoba. *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education*. 1959 (pgs. 1, 125, 126, 162), Government of British Columbia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1960 (pgs. 17, 18, 14, 442).

In the examination of the four commissions’ narratives during the “Reactive” reform era it is found that the common constructed problem was economic expansion and population growth within provinces. The constructed pedagogical solution was to create informed citizens based on notions of individualism. The model for citizenship stressed the individual over the collective; the context in which these reforms were recommended was

a growing Canadian society, both in terms of population and economic and sovereign strength.

In his opening statement for Ontario's 1950 report, Hope acknowledged the wide scale of contributing factors to education reform, citing "social, geographic, and economic conditions."<sup>334</sup> The report follows a comprehensive model of citizenship education by stating, "education for citizenship is an ideal which must permeate the whole educational programme...it is cumulative product of the entire school life."<sup>335</sup> This type of articulation was emblematic of the changes seen in education between Confederation and 1950. School was no longer simply for enforcing accepted social values; education was no longer a training place for future occupations – the public school offered the state a location and venue to mold their citizens in a variety of dimensions. Foreshadowing future pedagogical directions, the report went beyond the borders of Canada with discussions of citizenship in the postwar context:

Students, the citizens of tomorrow, must be warned against sacrificing their democratic birthright to participate in the solution of public problems for empty promises of greater personal security...To be a good citizen one must be informed about the factors involved in any civic, national or international issue.<sup>336</sup>

Indicative of policy objectives which have not changed in Canadian citizenship education, "to be a good citizen one must be informed" would still be at the top of any contemporary curriculum objective list.

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<sup>334</sup> Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 3; The report noted, "Two World Wars within one generation, with the consequent social upheaval, have focused attention upon the need for an adequate preparation of our young people for the responsibilities of citizenship." Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 161

<sup>335</sup> Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 164

<sup>336</sup> Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 39

Unlike the reports of two decades later, traditional religion was still an important part of student development as the report argued the school, “must teach honesty and love in practice, and thus educate for service to one’s fellowmen, to one’s country, and to God.”<sup>337</sup> The overt promotion of Christian ideals and lessons presents an educational regime following traditional values in Canadian education. On citizen development, the report argued that the school would provide certain additional lessons to those that young people were receiving at home and in the church:

Training for citizenship begins in the home; the atmosphere of the home and the standards of the family largely shape the child as a citizen. Society, through the school and other means, can but supplement the efforts of the home... For a society based upon Christianity, the ideal society and the ideal citizen are portrayed in the teachings and life of Jesus...in the common task of educating our youth for citizenship in a Christian democracy.<sup>338</sup>

This text supports the notion of a “Christian democracy” as found in most of the pre-1960s citizenship education philosophies in Canada and represents a common element of citizenship education that was eventually dropped. While implicit Christian values remain in most citizenship education narratives, the explicit messages shared in early provincial objectives were left behind in Canadian public policy’s move to a more secular discourse.

In Alberta, the changing population and economy were major concerns for the provincial government.<sup>339</sup> The growth of the population and evolution of the economy placed new demands on the province’s education system. The introductory chapter of the

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<sup>337</sup> Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 28

<sup>338</sup> Government of Ontario. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*. 1950. Pg. 163

<sup>339</sup> The 1946 discovery of oil in Alberta was a major cause for the influx of migrants to the province. Population was not only growing, but also evolving towards higher levels of urbanization. Between 1946 and 1951 the agricultural labour force reduced by one-third while the overall labour force increased by one-quarter. Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission of Education in Alberta*. 1959. Pg. 14, 23, 28

Alberta commission's report outlines the broad range of concerns and groups with policy interest that instigated the reform effort:

A notable phenomenon of recent years in this province and elsewhere is the unprecedented publicity given to matters of public education... Parents are genuinely concerned for their children because they perceive the dividends paid by education in vocational choice and success. Business and industrial groups are concerned because of the close relationship between certain aspects of the curriculum and the competency of employees. Professional and university groups are concerned because of the nature of the high school program as prerequisite to further professional or academic study. Religious groups are concerned because of the degree to which variously approved creedal or moral concepts are or are not represented in the philosophy of the curriculum of the schools.<sup>340</sup>

Alongside the various public concerns, the report also lists several empirical causes for the review of education including: "the rapid growth and shift of populations, increasing industrialization and job specialization, changing social patterns, mounting costs of school buildings, equipment, and teaching services."<sup>341</sup> With a variety of practical concerns, the report still embraced abstract pedagogical goals: "The major aim of education is to stimulate initiative, critical thinking and ability to be intellectually self-directing."<sup>342</sup> The focus on "self-directing" traits contributed to the focus on the individual of the era. The commission also directly addressed education for citizenship. One of the "tasks of the school" was: "To focus consciously, but not artificially, every suitable aspect of curriculum and operation upon the development of good citizenship."<sup>343</sup> The commission's identification of a "conscious" effort hints at the importance of an active government policy.

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<sup>340</sup> Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission of Education in Alberta*. 1959. Pg. 3

<sup>341</sup> Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission of Education in Alberta*. 1959. Pg. 3

<sup>342</sup> Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission of Education in Alberta*. 1959. Pg. 44

<sup>343</sup> Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission of Education in Alberta*. 1959. Pg. 45

In Manitoba, the acknowledgment of a conscious policy effort demonstrates the direct impact that an educational program was believed to have on citizen development and an example of a clearly laid out policy causal story. The 1959 MacFarlane commission defined the objectives of education as follows:

The aims in any other education can be as many, as varied, as good, or as bad as the individuals who voluntarily seek it. But in any education imposed by the state no aim seems legitimate except that of developing in each child the desire and the capacity to become an acceptable and worthy member of a society of free men... The ultimate aim in education must be to free each man to make his own choices, his own judgments, his own decisions. This aim, we believe, remitting cultural heritage, and inculcating moral concepts in each child.<sup>344</sup>

The recommendations also included mention of a high school program promoting education for democracy with the “development of broad literacy and the promotion of democratic citizenship.”<sup>345</sup> Citizenship was viewed as worthy for attention throughout the student’s educational career and not left to one or two years of study - the commission recognized that “moral training must be a vital element in the curriculum in all grades.”<sup>346</sup> While acknowledging the popularity of including moral and value education, the report articulated the changing view of religion and schools in Canada:

Although the Commission agrees on the necessity of organized religious instruction as an aid to moral training and character formation, it does not recommend that religious instruction be made compulsory in our public schools even though each parent have the right to absent his children there from.<sup>347</sup>

This type of statement represents the subtle moves to secularize citizenship education. Under this model, citizenship education would no longer rely on explicit Christian values.

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<sup>344</sup> Government of Manitoba. *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education*. 1959. Pg. 126

<sup>345</sup> Government of Manitoba. *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education*. 1959. Pg. 125

<sup>346</sup> Government of Manitoba. *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education*. 1959. Pg. 148

<sup>347</sup> Government of Manitoba. *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education*. 1959. Pg. 152

Ten years after Ontario's 1950 report, Manitoba's position was much different, complicating the development of an aggregate national citizenship education narrative.

British Columbia's report settled on a relatively broad aim for education: "promoting the intellectual development of the pupils."<sup>348</sup> More explicitly on citizenship, the commission believed: " 'a good school programme develops children in two ways – as individual persons and as citizens' likewise...it should not be assumed that these objectives are in any way independent of each other."<sup>349</sup> This policy narrative presents an intriguing construction of citizenship; an individual is acknowledged as a "citizen" and a "person", representing both a public and private existence. This also highlights the challenge of defining citizenship for education policy. In dealing with areas that combine public and private spaces and similar to Manitoba's Commission, British Columbia's Commission presented the position that religious instruction should not be extended beyond its "present provisions".<sup>350</sup> Again, this is an example of provincial discourse moving away from the Christian narrative of previous Canadian pedagogical regimes.

This initial flurry of investigations and recommendations could not escape the realities of a federated state. Different provinces produced different narratives. Even if the differences were slight, they were still important; a "Canadian citizen" was not being pan-nationally identified to young Canadian students. While each report presents ideas in a unique fashion, some cautious comparisons can be made. In Ontario, the Hope Report stressed a traditional "service to one's fellowmen, to one's country, and to God" while the Saskatchewan commission believed "youth must be prepared to contribute to social progress, to understand and adapt themselves to a changing environment." Meanwhile,

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<sup>348</sup> Government of British Columbia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1960. Pg. 17-18

<sup>349</sup> Government of British Columbia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1960. Pg. 14

<sup>350</sup> Government of British Columbia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*. 1960. Pg. 20

Alberta's Cameron Report stressed, "critical thinking and ability to be intellectually self-directing." Here, just in three provinces, we can see one focus on the state (Ontario), one on the individual (Alberta) and one on society (Saskatchewan). While these aims may find commonality, they do not contribute to a cohesive citizen identity or policy causal story. As will be seen throughout this analysis of the Canadian citizenship narrative through the lens of education, policy actors have created a mosaic that is too large and too ambitious for any hope in creating a common Canadian citizenship that can be learned and acted upon. Manitoba's commission supported the ultimate education aim "to free each man to make his own choices, his own judgments, his own decisions" but British Columbia stressed development of both an "individual person" and "citizen" which seems to contradict with the notion of a "free man". Regardless, as will be seen in the following era, with increasing state acknowledgment of the influence of education, only more ambiguous and daunting tasks would be placed on the pedagogical regime. The larger scope of objectives and goals pushed provincial narratives further away from common citizenship education narratives and a cohesive construction of Canadian identity.

**Table 11: Problem-Solution Discourse Analysis - Philosophical Reform (1963-1974)**

	Situation		Problem: Context	Problem: Needs	Solution: Education	Solution: Citizenship
	Province	Relative				
QC 1963	P ↑ 13 6 I ↓ 32 7 U ↑ 1 5	P+ +0 2 I +23 8 U -1 9	“never before have the problems of education aroused such deep public concern”	“for modern civilization to progress, and progress is a condition of its survival, every citizen without exception must have adequate schooling”	“everyone the opportunity to learn”, “prepare the individual for life in society”	“must not promote individualism”, “democracy requires of everyone active participation”
ON 1968	P ↑ 11 6 I ↑ 236 2 U ↓ 1 1	P + 1 9 I + 64 6 U + 2 1	“new world of work and leisure”, “today’s technology is rapidly invading the entire field”, “job descriptions unknown twenty years ago”	“provide learning experiences aiming at a thousand different destinies”	“further man’s unending search for truth”	“establish the necessary bonds and common ground”
NF 1967	P ↑ 7 8 I ↑ 120 5 U ↓ 11 6	P -1 9 I -51 1 U -8 4	“technological developments”, “changing personal values”, “demographic trends”	“Providing as much opportunity as possible for the self-realization of each individual”	“cultivate a system of moral and spiritual values”	“responsible, well-informed, thinking citizens with the intellectual, social, emotional, and moral qualities”
NS 1974	P ↑ 4 4 I ↓ 13 1 U ↑ 2 6 *	P -5 5 I +24 3 U -0 2	“popular faith in education, reached religious proportions by 1960”	“goals for schools should not be defined in terms of social and economic goals”	“what is happening in the community outside its walls, what the students already know”	“develop knowledge and appreciation of the diverse cultures and backgrounds”
Sim	Pop Growth	Similar pop growth, Similar imm not NFLD	Technology, faith in education	Opportunities, broad goals	Community	Bonds, common ground, diversity
Diff	Imm and Emp varied	Less imm and improving emp NFLD	Demographics – NFLD Personal values – NFLD	Survival – QC	Search for truth - ON	Moral - NFLD
<i>Aggregate Problem</i>		<i>The problem with society is a changing world requiring more opportunity for all.</i>				
<i>Aggregate Solution</i>		<i>The solution for society is strengthening the community.</i>				

Situation figures created using Census of Canada 1941-1991, Canada Yearbook 1941-1991, Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey  
 “Relative” Figure – Difference in five-year rate of change between provincial and federal rate “Province” Figure – Five-year rate of change (provincial) All rates based on closest census year figures \* Atlantic Province Figures P = Population, I = Immigration, U = Unemployment Sources Government of Quebec *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* Quebec Des Marais, 1963-1966 (pgs 57, 57, 14, 3), Government of Ontario *Living and Learning The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario* Toronto Newton Publishing Company, 1968 (pgs 45, 9, 21) Government of Nova Scotia *Report of the Royal Commission on Education Public Services and Provincial Municipal Relations* Halifax Queen’s Printer, 1974 (pgs 30, 31, 81, 72, 73, 108)

Examining the narrative of the four commissions during the “Philosophical” reform era shows that the problem was commonly constructed as a changing world requiring more opportunity for all. The constructed pedagogical solution was to create citizens based on notions of community and common ground - a departure from the previous era’s focus on the individual.

The Quebec commission believed in the potential of education to alleviate gaps in knowledge and culture.<sup>351</sup> The commission saw great promise in successful state education policy, “the degree to which education is effective can become a trump card in international politics...what today makes a country powerful is far more its technical equipment than its armies.”<sup>352</sup> Coinciding with this narrative, the Quebec commission constructed a causal story stressing a crisis in Quebec society,

Never before have the problems of education aroused such deep public concern...for modern civilization to progress, and progress is a condition of its survival, every citizen without exception must have adequate schooling, and a very considerable number must receive advance...hence the educational crisis is one aspect of a far-reaching crisis in civilization.<sup>353</sup>

Out of this perceived crisis, the goals of the education system were identified as “1) to afford everyone the opportunity to learn, 2) to make available to each the type of education best suited to his aptitudes and interests, 3) to prepare the individual for life in society.”<sup>354</sup> With these educational goals the commission agreed on a certain culture in its schooling system. The report contends,

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<sup>351</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 150

<sup>352</sup> Government of Quebec, *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, Part One. Pg. 72

<sup>353</sup> Government of Quebec, *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, Part One. Pg. 57

<sup>354</sup> Government of Quebec, *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, Part One. Pg. 75

The scholastic environment must not promote individualism; it must develop in the child respect and regard for others, team feeling, communal solidarity. This is particularly essential in modern society. For one thing, democracy requires of everyone an active participation in civic and professional associations, an interest in public affairs.<sup>355</sup>

The philosophical approach articulated was a precursor to the ideals of collectivism that would be expressed in other provincial reports in Ontario and Alberta.

In Newfoundland, policy makers found utility in keeping religion in education programs. Newfoundland's Warren Commission believed, "Our schools must help students cultivate a system of moral and spiritual values so necessary in this era of rapid change. Education, then, must give recognition to the importance of religion in assisting students to set goals for life and to work towards them."<sup>356</sup> The report was out of place within the Parent and Hall-Dennis reports in terms of embracing conservative ideals over progressive philosophical positions. The commission argued, "One of the most apparent consequences of rapid changes is the disturbance of traditional values. In such times of change people have always questioned concepts of right and wrong, of good and evil; have questioned, indeed, the basic goals of life."<sup>357</sup> This type of language is more consistent with the proactive era's concern with troubling societal trends concerning social decay and economic recession.

A major motivating factor for policy change in Newfoundland was rapid population growth.<sup>358</sup> The commission acknowledged the province's economic woes and

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<sup>355</sup> Government of Quebec, *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, Part Two. Pg. 14

<sup>356</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth.*, Pg. 18

<sup>357</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth.*, Pg. 10

<sup>358</sup> Between 1951 and 1966, the population of the province increased by 143,584 or approximately 40 percent. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth.*, Pg. 11

their attachment to education.<sup>359</sup> The Warren Report suggested there were “five social forces which have implications for education. These are (1) technological developments, (2) the growing recognition of the economic returns from education, (3) the growth of knowledge, (4) changing personal values, (5) demographic trends.”<sup>360</sup> Education was viewed as a policy that could directly shape the nature of citizens. The commission wrote,

There is agreement as to the general aims of education. It must produce responsible, well-informed, thinking citizens with the intellectual, social, emotional, and moral qualities necessary for successful living and for the successful growth of our society. Providing as much opportunity as possible for the self-realization of each individual is not only good for the individual himself but for the society of which he is a part.<sup>361</sup>

This rhetoric represented a philosophical but still pragmatic approach to modernizing Newfoundland’s delivery of education and followed the popular belief that education policy could be both comprehensive and transformative.

Ontario’s Hall-Dennis report also believed in the powerful promise of education. A challenged society was presented at the doorstep of pedagogical policy. Similar to Newfoundland’s Warren Report, the Hall-Dennis Report described the changing world around Ontario’s students: “Today’s child is facing a new world of work and leisure...today’s technology is rapidly invading the entire field and many jobs are being redefined or discarded as obsolete...job descriptions unknown twenty years ago, appear in advertisements every day.”<sup>362</sup> The Hall-Dennis committee sought to answer the question of “How to provide learning experiences aiming at a thousand different destinies

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<sup>359</sup> The report argued, “There is no doubt that there is a direct relationship between unemployment and low educational levels. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth.*, Pg. 8

<sup>360</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth.*, Pg. 1

<sup>361</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth.*, Pg. 144

<sup>362</sup> Government of Ontario. *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario*. Toronto: Newton Publishing Company, 1968. Pg 45

and at the same time to educate toward a common heritage and common citizenship is the basic challenge to our society.”<sup>363</sup> The goals of the school system were viewed as much more complex than straightforward job training or the creation of individual economic security:

The underlying aim of education is to further man’s unending search for truth. Once he possesses the means to truth, all else is within his grasp. Wisdom and understanding, sensitivity, compassion and responsibility, as well as intellectual honesty and personal integrity, will be his guides in adolescence and his companions in maturity...This is the key to open all doors. It is the instrument which will break the shackles of ignorance, of doubt, of frustration, that will take all who respond to call out of their poverty, their slums and their despair.<sup>364</sup>

The report went beyond their original intended scope and terms of reference, attracting international attention with their “imaginative” work.<sup>365</sup> The philosophical musings of the Hall-Dennis report made it difficult to create a clear version of Canadian citizenship as both education and citizenship were viewed in ambiguous terms. The report was filled with progressive philosophical musings on the delivery of education: “Seen in this light, ours is no vision of education for a provincial priority or traditional national pride, but for the good of all men.”<sup>366</sup>

Four years after the Hall-Dennis Report, Nova Scotia’s Graham Report continued to argue for central importance of the public school. The commission believed, “the

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<sup>363</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 152

<sup>364</sup> Government of Ontario, *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario*, Pg. 9

<sup>365</sup> Stevenson, “Crisis and Continuum: Public Education in the Sixties”, Pg. 483; Radicalism and innovation were key components of late sixties and early seventies educational discourse and this was represented in the Hall-Dennis report. Wilson, “From the Swinging Sixties to the Sobering Seventies”, Pg. 199

<sup>366</sup> Government of Ontario, *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario*, Pg. 9

school is the most influential single socializing agency in modern society.”<sup>367</sup> On the importance of a vibrant program of citizenship education and its impact on civic responsibility, the Nova Scotia report proposed,

We are not suggesting that schools ignore the past or abandon theory. We are saying that what is happening in the community outside its walls, what the students already know or believe, and what they hear and read must enter into the school programme if the schools’ efforts are to be effective. If controversy results, so much the better. Civic responsibility and judgment are unlikely to be developed in its absence.<sup>368</sup>

The notion that citizenship was learned both “inside and outside” of school added to a narrative on Canadian identity that appeared to embrace the province’s growing pluralist society:

School programmes, learning resources, and instructional practices should be such as to encourage actively the development and preservation among students of knowledge and appreciation of Nova Scotia and Canada and a sense of Nova Scotian and Canadian identity. In particular, schools should assist students to develop knowledge and appreciation of the diverse cultures and backgrounds represented among the peoples of this province and this country.<sup>369</sup>

The Graham Report can be seen as the last of its era, in the way that it featured the new critique of the philosophical era but added a sense for future policy needs in constructing its causal story. This last passage identified is significant in its discussion of parallel provincial and national identities. The identities are listed not in sequence or as a part of one another, but simply as two separate identities. While this sentiment is expressed in other reports, this is a clear example of how the issue of provincial and national identities

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<sup>367</sup> Government of Nova Scotia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations*, Pg. 81

<sup>368</sup> Government of Nova Scotia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations*. Halifax: Queen’s Printer, 1974. Pg. 72-73

<sup>369</sup> Government of Nova Scotia. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations*. Halifax: Queen’s Printer, 1974. Pg. 108

could be categorized within the federal arrangement that provides for provincial responsibility over education policy.

Similar to the Reactive reform period (1950-1960), population, immigration and unemployment figures of the Philosophical reform period do not present an overwhelming change. During three of the four major reform efforts, immigration rates were on the rise but in less than consistent patterns in relation to national immigration rates. No strong correlative patterns emerge between societal measures and government efforts in educational renewal. These weak statistical relationships support the claim that education reform during the period was largely motivated by pedagogical trends and provided great flexibility in creating the policy causal stories. The timing of the commissions, based more on intangible goals, and in the context of a changing Canadian society in the 1960s, should have provided a window for the most expansive investigation and lasting impression on Canadian citizenship through education policy. In terms of contributing to the narrative on citizenship education, this period focused on education and citizenship through a pluralist model but did not produce a strong enough narrative to withstand the tangible trends that would influence the next major reform period. The pluralistic discourse in many cases hindered coherent and cohesive constructions of Canadian citizenship. The discursive policy ambiguity would not hold as the following period of education reform focused on responding to perceived societal problems and constructed crises with specific prescriptions and solutions.

**Table 12: Problem-Solution Discourse Analysis - Proactive Reform (1988-1994)**

	Situation		Problem: Context	Problem: Needs	Solution: Education	Solution: Citizenship
	Province	Relative				
BC 1988	P ↑ 5 1 I ↓ 43 0 U ↓ 6 0	P -0 1 I -20 1 U -8 0	“Broad social changes”, “growth in urbanization, population, occupational and social differentiation, and social diversity and ethnicity”	“restore, ideas about community which we hold dear”	“Cultivation of mind”, “preparation for vocational life”, “moral and civic development”	“participation by citizens in community, regional and provincial affairs”, “moral development”, “greater responsibility”
NB 1992	P ↑ 2 0 I ↑ 6 7 U ↑ 1 7	P - 3 6 I - 125 9 U + 0 9	“educational reform leads to higher and better informed expectations”	“provincial aims which reflect local circumstances”	“relieve their social conditions or enhance their social development”	“tolerance and respect”, “people work harder and better and smarter”
NF 1992	P 0 0 I ↑ 133 9 U ↓ 4 4	P -5 6 I +1 3 U -5 2	“development in technology”, “changing family structures”, “market trends”, “political changes”	“greater parental, teacher and community involvement”	“recreate the knowledge, skills, and customs which are indigenous to its society”, “equity and quality”	“capable of responding to an ever changing, post-industrial, high technology age”
ON 1994	P ↑ 10 8 I ↑ 98 6 U ↑ 4 5	P +5 2 I - 34 0 U + 3 7	“challenges of the 21 <sup>st</sup> century”, “education reform is rampant”	“increase community involvement”, “expand early childhood education”, “improve the teacher training”, “enhance technological presence in classrooms”	“high levels of what we’ve chosen to call literacies”	“social justice”, “not to train for a particular job”
Sim	Imm Growth, Minor Change in pop and emp	Stable pop	Broad changes (technology, market, family)	Restoration, parent and teacher participation, community	Broad development, equality	---
Diff	Imm decline BC	Imm growth - NB	Diversity – BC Education reform – ON	Provincial aims – NB	Vocation – BC	Participation – BC Respect – NB Responsive – NF Social justice - ON
<b>Aggregate Problem</b>		<i>The problem with society is the changing community.</i>				
<b>Aggregate Solution</b>		<i>The solution for society is contested and varied.</i>				

Tables created using Census of Canada 1941-1991, Canada Yearbook 1941-1991, Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey Top number – Difference in five-year rate of change between provincial and federal rate Bottom number – Five-year rate of change (provincial) All rates based on closest census year figures Sources Government of British Columbia *A Legacy for Learners The Report of the Royal Commission on Education* 1988 (pgs 36, 69, 70, 99) Government of New Brunswick *Schools for a New Century Report of the Commission on Excellence in Education* 1992 (pgs 15, 9, 18, 43, 63), Government of Newfoundland, *Our Children Our Future The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, Secondary Education* St John’s The Commission, 1992 (pgs 44, 421, 203, 204, 27, 205), Government of Ontario, *For the Love of Learning Report of the Royal Commission on Learning* Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 1994 (pgs 9, 10, vii, 4, 5)

The narratives of the four commissions during the “Proactive” reform era construct the public problem as a changing provincial community. Compared to the identified changes of the first, “Reactive” era, this era’s changes are more complex than

simply population increases; by this point in the century, Canada is becoming a multicultural society beyond representing different regions of Europe. However, the constructed pedagogical solution was not similar between the provinces – a departure from the previous two eras – and was contested and varied.

Making the case for pedagogical reform, British Columbia's Commission contend, "It is evident in the 1980s that our population is aging and that our birth rates are low and possibly declining – two social changes which, in themselves, have profound meaning for education and social planning."<sup>370</sup> The commission articulated change in the province by describing "a vanishing sense of community" and "weakening of the social and ethical bonds that hold us together."<sup>371</sup> Three educational purposes for the school were identified: "1) cultivation of mind, 2) preparation for vocational life, 3) moral and civic development."<sup>372</sup> On classroom delivered citizenship education, the commission commented,

It is through social studies, history, and other courses at school that youngsters learn something about the nature of the democratic system of government we enjoy. Here they learn that governments such as our own do not work well unless citizens recognize and act on their civic obligations to their communities and that the preservation of democratic principles and institutions requires participation by citizens in community, regional and provincial affairs.<sup>373</sup>

In addition to an explicit understanding of citizenship education, the commission also commented on a more holistic citizenship education policy,

The Commission thinks that, wherever possible, greater responsibility should be turned over to students for their own decisions and actions; they should be encouraged to discuss moral issues and develop their own conclusions and choices based on the principles and attitudes which we as

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<sup>370</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 5

<sup>371</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 36

<sup>372</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 69-70

<sup>373</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 70

citizens in a democracy have come to value. In short, schools should assist students in their moral development.<sup>374</sup>

This all encompassing language was common for the era: responsibility, individual development of morals, civic obligations and participation all represent a major weight placed on the citizen with the school responsible for identifying the various roles.

Similarly, New Brunswick identified the importance of reform, the consequences of the status quo and the role of the citizen. The New Brunswick report stressed the importance of pedagogical change: “Unless educational reform leads to higher and better informed expectations on the part of all of the stakeholders of themselves and of each other, then it will fail.”<sup>375</sup> While this direction may have been important for confronting certain policy challenges, it did not help to strengthen the construction of a cohesive and clear Canadian identity. The school’s purpose was defined as being: “the most comprehensive and systematic contact with the young and thus are convenient for the delivery of various programs designed to relieve their social conditions or enhance their social development.”<sup>376</sup> A pluralistic version of citizenship education was central to the commission’s philosophy.<sup>377</sup> This more contemporary discourse addressed the growing business philosophy in pedagogical circles stressing work ethic, accountability and efficiency.<sup>378</sup> As will be seen in a few pages, this type of accountability differed from

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<sup>374</sup> Government of British Columbia, *A Legacy for Learners*, Pg. 99

<sup>375</sup> Government of New Brunswick. *Schools for a New Century: Report of the Commission on Excellence in Education*. 1992. Pg. 9

<sup>376</sup> Government of New Brunswick, *Schools for a New Century*, Pg. 18

<sup>377</sup> “The Commission has already stated its view that education includes the process of acquiring, along with knowledge and skills, the values needed to build a better world...Cardinal among these values in a socially, linguistically, ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse society like Canada are tolerance and respect.” Government of New Brunswick, *Schools for a New Century*, Pg. 43

<sup>378</sup> The report’s concluding message: “In arriving at our recommendations, we have been guided by a couple of principles which are both ancient and modern. The first is that people work harder and better and smarter when they can see the purpose of their labour...the second principle that has guided us is that all public institutions should be accountable to the people who support them, and should be able to

Ontario where more emphasis was put on the state than the individual, even though similar challenges were presented in the policy causal story.

Newfoundland's Williams Report identified five specific societal trends in need of address in planning for the future: "1) population dynamics, 2) changing social patterns, 3) changing economic conditions, 4) changing technology, 5) legal and political constraints."<sup>379</sup> The Williams Report advanced the idea of citizenship education in connecting pedagogy to citizenship skills:

Society is a reflection of its values, attitudes, expectations and behaviour...one element that has survived countless generations is the belief that education is a public good, that it helps preserve good government and political stability, and that it ensures a degree of social cohesion by virtue of being compulsory, universal and free...part of the socializing responsibility of public education is to recreate the knowledge, skills, and customs which are indigenous to its society.<sup>380</sup>

Similar to the general themes of Ontario's contribution to this era, two of the Williams Report's guiding principles of reform were equity and quality: "1) Equity – the concept of equity has had many different meanings and is often misunderstood and misapplied...  
2) Quality – quality must permeate all levels of the education system, from policy development, to governance, to administration, to programs and services, to teaching and learning."<sup>381</sup> While New Brunswick stressed responsibility and accountability of the

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demonstrate that they are meeting their goals effectively and efficiently." Government of New Brunswick, *Schools for a New Century*, Pg. 63

<sup>379</sup> Government of Newfoundland, *Our Children, Our Future*, Pg. 29; The report made the case for reform: "A number of significant developments have forced a review of the system: declining enrolments, demands for access to governance from those groups not enfranchised, pressures to increase achievement levels, and decreasing financial resources – which is likely to continue as the general population ages and health costs begin to consume a larger portion of available funds. External factors are also influencing the education agenda: development in technology, particularly information storage, processing and retrieval and communications, changing family structures, a trend toward de-institutionalization, environmental changes and labour market trends which have seen jobs disappear in traditional industries, and political changes which have created a global marketplace and increased competition." Government of Newfoundland, *Our Children, Our Future*, Pg. 421

<sup>380</sup> Government of Newfoundland, *Our Children, Our Future*, Pg. 27

<sup>381</sup> Government of Newfoundland, *Our Children, Our Future*, Pg. 205

individual, Newfoundland stressed equity and quality of society. The messages are relatively similar but lack common objectives that would aid in understanding the pedagogical delivery of Canadian citizenship education.

Consistent with the focus of other education reform efforts of the period, the Ontario report looked to the future.<sup>382</sup> The ideal citizen was articulated as diverse and well-rounded for future challenges. On the purpose of education, the report stated,

It follows, then, that the primary purpose of schooling is not to train students for a particular job, or to turn out a product, or to make Ontario more competitive in a globalized economy, or to compensate for a broken family, or to instill worthy values that others have neglected...on the contrary, there is one thing above all that teachers are singularly equipped for...first and foremost, their purpose must be to ensure for all students – whatever their future jobs or career – high levels of what we've chosen to call literacies.<sup>383</sup>

The commission's concern for the future was a combination of economic and social challenges. Ontario's view of citizenship appears to be much more intangible than that presented in New Brunswick. Replacing notions of efficiency and effectiveness found in the New Brunswick model are idealistic concepts such as "literacies". Possibly linked to these literacies is the inclusion of goals in the area of social justice. There appears to be a similarity here between Ontario's explicit concern with certain populations and Newfoundland's stress on equity. However, when attempting to find a sense of Canadian identity, these pluralistic goals again leave the discourse in an ambiguous state, lacking cohesion due to the separate provincial delivery of education. A distinct Canadian

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<sup>382</sup> "This is no time for complacency...the times they are a-changing – technologically, socially, economically, demographically – at a pace so bewildering that widespread anxiety is the inevitable result...we felt that disquiet in our public hearing with parents, business people, teachers and young people themselves. And of course this anxiety has increased substantially in the past couple of years as a result of the fear of escalating violence in our schools in communities across the province...so we can actually, say, in the end, that there is a shared concern out there...it's that Ontario's schools aren't equipped to deal with the future – a problem significantly exacerbated by our utter ignorance of what the future might bring." Government of Ontario, *For the Love of Learning*, Pg. 3

<sup>383</sup> Government of Ontario, *For the Love of Learning*, Pg. 4-5

citizenship narrative also had to compete for attention with what appeared to be more timely and urgent concerns. On social justice, the commission wrote:

Too many kids are confronted by a litany of severe problems they are in general helpless to solve: some are beaten, some have an abused parent, some live in poverty, some have a physical or emotional disabilities, some are victim of racism, some are in contact with drugs, some are children of anxious immigrants with different cultural traditions and may be the products of violent foreign conflicts, and too many girls are sexually harassed.<sup>384</sup>

*For the Love of Learning* made over 167 specific policy recommendations to address these inequalities.<sup>385</sup> The large number of recommendations is typical of the ambitious reach of the commissions.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, economic red flags in the form of indicators such as unemployment rates were not consistent across the jurisdictions identified. Each province that initiated education reform had a different rate of change in unemployment. Provinces continued to grow but similar population or immigration movement was not found in the four jurisdictions completing major education investigations. Ontario, New Brunswick and British Columbia all experienced population growth but Ontario was the only one significantly ahead of the national rate.

This last period demonstrates the nature of education policy reform narratives in Canada and how they did not reconcile central components of a citizenship narrative to produce a clear idea of Canadian citizenship for young students to be taught. As will be seen in the following section, by considering the constructed policy causal stories of the

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<sup>384</sup> Government of Ontario, *For the Love of Learning*, Pg. 8

<sup>385</sup> The report commented on the challenges of education reform: “Everywhere in the developed world, education reform is rampant. We have carefully studied examples of jurisdictions that have introduced considerable changes in recent years. Frankly, it’s almost impossible to know what’s worked and what hasn’t... What seems unquestionable, however, is that no-one has come up with that one simple idea that will turn the whole thing around. That’s because no simple solution exists.” Government of Ontario, *For the Love of Learning*, Pg. 6

provincial education policy makers the variance in both the public problem and the policy solution is more effectively identified. While these are not perfect constructions of the discursive similarities and differences of the policy options, this analysis allows us to better understand why a reconciliation of the Canadian citizenship education did not take place. The reconciliation did not take place during the first, “Reactive Reform” era due to major practical and administrative challenges that schools needed to address, and it did not take place during the “Philosophical Reform” era because of the grand scope of the pedagogical objectives that created ambiguous policy directions for education policy. Finally, the third “Proactive Reform” era focused on future technological, economic and social challenges that did not allow for a fully reflective and conscious effort to create clear Canadian citizenship hallmarks or signposts. The following section will expand on these issues that emerged during the development of a citizenship education policy.

### **3.4 Discussion**

The central research questions for this chapter were as follows: 1) When do provincial governments desire to change the direction of education (and construction of citizens)? and, 2) How do provincial governments define the ideal citizen once reform is initiated? The lack of commonality in economic and social factors allows for only weak explanatory answers to the first question. Change in government or conversely old governments looking for new ideas hint to some relationships between context and reform, however, no strong correlation was found. While the causal stories (i.e., the identified problems and challenges) of education royal commissions may have differed, the solutions were often similar, such as preparation for a complex world or citizen participation in the polity.<sup>386</sup> These types of solutions were significant for the Canadian citizenship education narrative because they did not allow for continuous development of Canadian citizenship through elite level policy development found in royal commissions. This chapter has demonstrated the tenuous relationship between Canadian education policy and historical trends and events.<sup>387</sup> Political, economic and social contexts are all vital to understanding the conditions that shape the sense of citizenship.<sup>388</sup> In light of these changing contexts, provincial governments produced conflicting citizenship narratives on citizenship, following Stone's notion that different causal stories can be formed. All of the stories are set in the context of reform and renewal for education policy. Lewington and Orpwood argue Canadian education reform attempts can be

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<sup>386</sup> John I. Goodlad. *School Curriculum Reform in the United States*. New York: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1964. Pg. 54

<sup>387</sup> As Martin and Macdonell note "Education is both an agent of change and a mirror of the changes which have taken place in society." Martin and Macdonell, Pg. 319

<sup>388</sup> Pamela Johnston Conover and Donald D. Searing. "A Political Socialization Perspective" *Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2000. Pg. 94

categorized in two ways: “to repair or to rebuild the system”.<sup>389</sup> Governments have difficulty in clearly identifying if they are undertaking repair or rebuilding initiatives. In attempting to repair or rebuild Canadian provincial education delivery, a mix of incremental reform and infrequent but recurring calls for change characterize policy development in the provinces. The majority of change fits a gradual rather than revolutionary path of policy change. Still, this gradual change interrupts any momentum on citizenship education policy development and as will be seen in the following chapters create a never -ending stream of policy reform at the classroom level of citizenship education.

Part of the never-ending policy change is due to incrementalism. Incrementalism is a style based on limited, reversible changes due to restraints that exist in the policy area.<sup>390</sup> The theory of incrementalism can be applied to the history of citizenship education reform. The theory accepts the notion of reversible changes and this is found in the malleable nature of the policy causal stories created by the provincial governments. Education policy is an ideal arena for program change; popular ideas emerge and retreat with ease over time and place. Unfortunately, the presence of incremental policy making can lead to charges of ambivalence.<sup>391</sup> However, this ambivalence has led outside observers to acknowledge the relative calm of Canadian education reform.<sup>392</sup> In more

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<sup>389</sup> Jennifer Lewington and Graham Orpwood. *Overdue Assignment: Taking Responsibility for Canada's Schools*. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1993. Pg. 18

<sup>390</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 9

<sup>391</sup> Titley and Mazurek write, “Educational practices appear to fluctuate in response to the vagaries of certain mysterious winds of change.” Brian Titley and Kas Mazurek. “Back to the Basics? Forward to the Fundamentals?” *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*. Ed. Brian Titley. Calgary: Deselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 111

<sup>392</sup> The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development argued, “Reforms in education are almost totally pragmatic.” Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Canada*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1976. Pg. 19

contemporary times, in relation to education, the rhetoric has produced hyperbolic recognitions or exclamations of “crises”. The description of crises in society has never been helpful for the creation of a cohesive Canadian citizenship education narrative.

Robert O'Reilly argues, “It has often been noted that cries for educational reform occur when a nation is facing a major crisis, usually an economic crisis.”<sup>393</sup> Interested parties who seek policy change can find support in the successful identification of a crisis or as Stone articulates in her causal stories thesis, “how situations come to be seen as caused by human actions and amenable to human intervention.”<sup>394</sup> In addition to addressing a crisis, policy makers can also isolate specific policy objectives. Traditionally, employers and scholars have both been dissatisfied with school outcomes, due to decreasing quality of production and the obsolescence of programs.<sup>395</sup> Again, we find a conflict between a straightforward idea, education policy change, and an ambiguous ideal, the conception of Canadian citizenship. To the detriment of producing an accepted and successful citizenship education regime, policy makers have lacked co-operation and consistency in attempting to produce a cohesive and coherent pedagogical narrative of Canadian citizenship.

Education reform proposals in Canada can be seen as both a product of opportunistic fortune and constructed societal crises. It could be suggested that change occurred during policy windows. A policy window is an opportunity for advocates of

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<sup>393</sup> Robert O'Reilly. “Educational Policy Research in Canada” *Policy Research and Development in Canadian Education*. Ed. Robert R. O'Reilly, Charla J. Lautar. Calgary: The University of Calgary, 1991. Pg. 3; Education reform can be found in many variations; 1) some are part of an international phenomenon, 2) as part of broader policy changes or 3) a history of policy change in that jurisdiction. Jon Young and Ben Levin. “The Origins of Educational Reform: A Comparative Perspective” *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*. Issue 12. 19 January 1999

<sup>394</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 281

<sup>395</sup> Lawrence W. Downey. “Secondary Education: A Perspective” *The Canadian Secondary School: An Appraisal and A Forecast*. Ed. Lawrence W. Downey and L. Ruth Godwin. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1963. Pg. 1

change to accelerate and attempt to implement their policy solutions to specific problems.

<sup>396</sup> Kingdon argues that the most “obvious” window in a policy system is a change of administration.<sup>397</sup> Interestingly, most of the reform efforts examined here did not occur with a new administration. If change of administration is not a catalyst for educational change, then what is? Kingdon writes, “The separate streams of problems, policies and politics come together at certain critical times...solutions become joined to problems, and both of them are joined to favourable political forces.”<sup>398</sup> Therefore, there needs to be key timing in both the identification and articulation of problems and the opportunity and venue for solutions all in the context of politics and policy-making.

What does this mean for the development of Canadian citizenship education? The lack of consistency in how the reports articulate citizenship creates more ambiguity than similarity in education and citizenship objectives. While most provinces tend to be moving in the same, general direction with an increasing emphasis on knowledge, skills and values based on a pluralist democratic and capitalist system, there is no obvious congruence in articulation of Canadian citizenship. As Stone argues, “problem definition is the process of image making.”<sup>399</sup> If Canadian citizenship is the problem, the process of image making through the twelve royal commissions considered is flawed in its complete absence of unity. Even though it is clichéd to write that Canada has no version of the American tenets of “life, liberty and pursuit of happiness”, the statements of Canadian citizenship in the royal commissions make it even more apparent than no singular phrase or vision on Canadian identity exists.

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<sup>396</sup> John Kingdon. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. Pg. 165

<sup>397</sup> Kingdon, Pg. 168

<sup>398</sup> Kingdon, Pg. 20

<sup>399</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 282

While this analysis allows us to better understand the policy story of the Canadian citizenship education narrative, there are important limitations. Only certain phrases and concepts from the lengthy royal commissions are selected and scrutinized to produce state narratives of consequence and meaning. The lengthy documents are filled with technical reports and practical recommendations directed at the minutiae of education policy without mention of a citizenship or identity. Discourse selected for this analysis was found in the preambles, opening and concluding sections of the reports. The adoption of Hoey's common sense based problem-solution discourse analysis is an attempt to apply methodological structure to the texts. Without a grounded methodology the material may simply be viewed as a summary of statements rather than an analysis of trends or the lack thereof over time. A discourse analysis such as Hoey's allows us to explore the "processes of social and institutional change."<sup>400</sup>

First, I will discuss the initial question in more detail, 1) When do provincial governments desire to change the direction of education (and construction of citizens)? The punctuated equilibrium theory mentioned in the first chapter helps in analyzing education reform timing. Baumgartner and Jones describe a punctuated equilibrium model of policy change in American politics as "based on the emergence and the recession of policy issues from the public agenda...during periods when issues emerge, new institutional structures are often created that remain in place for decades, structuring participation and creating the illusion of equilibrium."<sup>401</sup> The perspective has been used to examine shifts in American policy on tobacco, nuclear power, welfare, and the

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<sup>400</sup> Norman Fairclough, Simon Pardoe and Bronislaw Szerszynski. "Critical Discourse Analysis and Citizenship" *Analyzing Citizenship Talk: Social positioning in political and legal decision-making process*. Eds. Heiko Hausendorf and Alfons Bora. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006. Pg. 103

<sup>401</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 84

environment.<sup>402</sup> If punctuated equilibrium theory has limited explanatory power what theories may help us understand education reform of the past half-century? One explanation follows the logic that “individuals in any epistemic community hold some sort of ‘deep structure’ of basic values and beliefs that inhibits anything but marginal changes from occurring.”<sup>403</sup> The punctuated equilibrium model owes much to the work of Thomas Kuhn and his work in the field of the philosophy of science and ideas. In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn raised the notion of “paradigm shifts” and argued: “Led by a new paradigm, scientists adopt new instruments and look in new places...even more important, during revolutions scientists see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before.”<sup>404</sup> In studying the history of education reform in Canada we can look for examples of “punctuated equilibrium”, “deep structured beliefs” and “paradigm shifts”. For this analysis, each model appears to fit with one of the reform eras. The punctuated equilibrium model best describes the initial reactive reform era (1950-1960), the deep structured beliefs theory can be applied to the philosophical era (1963-1974) and the notion of a weak paradigm shift found in the final proactive era (1988-1994).

In the first, the reactive era, all four provinces experienced similar demographic growth. The only minor noticeable difference was in the comparisons between the provincial and national immigration rates. In 1950, Ontario’s immigration rate climbed but at a slower rate than the rest of the country while the late 1950s western provincial

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<sup>402</sup> Robert S. Wood. “The Dynamics of Incrementalism: Subsystems, Politics, and Public Lands” *The Policy Studies Journal*. Vol. 34. No. 1. 2006. Pg. 2; Howlett and Ramesh describe the ‘punctuated equilibrium’ model as follows: “Change is envisioned as involving alternations between long periods of stability involving incremental adaptations and brief periods of revolutionary upheaval.” Howlett and Ramesh, Pg. 188

<sup>403</sup> Howlett and Ramesh, Pg. 189

<sup>404</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. Pg. 110

immigration rates were all ahead of the national rate. The commissions identified similar problems – rapid growth, complexity and upheaval - but the policy solutions differed. Using the problem-solution discourse analysis method, the aggregate answer to when do provincial governments desire to change the direction of education for the first era is economic and demographic expansion. The answer is based on similar language in each report – “social upheaval” (Ontario), “rapid growth” (Alberta), “increasing complexity” (Manitoba) and “expanding economy” (British Columbia). Using the punctuated equilibrium model, it can be suggested that the relative calm in education policy was interrupted by policy actors attempting to react to changing society.

The reasons for reform in the second era varied greatly. Change in education appeared to be a reaction more to intangible or philosophical concerns than tangible or demographic growth. While population growth occurred in all provinces, immigration and unemployment numbers varied extensively. The articulation of the problem was also varied, from “public concern” to “technological development” to a growing “popular faith in education”. However, while the narrative was ambiguous, a change of deep structural beliefs was taking place; it was believed that education was not simply for vocational or technological learning but a policy area that could transform the individual and the state. Using the problem-solution discourse analysis method, the aggregate problem with society was a changing world requiring more opportunity for all. The acknowledgment of education as a transformative policy is found in the language of the various reports – “for modern civilization to progress” (Quebec), “self-realization of each individual” (Newfoundland), “thousand different destinies” (Ontario) and “goals for schools should not be defined in terms of social and economic goals” (Nova Scotia).

By the third era of reform it appeared that two models could be followed based on the previous reform periods: individual or community focused. The weak paradigm shift of this final era of reform was to move to proactive change; certain beliefs on what the future held dictated the present day policy. Neither an individual based or a community focused model was explicitly followed as the four commissions presented unique prognoses of the future, with British Columbia focusing on morals and responsibility, New Brunswick seeking tolerance and respect, Newfoundland stressing equity and the importance of economic citizenship and Ontario focusing on social justice and broad training or what it described as “literacies”. Many problems were identified and articulated from social, demographic to technological changes. Here, the aggregate problem with society is identified as a changing community. The acknowledgment of education as a transformative policy is found in the language of the various reports – “broad social changes” (British Columbia), “greater community involvement” (Newfoundland), “changing family structures” (Newfoundland) and “challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (Ontario).

The second research question - How do provincial governments define the ideal citizen once reform is initiated? – can also be answered separately for each reform era. Two of the main tenets of critical discourse analysis identified by Fairclough and Wodak are that “discourse is historical” and “discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory”.<sup>405</sup> Using the identified periods of reform, the citizenship education narrative is interpreted and explained as a historical record. It is here that the punctuated equilibrium theory of policy timing can be parlayed with the causal story theory on

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<sup>405</sup> Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak. “Critical discourse analysis” *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2. Discourse as Social Interaction*. Ed. T.A. van Dijk. London: Sage, 1997. Pg. 271-280

development to examine the citizenship. Two passages from Stone can be linked directly to policy timing: 1) “Causal stories move situations intellectually from the realm of fate to the realm of human agency” and 2) “Political conflicts over causal stories are more than empirical claims about sequences of events. They are fights about the possibility of control and the assignment of responsibility.”<sup>406</sup> In reviewing each era, the royal commissions are identifying situations that arise and can be fixed through human agency. The situations are predominantly related to the creation of citizens – in the 1950s, the identification of reacting to the changing economy, in the 1960s, the choice to focus on the development of society and in the 1990s, the decision to provide individuals with skills to exist in the new workforce and changing Canadian demographics. All of these contexts are recognized as created by humans and not by fate, therefore, the contexts can be addressed by humans and not by fate.

Consequently, education policy and the aggregate aspect of citizenship education can act as a solution. The second Stone quote above can be applied directly to the provincial responsibility over education. Section 93 gave the provinces control over the development and delivery of education policy and the royal commissions demonstrate how there has been no relinquishment of this control. The narrow interpretation of Section 93 displayed by the promises of the royal commissions demonstrates the challenges created by the federal arrangement in provincial delivery of a national identity. With this control we see divergence in the citizenship education narrative. The following few paragraphs review where some of the more prominent discursive breaks occur.

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<sup>406</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 283

During the first reactive era of reform, Ontario's Hope Report kept to traditional goals of Christianity and service. However, ten years later, a streak of individualism is found in the Alberta, British Columbia and Manitoba. Critical thinking, development as an individual, and freedom are expressed as the education and citizenship solutions. With the three Western commissions arriving a decade after the introduction of Canadian citizenship, the individualism expressed as the goals of education and citizenship education is not surprising. The discursive turn from "God and country" to "critical thinking" and "own choices" reflects the growing feelings of Canadian identity and sovereignty and the possibility of a model for Canadian citizenship.

The commissions of the second era demonstrate a change in narrative. A variety of factors may have led to a rejection of the individualism promoted during the previous period. Quebec, Ontario and Nova Scotia all sought community over individual – "must not promote individualism" (Quebec), "bonds and common ground" (Ontario) and "appreciation of the diverse cultures and backgrounds" (Nova Scotia). Still, the narrative path during this era presents hints of the individualism initiated during the previous commission activity. Newfoundland's commission wrote on the "self-realization of each individual" while Ontario's Hall-Dennis report identified "a thousand different destinies". The ambiguity of aims represents the lack of discursive cohesion, clarity and consistency in building the Canadian identity through state pedagogical goals.

By the third era, the solutions presented for society are both contested and varied. The Newfoundland commission recognized the importance of responding "to an ever-changing, post-industrial, high technology age" while Ontario contended there was no need to "train for a particular job". As Manzer argued, "official policy studies of public

education in Canada in the late 1980s and early 1990s were by no means identical in their ideological commitments.”<sup>407</sup> British Columbia and New Brunswick both present a search for citizens who work on their “moral development” (BC) and “tolerance and respect” (NB). Both New Brunswick and Newfoundland identify education as an equalizer for citizens as it can “relieve their social conditions or enhance their social development” (NB) and provide “equity and quality” (NF). Still British Columbia and Ontario differ from traditional “preparation for vocational life, moral and civic development” (BC) to producing “high levels of what we’ve chosen to call literacies” (Ontario).

The significance of these findings is the lack of a consistent and coherent version of Canadian citizenship. Stone writes that: “Causal stories need to be fought for, defended, and sustained. There is always someone to tell a competing story, and getting a causal story believed is not an easy task.”<sup>408</sup> As found in the commissions, the central Canadian citizenship story is not being sustained or defended and many competing stories are being told. In some cases, change for the sake of change appears as an influential factor. The 1959 Alberta commission wrote, “Surely the purpose of education goes beyond perfect preservation of the status quo!”<sup>409</sup> Regardless of this possible rallying point for reform, the proposed education reform in each identified period subscribed to a unique view of the citizen. The first period proposed a reactive citizen, responding to the major changes in the Canadian post-war environment. The second period put forth a community centered-citizen, responding to pedagogical and societal trends that placed

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<sup>407</sup> Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, Pg. 236

<sup>408</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 293

<sup>409</sup> Government of Alberta, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta*, 1959. Pg. 44

the child at the centre of the system and the act of learning as a fluid, open and evolving activity. The third period suggested a prepared citizen, one who was learned in the ways of facing a future of uncertainty due to global, technological and demographic changes. Titley and Mazurek argue, “Educational practices appear to fluctuate in response to the vagaries of certain mysterious winds of change.”<sup>410</sup> The “mysterious winds of change” for citizenship education can be found not only in the ambitious and ambiguous narratives of royal commissions but also in the arbitrary implementation of more explicit educational objectives. The following chapter will present the more explicit delivery of citizenship education found in classroom curriculum change over time and province with a focus on the mandatory Ontario Grade 10 Civics course introduced in 2000.

## **Chapter Four: “False Starts, Curricular Fads, Blind Alleys and Heroic Efforts” – Citizenship Education Curriculum Across Canada**

### ***4.1 Introduction***

The previous chapters focused on elite-level concepts of citizenship education as expressed through royal commissions and other official discourse. The focus of this chapter is the challenge of implementing classroom level citizenship education policy in Canadian provinces. Policy implementation is analyzed through contemporary versions of Canadian citizenship education with special attention paid to the Ontario Grade 10 Civics course that was introduced in 2000. Similar to the range of objectives put forward in the royal commissions discussed in chapter three, classroom level citizenship education curriculum across time and province is comparably varied. A national citizenship education narrative of policy implementation has been difficult to articulate in a tangible fashion and the policy approaches have continually changed through different eras and governments.

We see again in this chapter a struggle over causal stories and perceived public problems and their solutions. As Stone argues, “Problem definition is the active manipulation of images of conditions by competing political actors. Conditions come to be defined as problems through the strategic portrayal of causal stories.”<sup>411</sup> While the provinces are not directly in competition with each other over citizenship education narratives, when comparing the curricula the various policy narratives unavoidably compete with each other over versions of Canadian citizenship and identity. The following two chapters will build on the empirical evidence presented in the last two chapters related to the inability of provincial programs to reconcile central components of

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<sup>411</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 299

Canadian citizenship. The chapters focus on both the written curriculum and its actual delivery in the classroom, with interviews with policy actors as well as a review of current curricula across the country. The results from policy actor interviews provide examination of the importance of the policy to government. The cross-country review of curriculum presents the difference in approaches in recent contemporary citizenship education programs. In the fifth chapter, the results from teacher interviews provide analysis of another level, the one closest to the students, of citizenship education policy delivery. Before these parts of the chapter, the following introduction will provide context and background for better appreciation of the contemporary policy environment concerning citizenship education.

As recently as 1992, Ronald Evans warned, “Social studies (commonly placed under the umbrella of citizenship education) does seem to be in danger of dying. The history of efforts to reform social studies is replete with false starts, curricular fads, blind alleys, and heroic efforts amid ongoing ideological conflicts over what should be taught in schools.”<sup>412</sup> The policy pattern Evans describes is found throughout the history of classroom level citizenship education policy in Canada. Citizenship education is unique compared to other school subjects because it combines facts with values and competes with many other sources of political development such as the home, the media and the community.<sup>413</sup> Coinciding with the causal story theory of policy formation, the subject matter is inherently dynamic and constantly in flux.<sup>414</sup> While subjects such as math and science tend to have broadly agreed curriculum objectives, the content and objectives of

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<sup>412</sup> Ronald W. Evans. “Is Social Studies Dying? Reflections on Educational Reform” *International Journal of Social Education*. Vol. 7. No. 1. Spring 1992. Pg. 89

<sup>413</sup> A.N. Oppenheim. *Civic Education and Participation in Democracy: The German Case*. London: SAGE Publications, 1977. Pg. 34

<sup>414</sup> Heater, Pg. 95

citizenship education are the source of frequent debate. In the face of these conceptual challenges, and as we saw in the previous chapter, many policy actors have attempted to define the essential traits required for citizenship education, but no settlement has been reached. Most accept a multi-faceted version of citizenship education – there is only variance on how multi-layered or detailed the narrative becomes. While Freeman Butts believed civic learning included the “teaching of political content, process, skills and values”, Richard Patte argued that content, skills and values include “1) The Development of Historical Perspective, 2) The Development of Social-Action Skills, 3) The Reduction of Ethnocentrism”.<sup>415</sup> As was seen in chapter three, both Butts’ and Patte’s definitions of citizenship education content were found in the overall elite-level objectives of the school experience and as will be seen later in this chapter, the same type of goals emerge in classroom delivery of citizenship education. However, how these are actually developed and implemented into curricula is more contentious.

Tomkins argued “the goal of ‘citizenship’ probably comes closer than any other to identifying the purpose that Canadians have usually believed that social studies should serve, even though they might not agree on what a ‘good’ citizen (or a good Canadian) is.”<sup>416</sup> Related to Tomkins’ notion of the agreement on what a “good” citizen is, this chapter will continue the examination of Canadian citizenship through the citizenship education policy narrative and demonstrate how much difficultly, however subtle, remains in creating a cohesive and clear notion of citizenship. Again, the idea of a problem that can be solved by the correct actions is prevalent; as Stone argued, “Problem definition is centrally concerned with attributing bad conditions to human behaviour

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<sup>415</sup> Dynneson and Gross, Pg. 23; Patte, Pg. 22-24

<sup>416</sup> George Tomkins. “The Social Studies in Canada” *Canadian Social Studies*. Eds. J. Parsons, G. Milburn, and M. van Manen. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1990. Pg. 3

instead of to accident, fate or nature.”<sup>417</sup> With this in mind, it can be suggested that the problem of creating “good” Canadian citizens rests with human action – in this case being public policy.

While earlier chapters focused on the elite level, the following section will briefly outline some of the development in classroom based citizenship education in Canada. Along with providing more context for the contemporary cases, this section reasserts the position that policy makers have continuously struggled with the articulation of Canadian citizenship in citizenship education policy.

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<sup>417</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 299

## **4.2 Historical Background**

While many of the debates about citizenship education featured in this study are about content and ideal or model forms of citizenship, less attention appears to be paid to the implementation and administration of the course in schools and the classroom. Regardless of what the curriculum prescribes, each classroom is different. Each teacher brings a different background, a different set of beliefs and values to teach a course predominantly based on beliefs and values. Indeed, teachers are central to the conception and delivery of civic education, acting as both transmitters and implementers of the curriculum.<sup>418</sup> The aggregate citizenship education policy, along with the textbook and curriculum are either impeded or improved by this final policy ‘gatekeeper’. Beginning from the theoretical perspectives on citizenship education in the first chapter, to the early Canadian policy development in the second chapter, to the big picture conception found in the third chapter, this fourth chapter takes the analysis to the classroom and the final policy delivery step between the teacher and the student.

Early appearances of citizenship education in curriculum documents (appearing under the name “social studies”) are found in the Western provinces in the 1920s and Ontario in 1937.<sup>419</sup> Over the next few decades, as the ambitions for the public school increased, the Canadianization of citizenship education also increased. As we saw in chapter two, the 1950s and post-World War II era was central to the policy goal of articulating an independent and sovereign Canada within the curriculum.<sup>420</sup> Courses in Ontario in the 1950s stressed respect and unprejudiced views towards individuals of

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<sup>418</sup> Oppenheim, Pg. 7

<sup>419</sup> Clark, “The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada”, Pg. 18

<sup>420</sup> Lower, Pg. 350

different races, creeds, classes and nation origin.<sup>421</sup> Along with some small progressive steps, the value of citizenship education was supported by statements from Ontario's 1950 Hope Report that argued a social studies course provided an "excellent opportunity for training in citizenship."<sup>422</sup> As well, Ontario's Department of Education created local committees in an effort to integrate curriculum in areas such as geography and history.<sup>423</sup> While citizenship education was becoming more prevalent in the curriculum it was also becoming more contested by policy actors. A high level of opposition to the social studies program developed as historians feared the deterioration of their subject field and the implementation of new material. Foreshadowing future problems revealed in the interviews conducted for this study, much of the negativity came from the belief that teachers were not sufficiently prepared to administer the courses.<sup>424</sup>

A common trend found throughout the development and implementation of citizenship education policy was the question of how much knowledge is required to be a good citizen. Supporting documents of Ontario's 1962 Grade 10 Government course warned, "a student may study 'responsible government' and 'the supremacy of the law', but unless his understanding is accompanied by some measure of personal conviction, a principal purpose of the lessons is not realized."<sup>425</sup> The combination of both knowledge (study responsible government) and values (measure of personal conviction) was an indication of how citizenship education curriculum was moving from passive to active

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<sup>421</sup> Tomkins, "The Social Studies in Canada", Pg. 18

<sup>422</sup> Government of Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*, 1950, Pg. 169

<sup>423</sup> Davis, *Whatever Happened to High School History?*, Pg. 28

<sup>424</sup> Fleming, Pg. 220

<sup>425</sup> The curriculum recommended, "the teacher will strive by every means at his disposal to relate the material under study to real or vicarious experiences of the class, to the end that students will identify themselves with government and will recognize its importance to them personally." Government of Ontario. Department of Education. *Geography – History and Government – Social Studies. Intermediate Division. Curriculum 1:7 & 1:9.* 1962. Pg. 123-124

ideals of citizenship. The deputy minister of education at the time, Jack McCarthy, believed in the integration of social studies, history and geography found in courses such as “Man in Society” and hoped to implement a form of classroom based citizenship education that included more fieldwork and greater participation from the students.<sup>426</sup> This was in line with growing skepticism about the utility of traditional history, social studies and civics courses. Echoing the complaints of poor delivery or dull content, Northrop Frye noted in 1962, that little would be lost “if history as presently prescribed and taught were dropped entirely from the curriculum.”<sup>427</sup> In response to the problems, the Ontario Curriculum Institute initiated a study of social sciences in 1964.<sup>428</sup> Bascom St. John argued in the *Globe and Mail*, “Part of the school history problem is the dry-as-dust approach to the course of study. A pedantic curriculum committee sits down in a dusty office and decides what historical facts Ontario children should know, and this comprises the history course.”<sup>429</sup> The influential 1968 Hall-Dennis report suggested, “Vast amounts of energy are devoted to the consumption of factual content that is biased in selection... In such an exercise, the student is all too frequently a passive recipient of

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<sup>426</sup> Davis, *Whatever Happened to High School History?*, Pg. 24; The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education launched the Canadian Public Issues Project in the summer of 1969 to produce social studies programs that focused on controversial Canadian issues. Paula Bourne and John Eisenberg. *Social Issues in the Curriculum: Theory, Practice and Evaluation*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1978. Pg. vii ; In the latter half of the 1960s, courses such as “Man in Society” were introduced in Ontario stressing a connection between “Canadian institutions and forces”. Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. Canadian Studies. Issued under the authority of the Minister of Education Hon. Thomas L. Wells. A Supplement to H.S.1 1975-76 and 1976-77. Pg. 3; Fleming described the course as “cutting across traditional social science disciplines to produce a new focus for young people with a profound interest in the meaning of contemporary life.” Fleming, Pg. 146

<sup>427</sup> Morton, “Teaching and Learning History in Canada”. Pg. 57

<sup>428</sup> Brian Burnham. “New Curriculum” *New Designs for Learning. Highlights of the reports of the Ontario Curriculum Institute 1963-1966*. Ed. Brian Burnham. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967. Pg. 208

<sup>429</sup> J. Bascom St. John. “Why the Children Forget History” *The Globe and Mail*. 14 February 1964.

content...The result is a woeful ignorance of the real problems that confront Canadians today.”<sup>430</sup>

It was at this time of heightened attention that A.B. Hodgetts published his critical report on citizenship education in Canada, *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada*. The study was based on an examination of 951 classes in 247 schools across Canada.<sup>431</sup> Hodgetts complained “we are teaching a bland, unrealistic consensus version of our past: a dry-as-dust chronological story of uninterrupted political and economic progress told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history.”<sup>432</sup> At the time of its publication, *What Culture? What Heritage?* was described as the most ambitious study of schools and political socialization in Canada and considered a wake-up call to strengthen civic education in Canadian schools.<sup>433</sup> It is also viewed by most scholars in the field as the starting point of describing what was wrong with Canadian citizenship education delivery at the classroom level. As is seen from the teachers’ interviews later in the chapter, many of Hodgetts’ concerns – curriculum based on institutions, challenges with controversial topics and struggles in content delivery – remain. As mentioned earlier and supported theoretically by the lack of a consistent and national policy causal story, the construction of citizenship education is complicated by the lack of consensus over the meaning of Canada itself. By considering examples of

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<sup>430</sup> Government of Ontario, *Living and Learning*, Pg. 93

<sup>431</sup> Alan Sears contends, “(The 1960s) saw a renewed concern for the quality of civic education, inspired in large part by the publication in 1968 of A.B. Hodgetts’ report on Canadian history teaching, *What Culture? What Heritage?* though its influence was due not only to its findings but to the context in which it appeared.” Sears, “Something Different to Everyone’: Conceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education”, Pg. 49; Alan D. Bowd. “Political Knowledge of Canadian and Australian High School Students” *Canadian Journal of Education*. Vol. 3. No. 3. 1978. Pg. 1

<sup>432</sup> A.B. Hodgetts. *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada*. Toronto: OISE Press, 1968. Pg. 24.

<sup>433</sup> Richard Simeon. “Review: What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 2. No. 4. December 1969. Pg. 539; Cameron. *Taking Stock: Canadian Studies in the Nineties.*, 1996. Pg. 21

provincial curriculum over time, the trend of reform and changing objectives become apparent in the citizenship education policy narrative.

Canadian citizenship education in the 1970s was a complicated convergence of traditional and contemporary approaches.<sup>434</sup> Developments in Ontario from the 1970s to the 1980s demonstrate the unending aims and unattainable goals of changing citizenship education policy options. The 1973 Ontario history curriculum identified specific concepts as being central to “the human experience” including: “change, diversity, order, individualism, the common good, worth of the individual, concern for others, dignity of labour, tradition and culture.”<sup>435</sup> These traits of the human experience echo the sentiments described in chapter three’s discussion of Ontario’s 1968 Hall-Davis Report. Also in 1973, the Ontario government identified Canadian Studies as a mandatory requirement for high school diplomas in the province with this justification: “In these days of world turmoil and uncertainty, it is of great and increasing importance that our young people come to appreciate and understand this country of ours – Canada – its culture, its heritage, and its national identity – and to have confidence in our unique place and status in the community of nations.”<sup>436</sup> The importance of domestic civic responsibility is found in the 1973 course curriculum as well: “students might find it profitable to consider the responsibility of the individual Canadian for the welfare of less

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<sup>434</sup> Fleming argues, “there is no doubt that at the beginning of the 1970s the curriculum in Ontario secondary schools was undergoing very rapid and profound changes for which there was no previous counterpart in the history in the province.” Fleming, Pg. 173; The decade included an increased emphasis on subject-focused curriculum delivery. Tomkins, “Tradition and Change in Canadian Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives”, Pg. 14; J.R. McCarthy, Ontario’s deputy minister of education from 1967 to 1971, was known to advocate a form of citizenship education that included field trips to council meetings, but in the 1970s there was only one compulsory high school history course. Davis, Pg. 24

<sup>435</sup> Clark, “The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada”, Pg. 23

<sup>436</sup> Government of Ontario, “Canadian Studies. Issued under the authority of the Minister of Education Hon. Thomas L. Wells. A Supplement to H.S.1 1975-76 and 1976-77”, Pg. 1

fortunate citizens in Canada.”<sup>437</sup> Five years later, more reforms to the curriculum were made. In 1977-1978, the Ontario Ministry of Education introduced new history and social science curriculum that stressed the changing face of Canadian society and the goals of Canadian governments, both federal and provincial. “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage” was a year long unit for Grade Ten students that included certain progressive objectives:

- 1) to develop an understanding and appreciation of the roots of the Canadian heritage, 2) to develop an understanding and appreciation of the contributions of various cultural groups to our Canadian heritage through a study of the cultural reality of the local community, and 3) to develop an increasing empathy and positive attitudes toward members of cultural groups other than one’s own.<sup>438</sup>

Troper finds imperialist values in the Canadian curriculum gradually retreating over time as a reflection of Canadian culture: “thus, multiculturalism, filling the identity vacuum left in the wake of World War II, made yesterday’s vices into today’s virtues.”<sup>439</sup> The Ontario 1977 History Intermediate Division stated the following aim of the curriculum: “students will be developing decision-making abilities important both in terms of their personal lives and of their responsibilities as citizens.”<sup>440</sup> Again, the causal story is changing.

Ten years later, the Ontario government took a more conservative direction in citizenship education curriculum. The Ontario 1987 History and placed the emphasis of citizenship and political education back on institutions. The new curriculum stressed that “courses developed from the program should contain a strong citizenship component that emphasizes the process and procedures as well as the institutions of the Canadian

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<sup>437</sup> Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. *History Intermediate Division*. 1973. Pg. 20

<sup>438</sup> Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. *History Intermediate Division*. Toronto, 1977. Pg. 18

<sup>439</sup> Harold Troper. “Nationalism and the History Curriculum in Canada” *The History Teacher*. Vol. 12. No. 1. November 1978. Pg. 25

<sup>440</sup> Government of Ontario, *History Intermediate Division*, 1977, Pg. 3

political and legal systems.”<sup>441</sup> Knowledge based lessons were again placed at the centre of the curriculum and almost twenty years worth of active citizenship education initiatives were temporarily lost. In less than two decades, Ontario citizenship education programs changed from a pluralistic and progressive curriculum influenced by the Hall-Dennis Report to a back-to-basics, conservative program – presenting another case of Stone’s notion of competition over causal stories. The perceived problems, and corresponding solutions, shifted with each new development.

Ontario’s experience can be compared with other provinces. In 1982, the Newfoundland department of education stressed a social studies course that produced “an informed citizenry...willing and able to participate.”<sup>442</sup> Eleven years later the enthusiasm for participation as a pedagogical goal had greatly evolved for Newfoundland’s education system. Newfoundland’s 1993 Curriculum Framework for Social Studies stated “competencies rest on a knowledge base (understandings) and are considered essential to the participation of the learner in society...(there is a) need for a shift in emphasis from passively learning knowledge in favour of an active acquisition and utilization of knowledge.”<sup>443</sup> In the Newfoundland case, between 1982 and 1993 a change in the policy narrative occurred. The old causal story emphasized a lack of knowledge as the key problem to be solved; the new causal story emphasized deficiencies in skills and motivation to use the knowledge. Similarly in Ontario, the 1993 Common Curriculum supported lessons in active citizenship to help their students “identify and perform as

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<sup>441</sup> Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. *History and Contemporary Studies. Intermediate Division.* 1986. Pg. 5

<sup>442</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Department of Education. *Democracy 21 2: Course Description.* Saint John’s: Author, 1982. Pg. 1

<sup>443</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Department of Education. *A Curriculum Framework.* Saint John’s: Author, 1993. Pg. 24.

service in the school community or at home and evaluate the experience...develop and participate in an activity related to a global and/or environmental issue and evaluate its impact.”<sup>444</sup> However, while Ontario and Newfoundland were embracing the teaching of active citizenship, other provinces were retreating back to passive roots. In the late 1980s, Alberta endorsed “a decreased emphasis on inquiry and active citizenship replaced by ‘responsible citizenship’.”<sup>445</sup> The variety of approaches between provinces demonstrates the gap between citizenship education approaches. Even when provinces seem to be adopting similar trends, differences in curriculum directions remain evident.

In November 1987, a forum was held on citizenship and citizenship education in Edmonton that has been identified as a turning point away from the back-to-basics, institutional approach that found some support earlier in the 1980s, to a more progressive, participatory-based curriculum.<sup>446</sup> Provincial governments varied in their approaches to citizenship education at the time. The 1988 Alberta curriculum endorsed “responsible citizenship” and the 1996 British Columbia social studies course required students at almost every grade level complete an action plan to address an area of personal or social concern.<sup>447</sup> As provinces responded to new policy innovations in citizenship education, there were as many similarities as there were differences – more evidence of the competing causal stories and the struggle at the curriculum level between passive and active based approaches. Masemann noted in 1989, “The summary of responses from the provinces and territories indicates that there are broad patterns of similarity in citizenship

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<sup>444</sup> Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. *The Common Curriculum. Grades 1-9*. Working Document. Toronto: Author, 1993. Pg. 68-69

<sup>445</sup> Jeff Orr and Hans Smits. “The Same But Different: Social Studies Curriculum in Saskatchewan and Alberta,” *Canadian Social Studies* 31. No. 1. Fall 1996. Pg. 34

<sup>446</sup> McLeod, Pg. 195

<sup>447</sup> Penney Clark. “All Talk and No Action? The Place of Social Action in Social Studies” *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*. Ed. Roland Case, Penney Clark. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1999. Pg. 266

education across Canada, and some notable regional variations.”<sup>448</sup> Masemann continues by arguing, “There has been in the past 20 years a shift away from the ‘mechanics of government’ approach to a more broadly-based social, cultural and geographical approach. The role of the citizen as a responsible caring individual living in a distinct niche in Canadian society is stressed.”<sup>449</sup>

While this section has only provided a brief snapshot of various citizenship education programs, the following section will look more closely at provincial curriculum and programs from the last decade. This section will lead into the more detailed examination in chapter five of the Grade 10 Ontario Civics course that includes interviews from policy actors and Civics teachers.

The examination of provincial programs outside of Ontario helps us to understand what other policy options have been chosen. Throughout the analysis of the “definable institutional structures”, special attention will be paid to the “powerful ideas” presented by each of the programs. The presence of ideas is reflective of the structure of royal commission reports discussed in the third chapter. A citizenship education policy narrative is constructed using these various government ideas and the challenges of producing a cohesive policy narrative is found when accumulating and analyzing these ideas together.

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<sup>448</sup> Vandra L. Masemann. “The Current Status of Teaching about Citizenship in Canadian Elementary and Secondary Schools” *Canada and Citizenship Education*. Ed. Keith A. McLeod. Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989. Pg. 30

<sup>449</sup> Ibid.,

#### **4.3 Comparative View of Citizenship Education Across Canada**

Between the late 1990s and mid-2000s, every Canadian province reformed its citizenship education policy. This allows us to compare policy delivery within the same period and national context. Newly reformed curriculum adopted across the country includes: Newfoundland (1998), Nova Scotia (2002), Prince Edward Island (2007), New Brunswick (2006), Quebec (1998), Ontario (2000), Manitoba (2007), Saskatchewan (1999), Alberta (2007) and British Columbia (2005). The following table presents the current state of citizenship education curriculum in Canada. A quick glance at the units offered by course demonstrates differences in the construction of policy causal stories between provincial governments. As the table shows, provinces vary on both the “naming and framing” of civics delivery. The courses also differ in conceived importance with some presented as compulsory and others existing as a choice of numerous credit requirements.

The table following the list of the provincial courses presents a summary of the central or “powerful ideas” presented in the curricula. While there is a common focus on cultural/identity and political aspects of citizenship education, variance is seen in other content areas such as development, environment and economy. The following tables will be a brief review of some of the highlights and distinct or common character of each contemporary provincial citizenship education curriculum.

**Table 13: “Civic” Education Across Canada – Knowledge, Skills and Values Delivery**

Province	Year	Course Title	Units/Themes	Status
Nfld.	1998	Canadian Issues (Grade 10)	1. Cultural and Social Issues 2. Political and Legal Issues 3. Economic and Environmental Concerns 4. Global Concerns	One of three options for compulsory social studies credit with: Canadian History Canadian Geography
NS	2002	Canadian History (Grade 11)	1. Globalization 2. Development 3. Governance 4. Sovereignty 5. Justice	One of three options for compulsory social studies credit with: Mik Maq Studies African Canadian Studies
PEI	2007	Canadian Studies (Grade 10)	1. Canada’s Place in the World 2. Canada’s Voices of the Past 3. Canada as a Democracy 4. Canada’s Work and Worth 5. Canada’s Global Connections 6. Canada’s Cultural Mosaic	One of four options for two compulsory social studies credit: History Geography Social Studies
NB	2006	Canadian Identity (Grade 9)	1. Exploring Canadian Identity 2. Geographic Influences 3. Decades of Change 4. Citizenship 5. Challenges and Opportunities 6. Reflections on Canadian Identity	Compulsory
Quebec	1998	History of Quebec and Canada (Grade 10)	Economic, Social and Political Domains for following Eras: 1. 1960 – 1970 2. 1971 – 1980 3. 1981 to present	Compulsory
Ontario	2000	Civics (Grade 10)	(Strands – Informed, Purposeful and Active Citizenship) 1. Democracy – Issues and Ideas 2. Democracy – The Canadian Context 3. Democracy – Global Perspectives	Compulsory
Manitoba	2007	Social Studies (Grade 9)	1. Active Democratic Citizenship in Canada 2. Canadian Citizenship for the Future 3. Citizenship in the Global Context 4. Environmental Citizenship	Compulsory
Sask.	1999	Social Studies (Grade 9)	1. Time 2. Change 3. Causality 4. Culture: First Nations Roots	Compulsory
Alberta	2007	Social Studies (Grade 10 to Grade 12)	Grade 10 - Perspectives on Globalization - Living in a Globalizing World Grade 11 - Perspectives on Nationalism - Understanding of Nationalism Grade 12 - Perspectives on Ideology - Understandings of Ideologies	Compulsory
BC	2005	Civics (Grade 11)	1. Skills and Processes of Civics Studies 2. Informed Citizenship 3. Civic Deliberation 4. Civic Action	One of three options for compulsory social studies credit with: Social Studies 11 Native Studies 11

**Table 14: Powerful Ideas in Citizenship Education Curriculum**

	Cultural/ Identity	Economic	Environment / Geography	Global/ Develop- ment	History	Legal/ Governance	Political/ Democracy	Social
NFLD	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
NS		✓		✓		✓	✓	
PEI	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	
NB	✓				✓			
QUE		✓			✓		✓	✓
ONT				✓			✓	
MB	✓		✓				✓	
SK	✓				✓			
AB	✓			✓				
BC	✓							

Starting in Eastern Canada, the Atlantic provincial courses present some similarities under the participatory theme. This is the only part of the country where common curriculum objectives are found based on region. For courses such as Prince Edward Island's Grade 10 Canadian Studies, the curriculum was structured on principles from the 1999 Foundation for the Atlantic Canada Social Studies Curriculum. The course identifies common ideals of knowledge, skills and values - "to examine issues, respond critically and creatively, and make informed decisions as individuals and as citizens of Canada in an increasingly interdependent world."<sup>450</sup> All of these ideals are very common in the contemporary versions of Canadian citizenship education but as we consider other provinces, differences begin to emerge and discussion of a distinct Canadian national identity is vague.

<sup>450</sup> Government of Prince Edward Island. Department of Education. *Canadian Studies 401A. Social Studies Curriculum*. 2007. Pg. 1; Attention is drawn to critical issues, as heart-shaped bullets within the curriculum suggest teachers invite students to adopt such approaches as: "(lesson: Aboriginal settlement) this is an opportunity to draw out ideas regarding why European colonists settled in Canada...be sensitive to the impact of early European settlement patterns on Aboriginal groups across Canada." Government of Prince Edward Island. *Canadian Studies 401A. Social Studies Curriculum*. 2007. Pg. 38

In Newfoundland's Grade 12 Canadian Studies course, units include course content with titles such as "entrepreneurship" to "equality and human rights."<sup>451</sup> This is an incredibly wide range of citizenship activities, unfocused and difficult to comprehend, and prompting the question – if so many ideas can be linked Canadian citizenship than what exactly is Canadian citizenship? Still, the curriculum adopts the common participatory model of citizenship citing responsibilities and community: "(the course) falls within the scope of civic education...specifically, this course helps students appreciate their responsibilities to their families and the wider community."<sup>452</sup>

In September 2006, New Brunswick introduced a mandatory course called Canadian Identity for Grade Nine.<sup>453</sup> Similar to Newfoundland's citizenship education course, the scope of topics was wide. The course presented six conceptual strands: "1) Citizenship, Power, and Governance, 2) Culture and Diversity, 3) Individuals, Societies and Economic Decisions, 4) Interdependence, 5) People, Place, and the Environment, 6) Time, Continuity, and Change."<sup>454</sup> The presence of somewhat ambiguous themes contributes to an open-ended version of teaching Canadian citizenship. Still, the notion of participation is placed at the centre of the discussion. The course is framed by the belief that "True citizenship is not a docile acceptance of the status quo -- it is an active and constructive participation in political life."<sup>455</sup>

Nova Scotia presents an example of citizenship education delivered through a traditional history course but still displays similar traits to other provinces. Nova Scotia's

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<sup>451</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Department of Education. Division of Program Development. *Social Studies: Canadian Issues 1209*. September 1998. Pg. 6-8

<sup>452</sup> Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Department of Education. Division of Program Development. *Social Studies: Canadian Issues 1209*. September 1998. Pg. 2

<sup>453</sup> Government of New Brunswick. Ministry of Education Official. Phone Interview. 26 March 2008

<sup>454</sup> Government of New Brunswick. Ministry of Education. *Social Studies 9: Canadian Identity*. June 2006. Pg. 7

<sup>455</sup> Government of New Brunswick. *Social Studies 9: Canadian Identity*. June 2006. Pg. 139

Canadian History 11 course themes are based on such questions as: “Have governments in Canada, past and present, been reflective of Canadian societies?”<sup>456</sup> Following this critical descriptive element, the unit on justice includes such learning objectives as “to demonstrate an understanding of how the lack of political and economic power has led to inequities and analyze the responses to these inequities and analyze the evolution of the struggle to achieve rights and freedoms.”<sup>457</sup> The themes that tend to emerge from the four Atlantic provinces are critical reflection and a model of participation based in pluralism. These themes are not detrimental to young Canadians’ development but they lack a distinct and common version of Canadian citizenship. There is an obvious trend in the narrative towards participatory skills and values, “make informed decisions as individuals” (Prince Edward Island), “appreciate their responsibilities” (Newfoundland), and “an active and constructive participation in political life” (New Brunswick). However, the positive steps do not help clarify a consensus model of Canadian citizenship.

In Quebec, implementation of new courses in social studies began in 2005 and continued to 2009. Quebec’s citizenship education is integrated into the curriculum’s history courses; it is the government’s intention to associate history and citizenship.<sup>458</sup> Evidence of the progressive Quebec that emerged from the Quiet Revolution is found in the curriculum that includes studies of “state intervention in the social sector, secularization of society, democratization of education, the union movement, feminism,

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<sup>456</sup> Government of Nova Scotia. Ministry of Education. *Canadian History 11. Course Outline*. 2002. Pg. 1

<sup>457</sup> Government of Nova Scotia. Ministry of Education. *Canadian History 11. Course Outline*. Pg. 3

<sup>458</sup> The Grade 10 History of Quebec and Canada course was replaced with a History and Citizenship course. Government of Quebec. Ministry of Education Official. Email Interview. 20 April 2008.

Francophone business class and affirmation of the Quebec Francophone identity.”<sup>459</sup>

Quebec presents conflicts between presentations of Canadian and Quebecois identity and citizenship that go beyond the scope of this study.

The Ontario case will be addressed in much detail in the following chapter – Manitoba follows in the cross-country review. In Manitoba, there has been no discussion of making “civics” a mandatory course; however, citizenship is considered a core concept of social studies in all grades from Kindergarten to Grade Twelve.<sup>460</sup> The curriculum defines citizenship education as a fundamental program for a successful democratic society:

To identify the knowledge, values, and skills that students will need as active democratic citizens, social studies must take into account the society in which students live and anticipate the challenges they will face in the future. Citizenship is a fluid concept that changes over time: its meaning is often contested, and it is subject to interpretation and continuing debate.<sup>461</sup>

Notably, the curriculum recognizes citizenship as a “fluid concept” that is both subject to “interpretation” and contestation. Diverse voices are recognized in the curriculum as it states, “throughout much of history, citizenship has been exclusionary, class-based, racist and sexist.”<sup>462</sup> To reflect this philosophy, the curriculum writers believe the student needs to participate in the learning experience in “critical thinking, informed decision making, consensus building, and skills related to negotiation in the exercise of active and

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<sup>459</sup> Government of Quebec. Ministry of Education. *History of Quebec and Canada Curriculum*. June 1998. Pg. 5

<sup>460</sup> Government of Manitoba. Ministry of Education Official. Email Interview. 13 April 2006

<sup>461</sup> Government of Manitoba. *Grade 9 Social Studies: Canada in the Contemporary World*. 2007. Pg. 6; The curriculum also includes a long list of how to appropriately deal with controversial issues in the classroom including: “ensure that the issues do not become personalized or directed at individual students and respective every student’s right to voice opinions or perspectives.” Government of Manitoba. *Grade 9 Social Studies: Canada in the Contemporary World*. 2007. Pg. 16

<sup>462</sup> Ibid.,

responsible citizenship.”<sup>463</sup> The traditionally popular notion of “responsible citizenship” is tied to the contemporary pedagogical and policy acceptance of “active citizenship”.

The Saskatchewan curriculum does not offer a separate “civics” course, but elements of citizenship education are incorporated throughout all social studies courses.<sup>464</sup> It is compulsory for students to take at least one of three Canadian Studies courses: history, social studies or native studies. Saskatchewan’s Grade 9 Roots of Society appears most similar to a typical citizenship education course. The course is structured much more as a traditional history course with an overview stating:

The course is designed to help students understand the origins of specific customs and beliefs that exist within our society, how they have become engrained within our culture, and how they influence our actions and behaviours.<sup>465</sup>

With a history base, Saskatchewan’s program tends to be the most traditional of the provincial citizenship education courses – and demonstrates how between provincial neighbours, citizenship education delivery can differ so greatly. Manitoba’s goal of “informed decision making” and Saskatchewan’s objective of “help[ing] students understand the origins of specific customs and beliefs” are relatively close in intent but vary in the degree between passive (Saskatchewan) and active (Manitoba) citizenship.

Possibly the most comprehensive and sophisticated program in Canada, Alberta’s curriculum offers a unique delivery of citizenship education by presenting three major themes over three years of compulsory courses: Grade 10 (globalization), Grade 11 (nationalism), and Grade 12 (ideologies).<sup>466</sup> While many describe Alberta’s political

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<sup>463</sup> Government of Manitoba. *Grade 9 Social Studies: Canada in the Contemporary World*. 2007. Pg. 62

<sup>464</sup> Government of Saskatchewan. Ministry of Education Official. Email Interview. 28 September 2005

<sup>465</sup> Government of Saskatchewan. Ministry of Education. *Grade 9 – The Roots of Society Overview*. 1999

<sup>466</sup> The rational for each year are as follows: “(Globalization), the process by which the world’s citizens are becoming increasingly connected and interdependent, demands that students explore responsibilities

culture as conservative, its delivery of citizenship education is quite progressive relative to other provinces. The Alberta K-12 Social Studies curriculum notes, “central to the vision of the Alberta social studies program is the recognition of the diversity of experiences and perspectives and the pluralistic nature of Canadian society.”<sup>467</sup> Development of citizenship-based education in Alberta was based more on identity and culture in relation to Aboriginal, immigrant and francophone perspectives than popular concerns about youth political apathy.<sup>468</sup> Again, the Alberta policy represents a program of citizenship education that differs greatly from nearby provinces such as Saskatchewan and Manitoba and more evidence of differing policy causal stories.

Similar to Alberta, British Columbia introduced significant changes to its curriculum; however, any appearance of progress has been undermined by reluctance to adopt new policy directions. In 2004, the British Columbia Ministry of Education adopted the objective that its students should graduate with, “The knowledge and understanding they need to participate in democracy as Canadians and global citizens, acting in accordance with the laws, rights and responsibilities of democracy.”<sup>469</sup> Social Studies 11 was not seen to be meeting the needs of students and in response the ministry

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associated with local and global citizenship and formulate individual responses to emergent issues related to globalization...recognizing and appreciating the influence of globalization will lead students to develop individual and collective responses to emergent issues. (Nationalism) has historically examined the relationship of the citizen to the state, contemporary understanding of nationalism include evolving individual, collective, national and state realities...developing understandings of the various points of view associated with nationalism as well as an appreciation for the perspectives of others will encourage students to develop personal and civic responses to emergent issues related to nationalism. (Ideologies) : the principles of liberalism have played a significant role in the development of modern democratic societies...developing a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of modern liberal thought and the tenets of competing ideologies is important in the development of active, informed and responsible citizens.” Government of Alberta. Ministry of Education. *Social Studies. 30-1. Curriculum.* 2007. Pg. 1

<sup>467</sup> Government of Alberta. Ministry of Education. *Social Studies K-12 Curriculum.* 2005. Pg. 1

<sup>468</sup> Government of Alberta. Ministry of Education Official. Phone Interview. 4 March 2008.

<sup>469</sup> Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education. *The Graduation Program 2004.* Victoria: Author, 2003. Pg. 3-4

added Aboriginal Studies 11 and Civics 11.<sup>470</sup> One member of the curriculum committee recalls, “we fought (progressive) curriculum people to keep the element of a certain number of hours (of the course) being out [out of the classroom and] in the community.”<sup>471</sup> This suggests that participative approaches to citizenship education were still not widely accepted even though it appeared to be in fashion in citizenship education policy-making across the country (as seen in the previous table on Civic Education across Canada). Civic Studies 11 was piloted in British Columbia schools in the Fall of 2004 and fully implemented in September 2005.<sup>472</sup> The pedagogical approach for the course began with a focus on lessons outside of the classroom and in the community; however, this program direction was rejected because of the need for material that could be tested in a provincially administered exam. This type of decision is an example of the reluctance to depart too far from traditional forms of citizenship education delivery. Many of the new ideas were unpopular amongst policy actors. Some British Columbia educators met the course with “great hostility”.<sup>473</sup> Social studies teachers believed that having “civics”

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<sup>470</sup> Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education. Member of Curriculum Writing Team and Civics Teacher. Phone Interview. 26 February 2008.

<sup>471</sup> Ibid., The rationale is described as the following: “The aim of Civic Studies 11 is to enhance students abilities and willingness to participate actively and responsibly in civic life...the course is intended as a study in civics, where the study about civics is a means to that end...Civic Studies 11 offers opportunities for students to form reasoned views on issues and to participate in socially relevant projects and real-life learning for the purpose of developing civic mindedness.” Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education. *Civic Studies 11. Integrated Resource Package*. 2005. Pg. 11; The four stated goals of Civics 11 are as follows:1) students will acquire knowledge and develop understandings that enable them to become more mindful of their connections to the civic world and of their responsibilities as members of various local and global communities, 2) students will learn to access and think critically about a range of information and viewpoints on a variety of civic issues, 3) students will learn how to become informed decision makers on matters of public concern, thereby better able to assess critically the effects of their choices on themselves and others, 4) students will learn to become active citizens and responsible agents of change. Government of British Columbia. *Civic Studies 11. Integrated Resource Package*. 2005. Pg. 14

<sup>472</sup> Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education Official (A). Email Interview. 26 June 2007; While not compulsory, the Civic Studies 11 course can act as one of the graduation requirements if a student chooses not to complete Social Studies 11 or First Nations Studies 12. Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education Official (A). Email Interview. 28 September 2005

<sup>473</sup> Some have suggested that the idea behind the Civics 11 course came from Education Minister Christy Clark’s husband. One member of curriculum team recalls “(the course) definitely did not come back from

as an alternative course for graduation neglected history curriculum requirements.<sup>474</sup>

Again, this demonstrates the struggles of curriculum makers moving from passive to participative learning approaches. Even once debates over the content were settled, in British Columbia, implementation became another challenging obstacle. Schools were not required to offer Civics 11 and as one Civics curriculum contributor contends,

(The course) hasn't been met with a lot of success in the province, very few schools picked up, very few school promoted it, even in my own school I had to push very hard for two years to get the administration to support the class knowing the numbers were not as strong as the regular program...I don't think they understand what its real purpose was... It could flourish or disappear completely.<sup>475</sup>

Out of the roughly 50,000 Grade 11 students in British Columbia, only 645 students were enrolled in Civics 11 in 2005-2006 and 669 students in 2006-2007.<sup>476</sup> Compared to the civics course in Ontario where all students are required to complete the course, in British Columbia just over 1% of eligible students are participating in the new course. These figures suggest that school boards and schools must not be actively mandating student participation. The British Columbia experience presents an example of citizenship education initiatives not being accepted by one of the most important groups in policy delivery – those responsible for policy implementation. The British Columbia course can be compared directly to the Ontario Grade 10 Civics as they both represent the removal of citizenship education out of history or social studies and into a stand-alone course. However, as the B.C. case shows, an optional course is much less effective considering

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the Social Studies Teachers Union or the grassroots." Member of Curriculum Writing Team and Teacher. British Columbia Ministry of Education. Phone Interview. 26 February 2008. The British Columbia Civics 11 course had six pilot schools and received very little media coverage and "was not big on the provincial political radar." Former Curriculum Writer and Teacher. British Columbia Ministry of Education. Phone Interview. 1 February 2008.

<sup>474</sup> Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education. Member of Curriculum Writing Team and Civics Teacher. Phone Interview. 26 February 2008.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>476</sup> Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education Official (B). Email Interview. 24 April 2008

the low participation rates of the student population. As will be seen in the following sections on the Ontario case, administration and management are where the central challenges have been found in policy delivery. However, before focusing on Ontario it is worthwhile to consider some of the other policy administrative aspects of contemporary citizenship education provincial programs.

In the third chapter, two central research questions for this thesis were identified. While this section has focused on content and answering the second general research question (How do provincial governments define the ideal citizen once reform is initiated?), there is some evidence to answer the first question (When do provincial governments desire to change the direction of education and, implicitly or explicitly, the construction of citizens?)

Concerning policy development, in the Atlantic provinces, only low levels of political involvement were found concerning the advocacy for citizenship education. In Prince Edward Island, the decision to review the social studies curriculum was due to belief within the ministry of education that it was time to renew course offerings.<sup>477</sup> In New Brunswick, the Liberal minister of education created a task force on citizenship education that began meeting in the spring of 2008.<sup>478</sup> This followed a Progressive Conservative government that discussed citizenship education in its commission on legislative democracy.

Stephen Levesque writes: "Like other Canadian provinces, Quebec has undergone profound changes since the current history and social studies programs were

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<sup>477</sup> Government of Prince Edward Island. Ministry of Education Official. Email Interview. 13 May 2008

<sup>478</sup> Government of New Brunswick. Ministry of Education Official. Phone Interview. 26 March 2008

implemented in the early 1980s.”<sup>479</sup> However, due to the nature of Quebec’s identity, partisan politics have crept into the recent curriculum changes. In 2006, the Quebec government was criticized for proposing to remove French-English conflict from history courses. In light of the pending controversy, the Minister of Education Jean-Marc Fournier sent the curricula back to be modified.<sup>480</sup> Premier Jean Charest supported the removal of the content, “We are not trying to politicize Quebec’s history one way or another. What we want is a teaching of history that allows students as much as possible to assimilate the events that marked the people of Quebec.”<sup>481</sup> Charest’s entry into the debate politicizes the issue regardless of his sentiment.

Alberta implemented a new social studies program in September 2007. There were some advocates for a separate “civics” course but this option was rejected in favour of a more sophisticated form of citizenship education based on patriotism and societal trends in the province. One ministry insider noted, “September 11<sup>th</sup> and a huge influx [of immigrants] coming into Alberta, not just into the cities but the small towns to work in the oil fields [led to a] huge culture clash. Suddenly farm communities were dealing with Somalians and they didn’t know what to do.”<sup>482</sup> In terms of curriculum development those within the ministry acknowledge a trying process, Opposition was met in many places, including the political ranks. As one official recalls, Former Education Minister Lyle Oberg “had a real issue with Student Vote because he thought the kids in the

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<sup>479</sup> Levesque, Pg. 55; In the last two decades, Quebec has paid extended attention to its citizenship education programs. The Quebec Ministry of Education followed the advice of the 1995 Estates General on Education and appointed a task force to review the delivery of history and social studies in the province. Levesque, Pg. 55

<sup>480</sup> Rheal Seguin. “Quebec curriculum criticized as federalist propaganda” *The Globe and Mail*. 29 April 2006. A10

<sup>481</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>482</sup> Government of Alberta. Ministry of Education Official. Phone Interview. 4 March 2008

classrooms were going to vote all Green Party, New Democrat and Liberal and it would be embarrassing.”<sup>483</sup>

This is just a small sample of the background stories to the development and delivery of contemporary citizenship education curriculum in the Canadian provinces. If anything can be drawn from these brief anecdotes it is the reinforcement of the contestation and conflict that exists in constructing both the citizenship problem and the citizenship education solution. The following chapter details the development and delivery of one case – the Ontario Grade 10 civics course introduced in 2000. The analysis of the case demonstrates the challenges that exist even after a curriculum is agreed upon. At the policy development stage, shallow support from upper level bureaucrats and politicians led to a policy with little scrutiny and attention.

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<sup>483</sup> Ibid.,

## **Chapter 5: The 2000 Ontario Grade 10 Civics Course**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The following chapter will consider in more detail the Ontario Grade 10 Civics Course developed in the 1990s and implemented in 2000. Beginning in 1993, under a New Democratic government, the Ontario Ministry of Education began producing a working draft on the Common Curriculum that would represent the early beginnings of the Grade 10 Civics course.<sup>484</sup> The policy development occurred amidst larger reform efforts to the Ontario education system. Following the NDP, the Progressive Conservative Government brought major change to Ontario's education system between 1995 and 2003.<sup>485</sup> As part of this change, the government also continued the citizenship education reform that the New Democratic government had started. In the spring of 1998, fifteen teams of specialists began the process of writing the new curriculum.<sup>486</sup> Writing teams were composed of twenty members including teachers, university and college faculty members and individuals from the community.<sup>487</sup> Development of the civics course progressed further as part of extensive public consultation prior to 1999. The consultation process consisted of nine different lists of possible compulsory credit configurations that over 20,000 respondents selected from.<sup>488</sup> After making the cut, the course was designated as "open" in an effort to make it accessible to a broad range of students. A current ministry official noted, "The Open designation aided in

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<sup>484</sup> Coalition for Education Reform. *Could Do Better: What's Wrong with Education in Ontario and How to Fix It.* Toronto, 1994. Pg. 3; In 1993, Lewington and Orpwood noted, "In Ontario, for example, the governments of three different political parties tried over the past decade to make repairs to curriculum and testing policy." Lewington and Orpwood, Pg. 19

<sup>485</sup> Pat McAdie and Ken Leithwood. "Less is More: The Ontario Curriculum that We Need" *Orbit.* Vol. 35. No. 1. Pg. 7

<sup>486</sup> Canada NewsWire. "Ontario's new high school curriculum increases" 4 March 1999

<sup>487</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>488</sup> Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education Official. Email Interview. 28 January 2008

implementation as schools were able to timetable this half credit course in combination with the .5 compulsory Grade 10 Career Studies course which is also open.”<sup>489</sup> A member of the expert panel on guidance and career education complained about the process that arrived at the decision to separate civics and career studies, contrary to the panel’s advice. Barbara Niewitecka noted, “we were never given a rationale...the whole consultation process was violated.”<sup>490</sup> It is possible that some of these early mistakes made during the development and consultation led to a policy product that was flawed before implementation.

In September 2000, “Civics” was formally introduced in Ontario as a grade 10 compulsory half-course combined with “Career Planning”.<sup>491</sup> What motivated the Ontario government to adopt a mandatory Grade 10 Civics course? Interviews suggest there was no particular champion or impetus, and that the policy seemed to come together incrementally without specific leadership. According to commission member Avis Glaze, the recommendations for mandatory civics and career development came from the 1994 Royal Commission on Education. Glaze recalls, “I don’t remember many people coming up with it, it is safe to say the commission recommended (the course)...we wanted to focus on citizenship...we talked about creating communities of concern.”<sup>492</sup> Other policy officials do not refute Glaze’s claim and confirm the assumption of underwhelming support for a new citizenship education direction. Former New Democratic Minister of Education David Cooke remembers there being some talk of

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<sup>489</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>490</sup> Jennifer Lewington. “Parents, teachers in dark on Ontario secondary school changes” *The Globe and Mail*. 6 February 1999. A3

<sup>491</sup> John Myers. “Ontario’s New Civics Course: Where’s It Going?” *Citizenship 2020: Assuming Responsibility for Our Future*. Conference Presentation. October 2000; In 2005, the civics curriculum was updated but the basic approach remained with fewer expectations for the half-year course.

<sup>492</sup> Avis Glaze. Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. Phone Interview. 9 February 2008

civic education but “in terms of real specifics or it being a top notch... (Civics) was overtaken by other priorities.”<sup>493</sup> Deputy Minister from 1993 to 1995 Charles Pascal does not recall “much push for civics”.<sup>494</sup>

Once the policy direction was adopted, attention and enthusiasm remained lukewarm at best. John Snobelen, Progressive Conservative Minister of Education between 1995 and 1997, noted that “civics” had been mentioned in several reports before he arrived at the ministry.<sup>495</sup> Between 1995 and 1996, during the eight or nine rounds needed to develop the new common curriculum, civics was an early addition.<sup>496</sup> Snobelen notes, “had another government committed to changing the curriculum, they probably would have pulled civics out of history as well.”<sup>497</sup> Denise Cole, Education Minister (1999-2002) Janet Ecker’s former chief of staff, remembers “civics did not have higher preference than any of the other curricular changes...it was one of the courses that there was no controversy around.”<sup>498</sup> Cole says it was beyond the “radar of the media” but “it was highlighted as one of the things that was put in (speeches)...trying to instill some sense of the system of government and civil society.”<sup>499</sup> Cole’s point illustrates how citizenship education can be seen as an “easy policy win”. It was noted that the Dominion Institute (which will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter) was “very much part of the groups that drove the reform”.<sup>500</sup> Former Education Minister Janet Ecker believes, “A lot of the good reforms [such as the Grade 10 Ontario Civics course] got lost

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<sup>493</sup> Dave Cooke. Former Ontario Minister of Education. 1990-1995. Phone Interview. 30 January 2008

<sup>494</sup> Charles Pascal. Former Ontario Deputy Minister of Education. Phone Interview. 18 January 2008

<sup>495</sup> John Snobelen. Former Ontario Minister of Education. 1995-1997. Phone Interview. 16 January 2008

<sup>496</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>497</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>498</sup> Denise Cole. Former Chief of Staff to Ontario Education Minister Janet Ecker. Phone Interview. 11 February 2008.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>500</sup> Janet Ecker. Former Ontario Minister of Education. 1999-2002. Phone Interview. 1 February 2008

in the political controversies [Opposition the Progressive Conservative government met in introducing many of its policies].”<sup>501</sup> The Progressive Conservatives needed to implement the curriculum before they “[ran] out of time [before the 2003 election].”<sup>502</sup> Concerning the place of the Grade 10 Civics course amongst all of the curriculum changes, Ecker appears to contradict her chief of staff when she remembers, “It (civics) was something that was specifically focused on...I would use it as an example of the kind of changes we needed to make.”<sup>503</sup> After the course was introduced, former Education Minister Elizabeth Witmer recalls the civics course “wasn’t a big deal” at the minister’s level and does not recall any political involvement in the development of the compulsory civics course: “most of the decisions are made within the ministry, (it was) not something that would be discussed at the cabinet table.”<sup>504</sup> Former cabinet minister Frank Klees remembers “(At the Harris cabinet table) we were always very careful to separate curriculum development from the political side” and “(the only message from the political side) was we want an emphasis on civics.”<sup>505</sup>

The new emphasis on civics was accompanied by other related reforms. In March 1999, the government introduced a requirement for students to complete forty hours of community service.<sup>506</sup> With the introduction of the new civics course, Education Minister Janet Ecker stated, “Ontario’s new, more rigorous curriculum places a strong emphasis on Canadian history and gives students a comprehensive understanding of Canadian heritage. It provides students with information they need to be well informed

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<sup>501</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>502</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>504</sup> Elizabeth Witmer. Former Ontario Minister of Education. 2002-2003. Phone Interview. 14 January 2008.

<sup>505</sup> Frank Klees. Former Ontario Cabinet Minister. Phone Interview. 15 January 2008

<sup>506</sup> Richard Mackie. “Four-year high-school curriculum short on details” *The Globe and Mail*. 3 March 1999. A11

citizens and the background they need to analyze and understand current Canadian events.”<sup>507</sup> Ecker’s comments reflect the aims and objectives of previous policy efforts – to help young Canadians have a more informed experience as an active citizen in society. The comments also reflect the relationship between a public problem and policy solution. According to Ecker, the citizenship challenge or problem can be met with a policy solution that includes information (knowledge) and analytical skills.

Unfortunately, any conceptual strength to the policy solution was derailed by ineffective implementation from the ministry level. One teacher observed that when the course was introduced, there was:

No advance preparation for the civics course...they just arrived on our doorstep...the documents came out the fall the course was introduced...no supporting resources...there was really nothing for them (the teachers) in 1999...the first time I taught the course I tried to work within the profile of the civics course but it wasn't very good so I went back to old civics lessons from the law and government course.<sup>508</sup>

At the beginning, problems seemed to plague the course that may be linked to inadequate preparation and a swift introduction. In the early years of implementation, failure rates appeared uncharacteristically high.<sup>509</sup> The Ministry’s Curriculum Assessment and Policy Branch reviewed the course in 2003-2004 as part of a cycle of curriculum review.<sup>510</sup> However, through the policy review the main components have remained the same.

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<sup>507</sup> Canada NewsWire. “Ontario students learning more Canadian history now, Minister Ecker says” 1 July 2000

<sup>508</sup> Former Teacher and Member of Curriculum Writing Team. Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. 11 February 2008

<sup>509</sup> In the first summer after the introduction of the civics and career courses to 500 Toronto students enrolled in civics make-up courses and 386 in career studies. Louise Brown. “On the hot seat – 19,000 teens are spending summer in the city in school” *The Toronto Star*. 25 July 2002. D1; By 2004, the civics course was considered to have a “substantial” failure rate blamed on high curriculum expectations. Jennifer Chen. “Students get with electoral program” *Ottawa Citizen*. 27 June 2004. A11

<sup>510</sup> Former Ontario Ministry of Education Official. Email Interview. 8 February 2008

To understand the teacher interview responses it is important to review the basic structure of the course. The Ontario civics course is separated into three strands of citizenship – active, informed and purposeful. The following table outlines the three strands. Following the table, Section 5.2 will outline the basic methodology used to gather the evidence.

**Table 15: Three Strands of Ontario Grade 10 Civics Course**

Informed Citizenship	Purposeful Citizenship	Active Citizenship
An understanding of key civics questions, concepts, structures, and processes is fundamental to informed citizenship. In a diverse and rapidly changing society that invites political participation, the informed citizen should be able to demonstrate an understanding of contrasting views of citizenship within personal, community, national and global citizens. As well, they will learn the principles and practices of decision making.	It is important that students understand the role of the citizen, and the personal values and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions. Students need to reflect upon their personal sense of civic identity, moral purpose and legal responsibility – and to compare their views with those of others. They should examine important civic questions and consider the challenges of governing communities in which contrasting values, multiple perspectives, and differing purposes coexist.	Students need to learn basic civic literacy skills and have opportunities to apply those skills meaningfully by participating actively in the civic affairs of their community. Civic literacy skills include skills in the areas of research and inquiry, critical and creative thinking, decision-making, conflict resolution, and collaboration. Full participatory citizenship requires an understanding of practices used in civic affairs to influence public decision making.

Source: Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10. Canadian and World Studies. 2005. Pg. 63

## **5.2 Methodology for study of 2000 Ontario Grade 10 Civics**

The study now turns to questions of how the Civics course was implemented in the classroom. The question of how to investigate the course was a challenging one, however. Without the resources to conduct a Hodgetts-like study, a much more modest approach was needed. It was decided that the best way to gain a better understanding of the effectiveness of the course's implementation was to conduct a series of teacher interviews. Teachers became the focus rather than students because of the difficulties in constructing a research design that could appropriately measure relevant outcomes like political participation and knowledge in students who had completed the course and those who had not. Therefore, the focal point of this research is the crucial role of teachers in the implementation phase of the civics course.

Leithwood et al. argue there are three phases of curriculum reform, two of which are especially important to the framework of this dissertation: “1) a development phase, the product of which is a set of policy specifications; and 2) An implementation phase which includes alterations in peoples' practices, organizational structures and possibly other aspects of the educational environment in response to the policy.”<sup>511</sup> The “alterations in peoples' practices, organizational structures and other aspects of the education environment in response to the policy” are the target of the designed semi-structured interviews.

Curriculum is generally understood as the knowledge to be “covered” or “taught” by the school as directed by the departments and boards of education.<sup>512</sup> As Sears and

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<sup>511</sup> Leithwood et al., Pg. 305

<sup>512</sup> Hamm, Pg. 61; Curriculum theory looks to both teaching and learning fields to inform its understanding of inputs and outcomes. H.S. Broudy. “Components and Constraints of Curriculum Research” *Curriculum Theory Network*. No. 5. Spring 1970. Pg. 18

Hughes suggest, the analysis of government policy documents and curriculum does not address the issue of actual classroom practice.<sup>513</sup> These interviews attempt to present a descriptive account of what is taking place in the classroom. The intent of the questions was not to evaluate the teachers being interviewed but to gain an understanding of the success of the course's execution. The teachers are drawn from boards across the province and represent all levels of experience. Regrettably while the research proposal was submitted to many school boards, some large boards including York, Toronto and Ottawa did not grant permission for study.

Teachers are obviously important to the success of citizenship education policy. The importance of the teacher's role can be found in some of the earlier documents considered for this study. Ontario's 1950 Hope Report argued: "In the final analysis, the responsibility for education for citizenship in the individual school rests with teacher; his personality, his methods of teaching, indeed his way of life, will exert a powerful influence."<sup>514</sup> Teachers are a significant policy contributor, producing material at local schools, adding curriculum and acting as grass-roots developers.<sup>515</sup> In coordination with experts who play a major advisory role, teachers can also serve important roles in curricular deliberations.<sup>516</sup> Teachers can be active in preparing small units for their own classroom and produce alternate versions of existing curriculum.<sup>517</sup> In a course such as citizenship education, the freedom of the teacher can be noteworthy. Every decision they

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<sup>513</sup> Sears and Hughes, Pg. 134

<sup>514</sup> Government of Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*, 1950, Pg. 165

<sup>515</sup> Miram Ben-Peretz. "Teachers' Role in Curriculum Development: An Alternative Approach" *Canadian Journal of Education*. Vol. 5. No. 2. 1980. Pg. 61; The negative impact of a poor civics teacher may be greater than that of poor teachers in other disciplines. Hodgetts and Gallagher observed, "In all cases, however, curriculum guidelines are quite limited (frequently to statements of broad objectives rather than specific content) and teachers are given full responsibility (frequently expressed as the professional freedom) to design and implement their own social studies courses." Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 25

<sup>516</sup> Ben-Peretz, Pg. 55

<sup>517</sup> Ben-Peretz, Pg. 61

make has an impact on the student and contributes to the evolving policy narrative of citizenship education delivery. The diffusion and possible dilution of central ideals from the state contributes to a fractured message. Similar to almost all pedagogical situations – the lessons, the students and the teachers are always different to varying degrees.

The skills of the citizenship education teacher are not a new area of scrutiny in Canada. In the 1950s, the curriculum idea of Canadian social studies was met with criticism and hostility in part due to the perceived lack of teaching ability. W.G. Fleming notes, “In part it was a reaction against the confusion attendant upon the attempt to introduce the concept without sufficient preparation of the teachers who would have to handle it.”<sup>518</sup> The teacher’s relationship with the subject and their knowledge of the subject matter is considered central to the content and delivery of social studies.<sup>519</sup> Charles Hou describes it even more broadly: “everything a social studies teacher does can be considered as citizenship education.”<sup>520</sup> Jennings et al. observed in 1974, Of all high school teachers those in the social studies are perhaps the most maligned. This dubious distinction rests on two main bases. First, the very nature of their subject matter makes social studies teachers obvious targets in the community. They may easily stray into areas of sensitivity and controversy, thereby arousing the enmity of parents and other interested parties.<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>518</sup> Fleming, Pg. 220

<sup>519</sup> Susan E. Gibson. “Preparing Social Studies Teachers: The Issue of Subject-Matter Knowledge for Teaching” *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Ian Wright and Alan Sears. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997. Pg. 102

<sup>520</sup> Charles Hou. “Selecting a Capital for Canada – An Exercise in Simulations and Citizenship Education” *Canada and Citizenship Education*. Ed. Keith A. McLeod. Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989. Pg. 189

<sup>521</sup> M. Kent Jennings, Lee H. Ehman and Richard G. Niemi. “Social Studies Teachers and Their Pupils” *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. Pg. 207

With the presence of ambiguous curriculum directions it rests on the teacher to make crucial policy implementation choices. Developing a better understanding of the choices was a major reason for completing the teacher interviews.

The following account of the 2000 Ontario Grade 10 Civics course is based on telephone interviews with 20 teachers across Ontario. The interviews were semi-structured and based on the fourteen set questions listed below.

**Table 16: Interview Questions for Ontario Grade 10 Civics Teachers**

- 1) How long have you been teaching?
- 2) How long have you been teaching history or social studies?
- 3) How many times have you taught the Civics 11 course?
- 4) At the start of the course, what level of civic knowledge would you describe the students at?
- 5) At the start of the course, do the students have a strong grasp of current events?
- 6) At the start of the course, do the students demonstrate a desire to participate in politics?
- 7) Which part of the course do students respond most positively to?
- 8) Which part of the course do students respond most negatively to?
- 9) What do you feel is the most positive aspect of the course?
- 10) What do you feel is the most negative aspect of the course?
- 11) At the end of the course, what level of civic knowledge would you describe the students at?
- 12) At the end of the course, do the students have a strong grasp of current events?
- 13) At the end of the course, do the students demonstrate a desire to participate in politics?
- 14) Do you think this course is successful in promoting civic knowledge?

### **5.3 Results**

The following section presents the results from the teacher interviews according to the question being asked. It is important to notice that many of the most significant and telling responses came in the additional comments part of the interviews. These responses are organized at the end of the structured interview questions based on topic.

The following interview responses were drawn from qualitatively based interviews with a sample of 20 teachers. The limited sample size was adequate to achieve informational redundancy. The objective of this approach was not to derive statistically significant figures but to understand through narrative and description some of the key issues and challenges in the Ontario Grade 10 Civics course.

***1) At the start of the course, what level of civic knowledge would you describe the students at?***

Two teachers said students had “no” knowledge. Other similar responses included –“Poor to weak”, “Weak”, “Almost None”, “Very little”, “Poor to limited”, “Minimal”, “3 out of 10” and “Very beginner”. Many teachers described the level as “limited” and one teacher who administered a standard questionnaire at the beginning of the course said that most failed. The same teacher noted that normally two or three are “very intelligent” and “carry the whole group”. Another teacher noted, that some students were unclear of what was included in a course of this nature, “Most of them don’t even know what civics means. The fact that it is open [means] there is often a broad range [of students] and it depends on the feeder school they come from.” A few teachers indicated specifically areas where students lacked knowledge. One noted, “It is scary some of the knowledge they didn’t have...I gave them a diagnostic quiz...some didn’t know who the premier of Ontario was...roughly half didn’t know who the premier was” and another said “Some

students have a decent grasp of civic understanding, some have no idea at all, some still think Jean Chretien is still PM, some don't know who he is, I find students who have parents who are interested have a better understanding."

***2) At the start of the course, do the students have a strong grasp of current events?***

Most teachers indicated their students did not have a strong grasp of current events describing the level from "poor" to "weak" to "limited" to "minimal". Concerning the limits of the students' knowledge, one teacher said "A few do, but many do not, or they don't have sufficient understanding of an event but have heard of it." And one teacher suggested something that could be assumed with this age group and the popularity of tabloids and entertainment news, "The current events they are interested in have nothing to do with civics." Similar to the level of knowledge, students' level of awareness around current events is very low.

***3) At the start of the course, do the students demonstrate a desire to participate in politics?***

Most of the teachers said no, with a few giving more illuminating answers: "I think there is a curiosity but they don't see it relevant to their life", "A majority don't have a good attitude towards politics". One teacher noted the importance of the home, "If their parents are involved they might be involved. Starting to think about community involvement due to 40 hours." Many saw a mix of interest levels, "Once in a while I get a student that is very interested in political issues and interested in politics." A few teachers found some interest from students, especially to vote or be involved in non-governmental organizations. This is a greater mix than the responses to the first two questions, suggesting that student ignorance does not necessarily mean a lack of interest in political participation.

**4) Which part of the course do students respond most positively to?**

Teachers indicated law-related activities as popular, “The law. That gets their attention. Charter of Rights and Freedoms opposed to how municipal government is structured. Talk about high profile trials, Black, Picton”. Also, active elements of the course were well liked – “Hands on, mock-parliament...Supreme Court cases”, “The mock election” and “Interactive activities...like global issues” – and aspects of the course that were unpopular – “Find Canadian government very dry...like talking about law.”<sup>522</sup> Also, out of three units, global issues seemed most popular followed by the introductory unit on democracy and government and the second unit on Canadian government. One teacher noted that students responded well to anything to do with “Active citizenship. Save a village or becoming more aware and improve themselves as citizens”. It appears that active lessons were most popular: mock elections, court cases; the third unit on global issues was the most popular of the three units.

**5) Which part of the course do students respond most negatively to?**

Almost all of the teachers stressed the part of the course students respond most negatively was to the second unit on Canadian government and parliamentary democracy. Other responses included the method of delivery, “Any lecturing”, “They don’t love the textbook work, they would rather be involved”, and “Anything when you pull the textbook out they respond negatively to.”

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<sup>522</sup> Cammarano and Fowler note, “In our experience, a simulation is an excellent tool for promoting citizenship education. Using the presupposition of citizenship education that the key to promoting citizenship is making students active – simulations fall comfortably into the category of teaching techniques that promote citizenship.” Cammarano and Fowler, Pg. 106

***6) What do you feel is the most positive aspect of the course?***

Teachers focused on the new awareness it created in students - “At 15 years old, things that deal with the greater community are so far off from their perspective, so I draw them in by using their community, the school, to demonstrate and to get them involved. They have a vested interest in their own community” Other teachers noted, “Students understand how their government works and an awareness of the issues”, “Opening their eyes to not always believe what they read”, “Engages kids to get involved with making a difference in the world”, “Teaching how their government system works in Canada” “Giving the kids a sense of global citizenship”, “Good to give young voters a chance to learn how voting systems work” and “Places more emphasis on the students gaining more knowledge on Canada and Canada’s place in the world.” Some teachers identified the new packaging of the Grade 10 content – “Having the course separated from history, you can do more hands on” and “I don’t really use anything the ministry gives me. The only thing good is that the government has made it a distinct course.” Most teachers think the general notion of a civics course is a good idea.

***7) What do you feel is the most negative aspect of the course?***

The curriculum was greatly criticized by the teachers: “Twenty years ago teaching (government and law) you would have just as many engaged students as you have today”, “The curriculum as it has been designed is not that good. It doesn’t draw them into the course.” One teacher alluded to what they believed to be the reality of the situation and what could be a contentious position, “Most teachers I know who enjoy the course stray from the curriculum, they go off in another direction. I do five main issues: Same-sex marriage, marijuana, voting age, global warming and charity based research. I don’t do a

lot on the mechanics of parliament. They don't need to know how the structures work.” Also, teachers did not like the half-year length of the course, “Only a half course when there is a lot of content to cover/not enough time” and “It's very short, makes it very difficult to teach”. One teacher stressed the burden placed on the students, “(it assumes) that students can learn a huge amount of content in half a year.” Other concerns included the open designation of the course (instead of streamed as applied or advanced) and the textbook. Two respondents noted, “Open course – difficult because hitting the middle ground you can lose students on both sides”, “The lack of wanting to learn about politics. Half of them don't even know who the PM is” On the text, “The text is terrible. Mine is called *Civics: Issues and Action*, I don't use it anymore. It's not a good textbook.”

Overall, the teachers identified three major concerns: curriculum, course length and open designation.

***8) At the end of the course, what level of civic knowledge would you describe the students at?***

Most teachers believe the level of civic knowledge had increased, with one stating, “(the students are) much more aware of their duties as a citizen and their rights. They become more active.” Some were more guarded in their responses. This response is an excellent example of some of the respondents’ reluctance to declare ultimate success: “I would trust them in an election over the general population. Their knowledge grows quite a bit but the question is ‘Do they maintain that level once they leave the Civics class setting?’ I would say no, but they at least know where to look for the information when they need to know anything” Most teachers believed that level of civic knowledge increased, however the lasting impact was questionable.

***9) At the end of the course, do the students have a strong grasp of current events?***

Most of the teachers believed that students had a stronger grasp of current events at the end of the course but one mentioned the role of the teacher - “Depends on what kind of teacher they have...needs to be someone who is excited and enthusiastic about it.”

***10) At the end of the course, do the students demonstrate a desire to participate in politics?***

Results to this question were mixed. Some teachers stressed that while the course probably would not motivate students to run for office it would likely play a role in voting. One teacher responded, “Yes, by the end of the course you hear a lot more talk about lowering the voting age...still some kids just want to go to careers, they are pretty young...75% have a much better understanding...I think it reaches kids who come from non-voting families...kids can be empowered by the lessons that all votes are equal.” However, others suggested that students did not demonstrate an increased desire as one respondent noted, “No, some still feel ‘what is the point to even go out and vote’ because they believe nothing will change.” Teachers were mixed in their belief that the course was successful in promoting civic participation in students.

***11) Do you think this course is successful in promoting civic knowledge?***

The teachers were split on how successful the course had been. A few gave credit to the provincial government for the policy move: “Very smart that our provincial government included this program”, “A very good idea. I think it is working” and “It is on two fronts...it is forcing kids to come to the plate and it is forcing teachers to learn more about it civics....its educating the students and the staff...it makes psychological room for the civics (shows priority).” One teacher noted the success, “I think so for sure. Definitely allows them to think on their own.” Others questioned the structure and timing

of the course's effectiveness. In terms of timing teachers noted, "Students would like to see civics in grade 12, they get pumped up but can't vote for two years" and "I think so. Problem is they're grade 10s which may be too young, but the way it is laid out is very interesting, students participate in great activities & there is no exam to be anxious about." More identified the challenge of the course's length, "The problem with the course is that it isn't very interesting and it should be taught as a full year course. As seen as they start to learn about it, the course is finished. They don't get fully engaged in the course material", "Half a semester isn't enough. I always have to leave something out" and "Only problem is that it is half a semester". Others worried about staffing, "Teachers who hate teaching it, they go strictly by the curriculum and text and the students react the same way." One teacher did not see a correlation to future participation, "No. I don't think they will vote because they have taken civics". While teachers found some utility previous concerns were repeated: teaching assignments, length of course and timing of course in the high school career.

## ***12) Follow up questions/answers***

### ***Class Assignments***

Many of the respondents opened up much more at the end of the formal question/answer period of the interview. Some of their answers were very revealing. The first popular topic was teaching assignments. One teacher noted, "Principals see civics as the dumping ground. Where can we hide X, Y, and Z and usually the place is careers or civics. A lot of times you get someone who is useless or is teaching something else and has to fill in the space." Another teacher stated, "The first few years were okay if you were experienced but the problem was they put any Tom, Dick or Harry in the classroom because of the

scheduling...not only could you be a new teacher but you could also be a new phys ed teacher...that's why it became a mess around the province, it depends on the school...Sometimes because it is a half course principals don't take consideration into staffing...they certainly are inattentive to that fact". There were also comments that alluded directly to the relationship between the teacher assigned and the students, "Teachers who hate teaching it, they go strictly by the curriculum and text and the students react the same way", "So much hinges on the ability of the teacher that teaches the course. If they are interested in the course and are enthused about it then it can definitely do a good job of promoting civic knowledge. Often this course is one that gets dumped into a teacher's lap that has no interest in the course. When that happens the students tune out and walk away from the course with distain and disinterest" and "How can you have a student buy into what you are talking about if you aren't passionate about it yourself?" Tellingly, one teacher described as they saw it, "They give civics and careers to anyone...the administration is too lazy to get the right teachers" and another with the problems related to the outcome, "(Success) Depends on what kind of teacher they have...needs to be someone who is excited and enthusiastic about it."<sup>523</sup>

### ***Timing of the course***

Some teachers believed that Grade 10 was too early for civics, "When you are sixteen, next week is far away (timing of civics)" and "I feel like the course could be a bit early because of the gap between the course and the time they get to vote. Half year is good. Once they are done the half year they are ready to move on." The rationale for the early

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<sup>523</sup> A 2002 study by Margaret Smith Crocco and Stephen J. Thornton found that smaller high schools in New York City did a worse job in teaching social studies than large high schools due to the likelihood of the course being taught by young, inexperienced teachers. Anemona Hartocollis. "Study Faults Small Schools on Social Studies" *The New York Times*. 10 April 2002. Pg. 7

offering presented by one teacher was “It is in Grade 10 because there is a predominant dropout rate after grade ten.” Other teachers felt like the length of the course short changed students, “Students see it as half-credit and not important and don’t put the effort in (kids who fail who shouldn’t have)”, “I think civics should be a full credit course” and “I often feel like I am cramming or squeezing material in.”

### ***Open designation of course***

Along with the timing, teachers were also concerned with the open designation of the course. An open designation means that students of all learning levels are in the same class. One teacher noted, “Anybody that teaches civics will tell you it needs to be streamed...and it’s a huge class you always have 30-32 kids...I don’t know why it’s open, I think it’s just due to timetable...having open courses in grade nine and ten is a bad idea (pedagogically)...they probably (non teachers within the ministry) view it as a warm, fuzzy course where we will learn about government.” Other teachers agreed: “Problem is open level, some of the students at the applied level aren’t bright enough and the advanced students get bored”, “I believe some teachers teach it at too high a level for an open course...I taught several years in summer school and saw many students who had failed due to low level English rather than poor understanding”, “Hitting the middle ground is difficult because you can lose students on both sides.”

### ***Connection to Careers course***

As noted earlier, the civics course is only a half-year, with the other half being filled with a “careers” course. A few teachers shared their feelings on the course: “Careers is supposed to be a bonehead course.” In terms of the connection between Civics and Careers, there does not seem to be much, “Careers is not as structured as civics. More

self-assessment. Resume writing, figuring out what kind of learner you are. No connection between the courses”, “No real connection between the two courses (careers and civics), scheduling a half semester course, it creates havoc when kids fail” and “I think the only relationship between civics and careers is that they are both half-credits.”

### ***The reputation of the course***

In terms of the overall reputation some teachers noted that it was known for its ease: “You could be a corpse and pass it, it’s not hard” and “It’s getting a movie rap...so a lot of teachers are showing movies. I think students are starting to enjoy it...gets a bad name because it is mandatory”. While some teachers believed the course was easy others noted that students have not seen it in the same way, “I was told at a professional development day that civics has the second highest failure rates in Ontario.”

As these follow-up answers suggest – the main problem with implementation, beyond the organization of the grade level (ten), the class organization (open) and the class-length and position (half-course tied to Careers) are the delivery-line actors; this evidence suggests that the wrong individuals are being selected possibly due to the dilemma that administrators lack awareness of what resources to devote to a peripheral course such as Grade 10 Civics.

Without proper experience in the discipline, teachers can be wary of tackling controversial topics that might evoke conflict in the classroom. This can have an impact on the curriculum delivered. Sears and Hughes argue that, while public issues are to be discussed in the classroom, teachers are hesitant to deal with controversial topics.<sup>524</sup> Again, it is easy to imagine that teachers, both experienced and inexperienced, who are

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<sup>524</sup> Sears and Hughes, Pg. 135

placed in uncomfortable or challenging teaching settings may end up presenting a variety of versions of the citizenship education curriculum.

## **5.4 Discussion**

Deborah Stone argued. “Causal stories need to be fought for, defended and sustained. There is always someone to tell a competing story, and getting a causal story believed in is not an easy task.”<sup>525</sup> The teachers’ responses on civic knowledge level make the acceptance of a causal story for the Civics course an easier task. Students were described as having little to no civic knowledge, a weak grasp of current events and varying levels of willingness to participate in political activities, providing a convincing reason for the presence of citizenship education in the curriculum.

Stone also wrote, “[causal stories] can legitimate and empower particular actors as ‘fixers’ of the problem.”<sup>526</sup> In the case of citizenship education policy, the teacher is the fixer and the answers concerning positive and negative reflect the effects of an effective or ineffective teacher or “fixer”. However, as discussed throughout this thesis, the majority of influence on the direction of citizenship education policy in Canada rests with policy-makers who are focused on the macro-picture and have tended to neglect teachers as the deliverers of the curriculum. With the possible assumption that things may simply work out on their own, situations such as this described by a civics teacher emerge, “Teachers who hate teaching it, they go strictly by the curriculum and text and the students react the same way.” Another said, “[success] depends on what kind of teacher they have...needs to be someone who is excited and enthusiastic about it.”

Teachers form a crucial link in citizenship education, and as the above answer demonstrates, they have concerns about their roles in the Ontario Grade 10 civics course. Most teachers believed that a) students were in need of citizenship education and b) the

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<sup>525</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 293

<sup>526</sup> Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas”, Pg. 295

course was making some sort of difference. However, it is worth noting that the interview participants all appeared to be keen and knowledgeable teachers themselves and not the type that they identified as part of the problem of the course implementation. Moreover, respondents tended to place the blame for poor instruction less on instructors than on school administrators who place new, inexperienced teachers in the half-course slots to teach Grade 10 Civics. The identification of administration as part of the current problem is important; administrators have a key role to play in the success of such courses, particularly in the placement and organization of the course within the public school curriculum.

Most teachers felt that the designation of a mandatory, half-year, open course posed more challenges for teachers than previous incarnations of classroom citizenship education – especially those already in the midst of a steep learning curve. The mandatory designation contributed to the poor attitude of students; the short duration meant less time to investigate the complexities of certain curriculum details; and an open (non-streamed) class could prove detrimental to those at both ends of learning levels. As with decisions about the assignment of staff, these curriculum and policy decisions occurred well before the involvement of the teacher. As Mackinnon argues, “By the time power in education is divided among numerous politicians, trustees, and officials, little is left for teachers. We have come to accept that fact on the assumption that public interest requires public responsibility and that teachers must therefore be responsible to the state.”<sup>527</sup>

The results of the teacher interviews demonstrate a link between policy delivery presented in this chapter and policy development in the previous chapter. In this chapter,

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<sup>527</sup> MacKinnon, *The Politics of Education: A Study of Political Administration of the Public Schools*, Pg. 79

we have seen that many of the grand visions and designs of citizenship education are not always successful in the classroom. While there is political support for citizenship education, its delivery is more difficult and attracts much less attention. This demonstrates how even with the successful construction of a policy causal story, successful delivery of that policy does not naturally follow.

## **Chapter Six – The Citizenship Education Policy Community: A Challenge to Path Dependence**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The following chapter continues the discussion of connecting the Canadian citizenship education policy narrative to Deborah Stone's causal story theory. However, the policy inputs considered here exist outside of the realm of provincial governments. The other policy actors and sources contributing to the citizenship education policy narrative and causal story include election agencies, non-governmental organizations, the federal government and textbooks. This chapter demonstrates how other actors have produced more challenges in identifying a clear vision for a Canadian national identity to be transmitted through citizenship education. Due to the many policy inputs involved and the array of solutions these policy contributors offer, the policy activities represent a challenge to the notion of policy path dependence.<sup>528</sup> Citizenship education policy development and delivery have not benefitted from the continuity and coherent narrative normally produced by path dependency. As will be seen in chapter seven's discussion of knowledge, skills and values-based goals, the notion of "increasing returns" to citizenship education policy has been conspicuously absent. Governments become path dependent as they gain appreciation for "increasing returns". The notion of increasing returns suggests that the cost of switching policy increases over time and certain "moments or conjunctures" reinforce the policy path.<sup>529</sup> The following chapter will demonstrate how various actors in the citizenship education policy community have not been witness to

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<sup>528</sup> If a jurisdiction continues down a chosen policy path and the costs of reversal are extremely high, this is described as "path dependence". Margaret Levi. "A Model, A Method, and a Map: Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis" *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*. Ed. Mark I. Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

<sup>529</sup> Ibid.,

increasing returns or influenced by “moments or conjunctures” reinforcing their policy paths.

The nature of citizenship education allows for an array of policy alternatives or venues. The central policy venue for citizenship education is school; the Canadian public school has held a policy monopoly on the delivery of citizenship education. Theory on policy venues and policy monopolies points to the sometime competitive nature of policy-making. Baumgartner and Jones define “policy venues” as “institutions or groups in society who have authority to make decisions concerning an issue.”<sup>530</sup> Baumgartner and Jones define a policy monopoly as featuring two important characteristics. First, there is a “definable institutional structure” which is responsible for the policymaking. Second, the institutional structure is supported by a “powerful idea”. The public schooling system exhibits both of these characteristics. The strong ideas are normally connected to “core political values” such as progress and participation.<sup>531</sup> Outside of the school, the alternative policy venues share the “powerful idea” of promoting civic literacy and understanding; however, they compete against each other to emerge as the most competent “definable institutional structure”. The quest to become a “definable” structure for policy delivery is in the sights of the alternative policy venues. This can result in positive impacts in the form of a wealth of inputs and negative impacts in the form of competition and waste of resources. The central negative component of the alternative sources in the case of Canadian citizenship education is the growth of ambiguity over policy objectives and content. The following section will review three alternate citizenship education policy actors – election agencies, non-governmental

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<sup>530</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 31

<sup>531</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 7

organizations, federal government and textbooks. These sections will be followed by a discussion of the challenges faced by policy makers and the future of Canadian citizenship education.

## **6.2 Definable institutional structures – Election agencies and non-governmental organizations**

As reviewed in the second chapter, Canadian citizenship education has a long history of private sector involvement. Prior to public education gaining a monopoly on citizenship education, private actors such as the church and home were the key policy outputs of citizenship education in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In the last few decades, private institutions have played a substantive and growing role in the development of Canadian citizenship education. In 1986, Charles and Andrea Bronfman established the CRB Foundation that identified two goals: “1) to strengthen the unity of the Jewish people, 2) to enhance Canadian identity.”<sup>532</sup> Other groups followed the CFB Foundation as Canadian citizenship education policy actors and boosters. The Hudson’s Bay Company History Foundation created the Canadian National History Society whose activities include websites, provincial and territorial societies and the publication of the history magazine, *The Beaver: Canada’s History Magazine*.<sup>533</sup>

Probably the most recognized contemporary citizenship education non-governmental organization is the Dominion Institute. Founded in 1997 by a group of “young professionals”, the Dominion Institute, is dedicated “to creating active and informed citizens through greater knowledge and appreciation of the Canadian story.”<sup>534</sup> The organization is active with programs such as The Memory Project and The Democracy Project and has a consistent media presence, especially with former Executive Director Rudyard Griffiths. Over the past ten years, the organization has

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<sup>532</sup> Cameron, *Taking Stock: Canadian Studies in the Nineties*, Pg. 135

<sup>533</sup> Canadian National History Society .Web Site. *About Us*.

<http://www.historysociety.ca/abo.asp?subsection=his> Accessed on July 26, 2006; The society now acts independently of the HBC History Foundation and is funded by donations and memberships. Canadian National History Society. *Condensed Statement of Operations. 2006-2007*.

<http://www.historysociety.ca/content/en/pdfs/2007CondensedReport.pdf> Accessed on May 15, 2008

<sup>534</sup> Dominion Institute. *About*. <http://www.dominion.ca/about.htm> Accessed on May 15, 2008

published a number of surveys supporting the view that young Canadians are ignorant about their country. The institute has been criticized as being “too right-wing” with connections to the conservative Donner Foundation and notable conservative thinkers on their board of directors including Allister Campbell, a former adviser to former Progressive Conservative Premier Mike Harris and Peter White a former business associate of Conrad Black.<sup>535</sup> It is significant that Canada’s leading private advocate for more history and citizenship education is ideologically labeled given the lack of partisan based support for or against citizenship education policy. The Dominion Institute’s conservative reputation is based on a pro-Canada and traditional message highlighting more knowledge than skills and values.

The Historica Foundation of Canada was launched in October 1999 and has produced such material and programs as the Historica Minutes and the Canadian Encyclopedia.<sup>536</sup> Historica states its mission as “encouraging the best possible Canadian history education and by providing or supporting programs and resources that inspire Canadians to explore their history.”<sup>537</sup> The group has received financial support from a variety of groups. In 2005, seven groups each individually donated more than \$1 million to the foundation: The Bennett Family Foundation, The CRB Foundation, Imasco Limited, The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation, RBC Foundation, The Sports Network

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<sup>535</sup> The Dominion Institute was built out of a much more populist approach by Rudyard Griffiths, a master’s graduate of Cambridge University, who started the institute with an initial \$150,000 grant from the Donner Foundation when he was 26-years old. Murray Campbell. “The History Kid Rudyard Griffiths” *The Globe and Mail*. 23 November 1999. R3

<sup>536</sup> Historica *Annual Report*. [http://www.historica.ca/default.do?page=.about\\_annualreport](http://www.historica.ca/default.do?page=.about_annualreport) Accessed on May 15, 2008

<sup>537</sup> Historica *About Historica*.

[http://www.historica.ca/default.do;jsessionid=2DF8AE8F0A934BF1DBD122402D94CFD1.tomcat1?page=.about\\_index](http://www.historica.ca/default.do;jsessionid=2DF8AE8F0A934BF1DBD122402D94CFD1.tomcat1?page=.about_index) Accessed on May 15, 2008

and The Wilson Foundation.<sup>538</sup> At the time of Historica's launch Charles Bronfman argued, "While science and technology are critical building blocks to our success in the global marketplace, the issue of Canadian identity cannot be isolated from economic and social issues."<sup>539</sup> Bronfman's comments echo the sentiments of 19<sup>th</sup> century citizenship education enthusiasts who identified the tie between economic and national identity. As mentioned in chapter two, economic themes have a traditional place in citizenship education policy narratives.

While the presence of Historica and the Dominion Institute should represent a wealth of resources, these groups experienced difficulty in cooperating and coordinating programs to achieve organizational goals. In 2006, a "turf battle" erupted over funding from the federal government when the larger Historica Institute was awarded \$16.5 million over five years for a national student exchange program instead of the Dominion Institute and Canada's National History Society.<sup>540</sup> The government had hoped for a merger between the three groups but the decision led Canada's National History Society's CEO, Deborah Morrison to blame the federal government, "We were led to understand that Ottawa wanted us to combine our forces, to develop a broad strategic plan...this is a lost opportunity."<sup>541</sup> In January 2006, the federal government began negotiations with Canada's three largest private citizenship education organizations; Historica, the Dominion Institute and Canada's National History Society, concerning the creation a \$50 million fund dedicated to promoting Canadian history. This Liberal

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<sup>538</sup> Historica *Annual Report*. [http://www.historica.ca/default.do?page=.about\\_annualreport](http://www.historica.ca/default.do?page=.about_annualreport) Accessed on May 15, 2008

<sup>539</sup> Charles Bronfman. "Don't let Canada forget: Unless we honour our past, we won't have much of a future" *The Globe and Mail*. 21 October 1999. A23

<sup>540</sup> Val Ross. "Who's in charge of our past? Surprising moves from Ottawa are leaving Canada's heritage agencies divided, not united" *The Globe and Mail*. 7 August 2006. R1

<sup>541</sup> Ibid.,

government initiative followed Paul Martin's cancellation of the \$90 million Canada History Centre proposed by former prime minister Jean Chretien and ex-heritage minister Sheila Copps.<sup>542</sup> Executive director of the Dominion Institute, Rudyard Griffiths stated there would be "no political direction" of the new programs and simply represent the funding of "groups that have a passion for telling Canada's stories."<sup>543</sup> George Goodwin, managing director of Historica, noted the initiative was not about what kind of history was being taught, but "getting more history taught."<sup>544</sup> The lack of concern over what kind of history was being taught is significant considering the unending reforms in various provincial curricula. The fact that the mere presence of citizenship education and not the content of citizenship education has become a lobbying point reflects the relative unimportant status of citizenship education as pedagogical policy. This demonstrates how possible solutions were very simple, focusing more on the existence of policy rather than the delivery of policy. The support of implementing anything, as long as it is generally related to citizenship education, underscores the struggles of the state and the private sector attempting to solve problems.

On heritage and history groups, Rudyard Griffiths complained, "We rarely work together and have utterly failed to mobilize the kind of mass membership that, say, environmental groups have to effect political action and policy change."<sup>545</sup> This represents the assumption that citizenship education is a straightforward policy that can solve public problems such as low levels of knowledge or participation. By September

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<sup>542</sup> Randy Boswell. "Government, history gurus set sights on \$50M learning fund: Goal is to promote knowledge of Canada" *Ottawa Citizen*. 14 January 2006. A8

<sup>543</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>544</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>545</sup> Griffiths, "Let's not be a rootless nation of amnesiacs", A13

2009, the Historica Foundation of Canada and The Dominion Institute merged to form the Historica-Dominion Institute.

Other citizenship education initiatives have been aimed more directly at voter turnout. Contemporary projects attempting to encourage the political engagement of Canadian youth include Student Vote. The Student Vote program administered parallel elections in schools during actual provincial and federal elections. The project also offered a variety of educational resources to schools and teachers.<sup>546</sup> For the 2004 Federal Election over 265,000 in 1200 schools in 267 ridings across Canada cast ballots through the Student Vote program.<sup>547</sup> Ontario's chapter of Student Vote was established in 2003. During the 2003 election, 335,000 students participated from 825 schools and in 2007 more than 275,000 students participated.<sup>548</sup>

Since 2000, grassroots organizations such as Get Your Vote On, Apathy is Boring and Rush the Vote have attempted to make voting more appealing to youth. Many organizations have adopted "hip" public relations strategies in promoting engagement. Rush the Vote was introduced at the 2004 Juno Awards with the involvement of pop stars such as Nelly Furtado and youth-oriented slogans "democracy is sexy".<sup>549</sup> Illona Dougherty, 23, Paul Shore, 30, and Mackenzie Duncan, 20, began the Apathy is Boring Project as a "national non-partisan project that uses art, media and technology to

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<sup>546</sup> Sharon Cook. "Youth, Elections and Citizenship" *Canadian Democracy: Bringing Youth Back into the Political Process*. The CRIC Papers 15. Centre for Research and Information on Canada. December 2004. Pg. 18

<sup>547</sup> Student Vote. *Website*. [www.studentvote.ca](http://www.studentvote.ca) Accessed on 6 July 2005

<sup>548</sup> Student Vote Ontario. *Website*. <http://www.studentvote.ca/home.html> Accessed on 16 May 2008; Model and simulated democratic engagement are not simply contemporary initiatives. Mock youth parliaments were held in Saskatchewan as early as 1912. Ruth Wilson. "Youth Parliament of Canada: An Experience in Citizenship" *Canadian Parliamentary Review*. Spring 1983. Pg. 17

<sup>549</sup> CBC News. "Youth vote campaign scaled back"

<http://www.cbc.ca/story/canadavotes2006/national/2005/12/05/elxn-youth-vote.html>. Accessed on 5 December 2005.

encourage active citizenry, outreaching to a broad demographic of youth about how to be more involved in their communities and the democratic process.”<sup>550</sup> Vote Out Loud, modeled after the American organization, Rock the Vote, arrived during the 2004 Federal Election. Similar to Apathy is Boring, Vote Out Loud concentrated on web-based advocacy, university campaigns and affiliations with Canadian rock stars. The last event listed on the group’s website occurred in November 2004.<sup>551</sup> The group, Get Your Vote On sent text messages to young voters to remind them to turnout for the 2005 British Columbia provincial election.<sup>552</sup> All of these groups represent the type of supplementary curriculum that teachers who may not have much experience in the subject matter can draw from. The grassroots nature and technological savvy of groups like Get Your Vote On appear to offer hope to those who believe the current generation is a lost cause concerning political engagement and participation. However in the case of citizenship education policy, competing causal stories can be problematic for developing cohesive narrative for policy delivery. Many of the components – participation, knowledge, and active citizenship – are shared between groups and curriculum but the multitude of policy inputs creates contestation. Periphery groups providing conflicting messages, however small the conflict or difference, do not help in the construction and delivery of a consistent Canadian citizenship narrative.

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<sup>550</sup> Apathy is Boring. *Overview*. [http://www.apathyisboring.com/en/about\\_us/overview](http://www.apathyisboring.com/en/about_us/overview) Accessed on 16 May 2008

<sup>551</sup> Vote Out Loud. *Website*. “Events” <http://www.vote-out-loud.ca/web/events.php> Accessed on 16 May 2008

<sup>552</sup> Mark Hume. “Want to reach young voters? Try cellphones; Technology could lure key demographic into the political process, group says” *The Globe and Mail*. 21 April 2005. S3

### **6.3 Definable institutional structures – Federal Government**

Another citizenship education policy actor outside of provincial governments and non-governmental organizations is the Canadian federal government. A variety of federal policies have been attempted. Many of the policy attempts were linked directly to political skills and more specifically, participation in elections. The Chief Electoral Officer of Canada announced in March 2003 that he would be sending greeting cards to young Canadians on their eighteenth birthdays, reminding them of their newly attained right to vote.<sup>553</sup> In 2004, Elections Canada sponsored a road trip contest on the national Canadian music channel, MuchMusic.<sup>554</sup>

Federal departments, including the Heritage Department, contribute to citizenship education with many civic-related activities, the Department of Justice with Charter literacy and Environment Canada's work on environmental citizenship.<sup>555</sup> Many efforts have been made over the years to organize national education initiatives including the Dominion Educational Association, Empire Day, the National History Contest, and the League of the Empire.<sup>556</sup>

While the federal government does not enjoy direct authority over citizenship *education* it has created the majority of citizenship *policy* and this presented multiple ways to influence citizenship education.<sup>557</sup> In the 1950s, the Massey Commission was

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<sup>553</sup> Keith Archer. "Increasing Youth Voter Registration: Best Practices in Targeting Young Electors" *Electoral Insight*. July 2003. Pg. 28

<sup>554</sup> Similarly, the Government of Prince Edward Island provides an online School Election Kit and Elections Newfoundland and Labrador provides an Education Initiative Program for High Schools. In 2003, Elections BC produced the Grade 11 Election Kit "Democracy in Action". Peter Shawn Taylor. "Voting: parents set the example" *Maclean's*. 9 July 2007. Pg. 36

<sup>555</sup> Russell, Pg. 137

<sup>556</sup> McDonald, "Canadianization and the Curriculum: Setting the Stage, 1867-1890", Pg. 96

<sup>557</sup> The federal Department of the Secretary of State was the department responsible for citizenship-related activities from the 1940s to June 1993. In 1993, the reorganization of ministries included the creation of the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Russell, Pg. 136; In

formed to study actions and organizations that “express national feeling, promote common understanding, and add to the richness of Canadian life, rural as well as urban.”<sup>558</sup> The work led to greater funding of universities and institutions responsible for the promotion of citizenship such as the National Film Board, the National Gallery, the National Museum and the Public Archives.<sup>559</sup> Other federal incursions into citizenship-related education policies include the 1970s Official Languages Support Programs and Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.<sup>560</sup> Writing in 1983, Tomkins notes, “Although the Federal Government is constitutionally debarred from a formal or official role in Canadian school systems, indirectly various activities of its departments and agencies have long had impact on social studies curricula.”<sup>561</sup> The federal department’s Citizenship Branch published a quarterly journal titled *Citizen* that would report on such events as high school involvement in Citizenship Week activity.<sup>562</sup> In the 1960s, the department became involved in the civic development of young Canadians with such programs as the Company of Young Canadians, Opportunities for Youth and Katimavik which encouraged more citizenship related learning.<sup>563</sup> The federal government has also produced a wealth of other educational resources. For years, social

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its new configuration the Department of Canadian Heritage expressed its mission to build “a more cohesive and creative Canada” with strategies including: “Canadian content, cultural participation and engagement, connections, active citizenship and civic participation.” Government of Canada. Department of Canadian Heritage. *Strategic Framework*. April 2002

<sup>558</sup> Gillett, Pg. 404

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>560</sup> Hebert and Sears, Pg. 5

<sup>561</sup> Tomkins. “The Social Studies in Canada”, Pg. 25

<sup>562</sup> Sears et al., “Canadian Citizenship Education”, Pg. 122

<sup>563</sup> Russell, Pg. 136; Gradually, participation was seen as more important than knowledge. Joshee observed, “Through the 1950s and 1960s the government had become involved in an area it called ‘general citizenship’. Its work in general citizenship centred on creating programs to involve non-immigrants in political and social issues. Consequently, ‘citizenship’ in the lexicon of the federal government had come to mean participation in community. Language rather than knowledge about Canada now considered the crucial factor in ensuring the participation of newcomers. Knowledge about Canada was no longer deemed to be vital to citizenship in its broad sense; it was now merely associated with naturalization.” Joshee, Pg. 114

studies teachers have relied on CBC and National Film Board resources.<sup>564</sup> In 2000 and 2001, the CBC and Radio Canada aired the \$25 million documentary series, “Canada: A People’s History”.<sup>565</sup> While these efforts do not necessarily represent explicit citizenship education policy, they do contribute to the citizenship education narrative through their use in classrooms and broadcast to the general public.

In 2009, the federal government acted to reform one of the aspects of citizenship education policy that it had most control over – new citizenship tests. The reformed test introduced by the Conservative government caused minor controversy by presenting a more traditional version of citizenship with attention paid to symbols and military history. While Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Jason Kenney argued that the improvement to the content included a “focus on Canadian values”. Kenney noted, “we want to make sure that when people become Canadians, they totally understand that Canadian history becomes their history, Canadian values become their values.”<sup>566</sup> The new Discover Canada citizenship document and test could be viewed as a political action, with the Conservative government updating the previous Liberal guide from 1995.

The federal government has also supported private citizenship education initiatives. The Canada Studies Foundation was an independent, nonprofit organization created in part by the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education. In the 1970s, the Canada Council financed projects by the Canada Studies Foundation.<sup>567</sup> During its

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<sup>564</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>565</sup> Desmond Morton. “Canadian History Teaching in Canada: What’s the Big Deal” *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. Ed. Ruth W. Sandwell. Pg. 25

<sup>566</sup> Jason Fekete. “Conservatives set to revamp citizenship; ‘Focus on Values’” National Post. 15 April 2009. A2

<sup>567</sup> Yvonne Hebert and Alan Sears. *Citizenship Education*. Canadian Education Association. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001. Pg. 7; Tomkins. “The Social Studies in Canada”, Pg. 25; Another major venture launched during the mid-1970s was the Canada Studies Communication Network which was

tenure, the foundation produced over 150 publications and provided training for over 30,000 teachers.<sup>568</sup> Peter McCreath writes, “The Canada Studies Foundation was in a unique position to contribute to the civic education of young Canadians, to their knowledge of Canada, to their understanding of their fellow Canadians and ultimately, to their respect and appreciation for our country.”<sup>569</sup> In 1978, the Canada Studies Foundation director Paul Gallagher and his predecessor A.B. Hodgetts published *Teaching Canada for the ‘80s* in an effort to better understand the expectations for citizenship education.<sup>570</sup> The CSF also coordinated the extensive National History Project, an initiative that was free to teach Canadian Studies with little government interference.<sup>571</sup> In the face of decreasing financial support, CSF shut down in 1986. Before disbanding, the literature produced by the CSF left an important citizenship education policy narrative. Gallagher and Hodgetts presented citizenship education as an evolved program compared to its earlier 20<sup>th</sup> century incarnations. Hodgetts and Gallagher argued

A program of studies designed for this purpose is ‘civic education’ in the widest and best meaning of the term. Obviously, there should be no confusion between this kind of civic education and the old ‘civics’ courses, which dealt almost exclusively with a description, frequently an unrealistic one, of the structure of the government.<sup>572</sup>

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intended to work as a nation-wide, regional liaison information-sharing base. Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation: A Canadian Approach to Curriculum Intervention", Pg. 14

<sup>568</sup> John N. Grant, Pg. 29

<sup>569</sup> Peter L. McCreath. “The Mission of the Canada Studies Foundation” *The Canada Studies Foundation*. Eds. John H. Grant, Robert M. Anderson and Peter L. McCreath. The Canada Studies Foundation, 1986. Pg. 7; The foundation’s Canadian Studies project had an ambitious goal: “To help young Canadians to gain a greater awareness and understanding of their country... set within a concept of Canada that is based on the pluralist, multi-ethnic nature of Canadian society... completely divorced from any extremes of nationalism.” John N. Grant, Pg. 10

<sup>570</sup> Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 2

<sup>571</sup> Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation: A Canadian Approach to Curriculum Intervention", Pg. 5

<sup>572</sup> Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 3

Hodgetts and Gallagher defined citizenship education in *Teaching Canada for the '80s* as “specifically designed to encourage a development of the skilled and sensitive public opinion needed to resolve deep-seated differences in the Canadian political community before tension levels become dangerously high.”<sup>573</sup>

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<sup>573</sup> Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 11

#### **6.4 Definable institutional structures – Textbooks**

Another input to the Canadian citizenship education narrative has been history, social studies and civic textbooks. Textbooks provide a record of citizenship education narrative trends outside of curriculum documents. As discussed in the second chapter, early texts present strong evidence of the lasting imperial ties of the Canadian education regime. The cover of the 1922 Ontario Third Reader included a full colour illustration of the Union Jack and the caption “One Flag, One Fleet, One Throne”.<sup>574</sup>

The National Council of Education, which included a variety of Canadian policy actors including education scholars, prepared a series of books it hoped would address educational problems from a “Canadian point of view”. The first volume was a textbook titled *This Canada is Ours: An Introduction to Canadian Civics* published in 1926.

Vincent Massey wrote in the introduction that, “this little book represents an effort to show to the future citizen of Canada what his country should mean to him; how it is governed; what it gives its people; and what it demands of them.”<sup>575</sup> But in introducing Canada to young students, the text presented an unabashed British narrative, “The symbol of our rank as citizens of the British Empire is the Union Jack, the common flag of Britons wherever they are found on the face of the globe...to learn the glorious story of that emblem, we must recall what our ancestors have accomplished during the thousand years of their history.”<sup>576</sup> As demonstrated in the early citizenship curricula identified in chapter two, the presence of imperialism in the text represents a written record of the delayed development of distinct Canadian identity.

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<sup>574</sup> Stamp, “Canadian Education and the National Identity”, Pg. 34

<sup>575</sup> Cochrane and Wallace, Pg. 11

<sup>576</sup> Cochrane and Wallace, Pg. 44; In the 1926 text, *Canada: Its History and Progress: 1000-1925*, the author wrote, “Canada stands today as one of the group of nations that make up the British Empire.” G.J. Reeve. *Canada: Its History and Progress 1000-1925*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1926. Pg. xiii

Some progressive ideas were found in the early textbooks. The narrative did suggest a mix of knowledge and participation for the ideal citizen: “It is a fundamental mark of the good Canadian that he takes an intelligent and active interest in the Government of his country.”<sup>577</sup> The prescription for participation is fascinating in its detailed and ambitious expectations,

To subscribe to a newspaper which is unreliable, unbalanced, and sensational is almost an unpatriotic act; and to vote merely as one’s newspaper tells one to vote, without studying the questions at issue and forming an independent opinion, is equally unpatriotic...it is however, not enough to keep oneself well informed about public questions...one must, in the second place, take also an active interest in public affairs...the ‘arm-chair critic’ may be full of knowledge, but unless he backs up his knowledge with action, it is worse than useless.<sup>578</sup>

Years before the emergence of “blogs” and other social media, the suggestion of a critical reading of the media is significant to some of the early ideals that lasted through reform and change.

Following citizenship education’s key goal of political socialization, one of the central concerns of early textbooks was new immigrants. A reading of these texts shows how prevailing state goals moved slowly from assimilation to accommodation. Early mentions of limited accommodation are found in *This Canada of Ours*,

In the first place, the good Canadian can never be narrow-minded...in a country so vast and broken as ours, a country which has been settled by so many waves of immigrants from so many different lands, we can unite in a common loyalty only if we are willing to recognize and respect our mutual differences. This characteristic of our national life will not disturb the good Canadian. Celt and Saxon, French and British are separated by the gulfs of race, religion and culture and the records of their warfare with one another are visible all over the globe.<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Cochrane and Wallace, Pg. 173

<sup>578</sup> Cochrane and Wallace, Pg. 174

<sup>579</sup> Cochrane and Wallace, Pg. 178

An acceptance of immigrants with certain European backgrounds was an initial step toward more openness.

Until recent decades, discussion of politics in textbooks focused on the machinery of government - the essential political and government institutions – with little discussion of more abstract norms of citizen participation and engagement. For example, the 1968 *Readings in Canadian Civics* was devoted to political institutions. In terms of citizen participation only two pages described the act of voting; here, the focus is primarily on logistics, with detailed instructions and diagrams in a section called “The Ballot”.<sup>580</sup> Reflecting the growing concern in the late 1960s over the citizenship education curriculum, which was seen both in government policy and academic scrutiny, increased attention was also placed on textbooks.<sup>581</sup> With greater attention to their product, textbook authors and publishers responded to changing societal and pedagogical contexts. By the late 1960s and early 1970s textbooks with such titles as *Challenge and Survival* and *In Search of Canada* were finding their way into school classrooms.<sup>582</sup> The titles reflect a new sense of speculation and inquiry concerning abstract notions of Canada. Questions of national identity became popular in the 1970s in the aftermath of such monumental events as the 1967 Centennial year and the sovereignty movement in Quebec.

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<sup>580</sup> T.T. Ferris, J.S. Moir, G.A. Onn. *Readings in Canadian Civics*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968. Pg. 84-87

<sup>581</sup> Clark noted, “The 1970s and 1980s also saw a focus on curriculum materials. As newspaper headlines such as ‘Slanted Textbooks’ and ‘Tell it the Way it Was’ attest, in the late 1960s, there was a great deal of public interest in the way in which Canada’s changing social reality was portrayed in school textbooks.”

Clark “‘Home-Grown Product’ or ‘Made in America?’”, Pg. 89; In 1967, the Ontario Human Rights Commission asked the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education to analyze the content of social studies textbooks in Ontario. Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt. *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971

<sup>582</sup> Conley, Pg. 144

By the 1990s, textbooks attempted to articulate a new citizenship paradigm based on participation and engagement.<sup>583</sup> The 1992 textbook *Canadian Citizenship in Action*, explicitly claimed to go beyond teaching political institutions: “*Canadian Citizenship in Action* goes beyond the study of government structures and activities...it relates these structures and activities to the daily lives of Canadians like you.”<sup>584</sup> The book included such sections as “Active Citizenship”, “Citizens Make Decisions”, “Building Citizenship Skills”, and stated “active citizenship means participating...it means making decisions that will affect your life.”<sup>585</sup> Canadian civics and history textbooks were becoming more inclusive and acted more as practical guides to citizenship than vehicles for nationalism and patriotism, unlike textbooks at the turn of the previous century. Still, the approaches of texts differed across the country as regional narratives found their way to the pages.

An analysis of history texts in the early 1990s found that Quebec barely mentioned English-Canadian history. Possibly reflecting the province’s lack of regional character, Ontario’s text, *Discovering Canada: Shaping an Identity* was much less regional, covering such issues as American-Canadian relations, the Quiet Revolution and aboriginal issues.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> One issue consistently influencing the study of textbooks has been the nationality of the publishing company. Prior to the 1970s, the British or Americans published most textbooks. The Canadian company, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, produced a majority of the social studies texts in the 1970s and 1980s. Clark, “The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada”, Pg. 25; Controversy arrived in the 1990s with the outsourcing of publishing responsibilities. The Progressive Conservative government in Ontario announced the outsourcing of curriculum to the private sector in January 1998. Later that year in June it was announced that American textbook companies could compete for sales to Ontario schools. O’Sullivan, Pg. 321

<sup>584</sup> Derald Fretts, Pamela S. Perry-Globa, Martin Spiegelman, Reginald C. Stuart. *Canadian Citizenship in Action*. Edmonton: Weigl Educational Publishers Limited, 1992. Pg. 5

<sup>585</sup> Ibid.; The authors described citizenship for average Canadians: “Canadians don’t have to travel into space or attain positions of power to be good citizens...Citizenship means being active in your community.” Fretts et al., Pg. 10

<sup>586</sup> Fraser, A1

Textbooks of the last few decades have enthusiastically promoted a progressive form of citizenship, stressing concepts of identity, participation, knowledge and action. However, the open-ended narratives, both practical and abstract, create a type of citizenship that seems almost unattainable. The 2000 textbook, *Civics Today*, in a section titled “The Meaning of Citizenship” expressed the sentiment, “realizing the full potential of your citizenship goes hand in hand with realizing your full personal potential.”<sup>587</sup> Another 2000 textbook, *Citizenship Issues and Action*, stated three important elements of being a citizen are: “a sense of membership, or identity, with some wider community, such as the local community or nation; a set of rights and freedoms, such as freedom of thought or the right to vote; a corresponding set of obligations, such as an obligation to respect the rights of others or a duty to obey the law.”<sup>588</sup> Similar to other texts published around this time, *Citizenship Issues and Action*, framed the text on three strands of citizenship: informed citizenship, purposeful citizenship and active citizenship. The text opens with “In this book, you will explore what it means to be a citizen. We live in a world that is constantly changing, and as it changes, so does our understanding of citizenship.”<sup>589</sup>

Some texts have attached negative traits to apathy, rejecting the notion of choice in participation. *Participating in a Democratic Society* (2000) asks, “At the same time, thousands of other people do not take citizenship seriously at all. Many do not even understand the meaning of the word. It is to both these groups – the committed and uncommitted, the active and the passive – that this book is dedicated. Are you being a

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<sup>587</sup> Jennifer Watt, Ivor Sinfeld and Charles Hawkes. *Civics Today*. Toronto: Irwin, 2000. Pg. 3

<sup>588</sup> Mark Evans, Michael Slodovnick, Terezia Zoric, Rosemary Evans. *Citizenship Issues and Action*. Toronto: Pearson Education, 2000. Pg. vii

<sup>589</sup> Evans et al., Pg. 2

good citizen?”<sup>590</sup> The textbook presents a broad range of citizen-related activities and participation, “Citizenship responsibilities can be fulfilled in many ways. One of these is to work with other people to create a safe, enjoyable environment for families, friends, and neighbours. People often band together in service clubs, religious groups, and other organizations.”<sup>591</sup> The wide variety of possible citizenship-related activities contributes to an ambiguous conceptualization of how citizens should ideally act.

The evolution of citizenship education texts meant that the simplicity of explaining government institutions changed to the complexity of contemporary ideals and the informed, active and global notion of citizenship. The following table compares the contents of two leading texts, one from 1935 and one from 2000, demonstrating the enormous change the conceptual understanding of citizenship education underwent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, we see a move from a list of services to a list of responsibilities from the 1935 to the 2000 text.

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<sup>590</sup> Alan Skeoch. *Participating in a Democratic Society*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 2000. Pg. xi  
<sup>591</sup> Skeoch, Pg. 131

**Table 17: Citizenship Education Textbook Table of Contents 1935-2000**

A Reader in Canadian Civics – Table of Contents – 1935	Civics Today – Table of Contents – 2000
<b>Part I: Some Familiar Public Services</b>	<b>Unit 1 – The Good Citizen</b>
The Police	The Meaning of Citizenship
The Fighting of Fire	Power
Good Roads	Democratic Decision-Making
Pure Water	The Citizen
Sewage and Garbage	<b>Unit 2 – The Informed Citizen</b>
Playgrounds	Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities
A Sketch of Schools	Elections
Books for All	Parliament and Government
His Majesty's Mails	Public Policy
Railways and Other Ways	Political Parties
Light, Heat and Power	The Judicial System
<b>Part II: Other Public Services</b>	<b>Unit 3 – The Active Citizen</b>
Lowering the Death Rate	Political Participation
The Protection of Labour	Interest Groups
The Problem of Poverty	Government Accountability
The Scales of Justice	Quebec and Citizenship
The Manufacture of Money	Aboriginal Citizens
The Collection of Taxes	<b>Unit 4 – The Global Citizen</b>
<b>Part III: The Machinery of Government</b>	You as a Global Citizen
The Vote of the People	Who Makes the News?
Municipal Government	Contemporary Global Concerns
Provincial Government	Human Rights
Dominion Government	War and Armed Conflict
Canada in the British Empire	Environmental Citizenship
Canada in the League of Nations	The Indigenous Citizen
	Democratic Rights
	Global Rights and Responsibilities
	The United Nations
	Canada's Role in the Global Citizenship

Source: W. Stewart Wallace. *A Reader in Canadian Civics*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1935. Pg. ix; Jennifer Watt, Ivor Sinfield and Charles Hawkes. *Civics Today*. Toronto: Irwin, 2000

In a 1971 study of more than 100 social studies textbooks in Ontario, McDiarmid and Pratt observed important inconsistencies in how the textbooks described ethnic, religious, and cultural groups: “there were wide and significant overall differences between the treatment of such groups as Christians and Jews, which were highly favoured, and such groups as Negroes and Indians, which were much less so. There were also a number of

texts which evaluated certain groups (notably Negroes and Indians) negatively.”<sup>592</sup>

Contemporary textbooks are an improvement from clearly racist texts of earlier eras – while they may create a more convoluted citizenship, recent texts are all similar in the acceptance of inclusive and progressive views on race.

How do textbooks relate to the rest of the thesis that focused on policy development and delivery? Simply, textbooks are another point of contact between policy actors and the students and demonstrate another aspect of the aggregate citizenship education policy narrative that is challenged by different causal stories over time and jurisdiction. While many of the Ontario teachers dismissed the value of textbooks this does not negate the fact that they are still assigned and historically represent a significant policy narrative. As seen in the above table, almost seventy years of citizenship education changed the focus from “some familiar public services”, “other public services” and “the machinery of government” to the “good, active, informed and global citizen”. Textbooks have moved from a focus on the state to a focus on the individual – a change that may have contributed to the lack of connection between the state and the citizen and the accepted traits of Canadian citizenship.

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<sup>592</sup> McDiarmid and Pratt, Pg. 45; The problem may rest with the individuals assigned to write the textbooks. David Pratt believes that the school textbook author community represents a very narrow section of society. Pratt argues that the authors, who are normally successful teachers, are “Almost inevitably, these middle-class, middle-aged, middle-income, middle status authors share common social and political ideologies: they are Middle Canada.” Pratt, Pg. 120-121

## **Chapter Seven: The Challenge of Citizenship Education Policy Development and Delivery**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This final chapter concludes the thesis by reviewing the relationship between citizenship education and educational goals; knowledge, skills and values and considering future directions for citizenship education research. Before this discussion, the unique nature of citizenship education policy development and delivery is briefly addressed. The aim of this chapter is to suggest that after decades of policy reform and citizenship education research, the policy narrative remains a puzzle. The aggregate result of policy intentions, both positive and negative, has Canadians participating in politics less, with lower levels of political knowledge and political value systems that are underdeveloped. This reality reflects Stone's notion of "complex cause", identified as a "strategy to avoid blame and the burdens of reform."<sup>593</sup> The combination of a fluid understanding of Canadian citizenship and ever-changing policy approaches to Canadian citizenship education provide an appropriate case of complex cause in education policy development.

As a policy area that holds such transformative and society-changing possibilities, public education – and not just citizenship education - is constantly under threat of not meeting expectations. The idealism that shapes most of the policy narrative creates lofty hopes. Part of this troublesome narrative is the common act of framing policy as a solution to a public problem or as Deborah Stone describes it, constructing a policy causal story. The 1959 Alberta Royal Commission on Education facetiously asked,

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<sup>593</sup> Stone, Pg. 292

“[Does] the public look to the schools to solve all their problems?”<sup>594</sup> As outlined in chapter three, public consultations held for the royal commissions found that citizens placed many societal ills at the schools’ doorsteps. With the overwhelming public acceptance of public education in the twentieth century, the school became a popular policy answer to a growing number of social or economic problems.<sup>595</sup> As well, internal forces did nothing to temper expectations. Policy makers have difficulty in measuring their success, and especially in areas such as citizenship education. As Sears et al. observed in 1994, “In citizenship education specifically, there are no meaningful benchmarks against which to monitor progress and little interest in generating them. All of this puts teachers in the position of not knowing what is expected about citizenship education.”<sup>596</sup>

Citizenship education as a policy option has survived numerous reviews and critiques and remains a part of all Canadian curricula. However, regardless of its rich history, policy makers are not any closer to an accepted citizenship education policy direction. The dynamic nature of citizenship education is supported by a long tradition of believing that individuals and states can control their own destiny. However, the continuous evolution of lessons on citizenship instruction and conception does not reflect this simple notion. Canada’s ongoing conflict between individual and collective identities, while indicative of an open society, creates problems for citizenship education policy makers. As this thesis has attempted to show, ideas about citizenship education in Canada have not stopped changing and no ideal policy model has been found. As was outlined in chapter five, Ontario alone went through three different versions of high

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<sup>594</sup> Government of Alberta. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta*, 1959. Pg. 37

<sup>595</sup> Levin, *Governing Education*, Pg. 59

<sup>596</sup> Sears et al., “Canadian Citizenship Education”, Pg. 130

school citizenship education since the Hall-Dennis Report of 1968. The changes between curriculum in provinces such as Newfoundland and Alberta, demonstrate the volatile nature of the evolving policy ideals of citizenship education.

Still, if citizenship education policy can be commended for one thing, it is resiliency; regardless of the negative attention, citizenship education has repeatedly found its way back into curricula. With this pattern of negative attention, extra effort has been made in supporting citizenship education policy.<sup>597</sup> Some private interest groups have become heavily involved and essentially act as the central advocates for more comprehensive citizenship education. The aforementioned Dominion Institute has been advocating Canadian history as a mandatory requirement and argues that public education is too fixated with math and science and ignores the lessons of Canada's past and civics.<sup>598</sup>

Youth apathy and non-voting is one of the most common "problems" that citizenship education is supposed to solve. But research is still undecided on whether or not citizenship education can solve this problem. In a 2003 study, Leduc and Pammett surveyed the public as a whole (not just young non-voters) to ask for open-ended responses about why young people don't vote. These respondents suggested that lack of

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<sup>597</sup> Conceived in 1996, the Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy was an initiative of the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons and administered by the Library of Parliament. Every November, seventy teachers from across Canada are brought to Parliament Hill for a week of professional development on governance and citizenship education. Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy. *Website*.

<http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/education/teachers/index.asp?lang=E> Accessed on 16 May 2008; The institute is similar to the American initiative, Congress in the Classroom developed in 1992 by the Disken Congressional Center and sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies. The center is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization based in Illinois. The Disken Congressional Center. *Website*. [http://www.dirksencenter.org/print\\_programs\\_CongressClassroom.htm](http://www.dirksencenter.org/print_programs_CongressClassroom.htm) Accessed on 16 May 2008

<sup>598</sup> Richard Foot. "Schools failing to teach Canadian history" *National Post*. 11 November 2005.

information, understanding and knowledge may be important reasons why youth are less likely to vote – but by themselves they may not be the primary reasons.

**Table 18: Perceived Reasons Why Young People Less Likely Voted (2000)**

	Under 25 years old	25 and older
<b>Not integrated</b>		
Distanced from politics by age; not feeling represented, connected	40.4	36.6
Lack of information, understanding, knowledge	33.9	27.1
Lack of encouragement	2.0	4.2
Too busy, too mobile	3.3	3.2
	79.6	71.1
<b>Disengagement</b>		
Uninterested, apathetic	31.3	30.4
Negativism, cynicism, disillusionment	9.2	13.5
Distrustful of system, politicians	6.7	8.7
Irresponsibility, rebelliousness, laziness	4.3	6.4
Other	1.8	3.5
Do not know	0.0	0.4

Source: Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc. Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: A New Survey of Non-Voters. March 2003. [www.elections.ca](http://www.elections.ca) Pg. 50

The table demonstrates that popularly perceived reasons for not voting stressed a lack of connection of voting over lack of information or voting. But can citizenship education programs address this problem? As we have seen in this dissertation, initiatives to teach students about Canadian political institutions and practices such as voting have had more difficulty addressing the larger question of Canadian citizenship and identity itself.

However the problem is defined, education policy will never be the solution to answering “what is a Canadian?”; the Canadian condition does not allow for resolution. Even the most dedicated policy actors have been thwarted in their efforts to avoid confusion and ambiguity in developing Canadian citizenship education. In 1972, during the initial stages of launching the discipline of Canadian Studies, Hodgetts and Gordon argued “the

Foundation cannot support any one ideological position or any single interpretation of Canadian reality.”<sup>599</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> The Canada Studies Foundation. *Annual Report*. Toronto: The Canada Studies Foundation, 1972. Pg. 7

## **7.2 Citizenship Knowledge, Skills and Values**

To further explore the challenges of citizenship education policy to meet its widely stated objectives, I will consider the three common goals of education highlighted in the first chapter: knowledge, skills and values. Citizenship education has not only struggled to inspire political participation but also struggled to impart any of these three goals. While all three goals remain contentious on their own, there is a wide sentiment that they have not been met. However, possibly more important is the contention about what they actually are and how to assess and measure them. In relation to causal stories, as Stone noted, “(causal stories) locate the burdens of reform very differently...[and] are neither right nor wrong.”<sup>600</sup> The following section will briefly touch on the three goals as they pertain to Canadian citizenship education policy and consider some of the challenges and struggles that exist in articulating and addressing these goals.

Continued scrutiny over the content (curriculum) and concern over the outcome (young Canadians’ knowledge) has dominated the attention given to citizenship education. As recent comments by Minister of Citizenship Jason Kenney, groups such as the Dominion Institute and the general call that political knowledge and skills are lacking suggest – for a certain population, mostly considered elites, the level of young Canadians’ political socialization is of great concern. This type of concern creates assumptions that the problem is not being addressed effectively by the solution (citizenship education policy).

The first goal the policy has struggled to meet is an adequate level of political knowledge. Political knowledge has long been considered a key trait of good citizenship

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<sup>600</sup> Stone, Pg. 283

and a catalyst to participation. Since the 1950s empirical investigations of the public's political knowledge have come in and out of academic fashion.<sup>601</sup>

Statements from the 1962 conference on education in Canada supported the idea that a democratic society could not be successful without a large section of the population trained and educated in the ways of becoming "competent and co-operative workers, as well as informed and intelligent voters."<sup>602</sup> These comments foreshadowed the growing concern over voter participation following the recent decline in electoral turnout. And, at the same time that observers have been concerned about declining voter turnout, studies have consistently found a discouraging level of political knowledge among Canadians.

Research has found that taking a position on issues worked much better in instilling political knowledge than lessons focusing on the constitution, history and institutions.<sup>603</sup> However, this approach has not been evident in contemporary courses such as Ontario's Grade 10 course. Rudyard Griffiths noted, "The verdict is in: after a decade of significant investments in history education we have failed to move the dial towards greater knowledge and understanding of Canadian history."<sup>604</sup> Old trends emerged, including a push for factual knowledge that surfaced when conservative groups lobbied for a "back to the basics" approach opposed to a critical thinking approach.<sup>605</sup> Concerning knowledge about Canada, Ronald Landes argues that citizens need to understand not who is cabinet, but what cabinet does.<sup>606</sup> This critical point is something that citizenship education policy makers appear to be aware of but have difficulty in

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<sup>601</sup> Niemi and Junn, Pg. 6

<sup>602</sup> Lewis S. Beattie and Edward F. Sheffield. *The Development of Student Potential*. Conference Study 3. Ottawa: Canadian Conference on Education, 1962. Pg. 7

<sup>603</sup> Milner, "Political Knowledge and Participation Among Young Canadians and Americans", Pg. 14

<sup>604</sup> Ipsos Reid/Dominion Institute. "What Do Young Adults Know about Canadian History", Pg. 3

<sup>605</sup> Hahn, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education*, Pg. 178

<sup>606</sup> Landes, Pg. 19

reconciling the balance between such topics as ‘The Machinery of Government’ vs. ‘The Active Citizen’. The debate between concrete facts and abstract ideals has always been present in citizenship education policy-making. Since the 1960s, various actors and groups have believed that for young people to become active they must be presented with an open approach to social studies.<sup>607</sup>

The problems with Ontario’s curriculum extend beyond content to the delivery and organization of the course. Administrative concerns such as the staffing of these teaching positions seem to be the most problematic element of policy delivery. Still, it is not necessarily the presumed failure of knowledge in young citizens that reflects a challenge of citizenship education policy, it is a failure of agreeing upon what knowledge is – and this lack of agreement has been fueled by the overlapping and ever changing approaches to citizenship education in Canada.

The second goal the policy has failed to achieve is to provide students with an adequate level of political skills. Westholm et al. argue an individual’s political literacy involves a variety of skills (which could include transfer of knowledge into action).<sup>608</sup> Such traditional skills include a short list of democratic activities including identification

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<sup>607</sup> Ibid., Torney-Purta and Amadeo argue that: “Civic education programs with active participation as an aim should consider which type of future involvement they hope to promote and then design curricula and activities to explicitly address these behaviours, rather than expecting that fostering either knowledge or volunteer activities will promote all types of future involvement.” Torney-Purta and Amadeo, Pg. 271; Clark observes “certainly, (in Canada) as in the United States, the social studies tide turned towards an emphasis on values education and social issues in the 1970s.” Clark, “The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada”, Pg. 25; Max van Manen and Jim Parsons identified four new program types representing the emphasis: “social reconstruction and reflective awareness, moral education and valuing processes, environmental education and social problems and Canada studies and citizenship education.” Max van Manen and Jim Parsons. “What Are the Social Studies?” *A Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Jim Parsons, Geoff Milburn and Max van Manen. Edmonton: University of Alberta Faculty of Education, 1985. Pg. 2-11; In 2007, Whitman wrote, “(with) the complexity of civic education on the ground, we have to look at the changing landscape and social relations of a global capitalist culture.” Robert Whitman. “Civic Education in Two Worlds: Contestation and Conflict over the Civic in School and Community on the Spokane Indian Reservation” *Reimagining Civic Education: How Diverse Societies Form Democratic Citizens*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007. Pg. 40

<sup>608</sup> Westholm et al., Pg. 179

of government actors, participation in government activities (voting, paying taxes, abiding the law) and awareness of current events and issues. With youth involvement in politics measured at low levels, it may be argued that policy makers are not successfully linking skill development to participation. Even if citizenship education could solve a perceived political skills deficiency, educators may be unsure of which skills to address. Is voting as essential as protesting? Is naming the members of cabinet a political skill? Contrary to popular sentiment, some suggest that young people are not apathetic and simply participate in community life in venues other than voting.<sup>609</sup> Along with different political or civic activities, young people are said to be accepting a “different conception of politics”.<sup>610</sup> Alternative political participation becomes another public development for citizenship education policy makers to consider. Voting, joining a political party, volunteering in the community and participating in protests have all been described as methods of political participation.<sup>611</sup> Therefore, traditional activities such as voting do not need to be the sole indicator of civic engagement. Phelps suggests young people are conceptualizing political activity in “broader terms”.<sup>612</sup> Considering this, civic apathy may be measured by indicators beyond participation in elections. Gauthier asks, “Should political participation be confined to electoral participation? Given the challenges of

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<sup>609</sup> Madeleine Gauthier. “The Inadequacy of Concepts: The Rise of Youth Interest in Civic Participation in Quebec” *Journal of Youth Studies*. Vol. 6. No. 3. 2003. Pg. 274

<sup>610</sup> Matt Henn, Mark Weinstein and Dominic Wring. “A generation apart? Youth and political participation in Britain” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. Vol. 4. No. 2. June 2002. Pg. 187; In 2003, O’Toole et al. found that young people they interview were far from politically apathetic, noting, “Too often, concern about youth political disengagement is focused on an impending future crisis of political participation and on the failure to induct young people effectively into ‘adult politics’, rather than on the failure to engage with young people and with the issues that affect and concern them. Overall, if there is one lesson our research suggests it is that political literacy cuts both ways: perhaps government should listen more.” Therese O’Toole, David Marsh and Su Jones. “Political Literacy Cuts Both Ways: The Politics of Non-participation among Young People” *Political Quarterly*. Volume 74. No. 3. 2003. Pg. 359

<sup>611</sup> Judith Torney-Purta and Wendy Klandl Richardson. “Anticipated Political Engagement among Adolescents in Australia, England, Norway and the United States” *Citizenship and Political Education Today*. Ed. Jack Demaine. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. Pg. 51

<sup>612</sup> Phelps, Pg. 238

community living, are citizens not soliciting in a number of different ways? Could the expression ‘youth participation in political life’ be confusing?”<sup>613</sup> These questions have had major implications on citizenship education, creating another challenge for a curriculum narrative already pulled in many directions before challenging any definition or notion of skill that has come before. When we consider the discourse around defining skills it becomes no surprise that citizenship education policy is in constant reform and provides more evidence of Stone’s competing causal stories.

The third goal the policy has struggled to meet is to instill in students an adequate level of political values. The utility of positive citizenship education programs has often been found in promoting good citizenship and making good citizens.<sup>614</sup> However there is a question of whether or not public schools should be involved in moral and value education at all.<sup>615</sup> Value-based education policy presents a number of normative decisions; educators have been unable to escape critical attention on value-based education.<sup>616</sup> Unlike other curricula, such as math or science, which remain relatively

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<sup>613</sup> Gauthier, Pg. 265; Osler and Starkey believe, “It is not self-evident that voting behaviour is an accurate indicator of political interest or engagement and other evidence suggests increasing levels of political activity, broadly defined, amongst young people in England.” Osler and Starkey, Pg. 4

<sup>614</sup> Hodgetts and Gallagher argued, “The schools must adopt a role of anticipating developments and leading society not by prescription, not by advocating any particular course of action, but by description, careful analysis, the use of reliable knowledge and disciplined thought.” Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 132

<sup>615</sup> Cornel M. Hamm. *Philosophical Issues in Education: An Introduction*. New York: The Falmer Press, 1989. Pg. 128

<sup>616</sup> The American-based National Education Association received criticism for its post-September 11<sup>th</sup> curriculum called “Tips for Parents and Schools Regarding the Anniversary of September 11, 2001” that included suggested caution when laying blame. Guy Giorno. “Keep politics out of the classroom” *Toronto Star*. 1 September 2002. A17 In 2007, the British Columbia Government introduced gay and lesbian issues to provincial curriculum in response to a 1999 complaint to the B.C. Human Rights Tribunal concerning diversity taught in schools. Eva Salinas. “B.C. adds Grade 12 course in gay issues” *The Globe and Mail*. 2 June 2006.; In 2004, the Government of New Brunswick produced a Commission on Legislative Democracy that identified options for an “enhanced citizen-centred democracy in New Brunswick building on the values, heritage, culture and communities of our province.” Government of New Brunswick. *Commission on Legislative Democracy*. Final Report and Recommendations. December 2004

standard, the framework of citizenship education is constantly changing in attempts to reflect evolving societal contexts.

As we saw in earlier chapters, instilling values has been a perennial goal of Canadian citizenship education. In 2005, John Fonte wrote, “in the final analysis, civic education is, by definition, normative; it is concerned with developing ‘good citizens’, however that term is defined.”<sup>617</sup> But, as with knowledge and skills, the concept of “values” is highly contentious. Some see “values” as inherently imposed from above; Mazurek and Kach labeled schools and teachers as “agents of cultural imperialism” stamping out heritage and assimilating students to dominant ideas. Oakeshott argues political socializing through history concentrates on “a glimpse of the current myth of the history of the nation.”<sup>618</sup> As Osborne claims, “Education for citizenship, then, can have a misleading and even dangerous meaning. To some it indicates ideological indoctrination, the preparation of loyal servants of whatever regime is in power.”<sup>619</sup> Others may argue that it is not the place of schools to teach “values” at all. A 2001 COMPAS survey found that 33% of Canadians believed a primary purpose of education is to prepare students for work while 23% believed a primary purpose is to promote citizenship and character building.<sup>620</sup>

And political values in a practical sense can be defined in many ways. Some observers have found political values in individual actions while others have focused on a

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<sup>617</sup> Fonte, Pg. 73

<sup>618</sup> Michael Oakeshott. *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*. Toronto: Methuen, 1962

<sup>619</sup> Ken Osborne. “The Teaching of History and Democratic Citizenship” *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*. Ed. Roland Case, Penney Clark. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1999. Pg. 29

<sup>620</sup> Julie Smyth. “Prepare them for work: Create good citizens, too. Intellectual development is overshadowed.” *National Post*. 8 September 2001. Pg. E1

community perspective.<sup>621</sup> If we define “values” as having a strong attachment to traditional Canadian political institutions and instruments of political participation, citizenship education does not seem to have been terribly successful. In answering the question “What do you think is a more effective way to work for change nowadays: joining a political party or an interest group?” only 12% of 18 to 29 year olds in 2000 believed that political parties were the preferred choice.<sup>622</sup> In 2002, an Ipsos-Reid poll revealed that 62% of 18 to 30 year olds agreed that the Government of Canada was not relevant to them.<sup>623</sup> These and other figures throughout this study suggest citizenship education has been unsuccessful at instilling sustainable political values that encourage participation in traditional political institutions. However, this leaves unaddressed other types of “values” found in citizenship education such as political participation outside parties and voting, patriotism, diversity and tolerance, human rights, “global citizens,” etc. But this long list indicates the burden placed on citizenship education. As young Canadians demonstrate diverse ways of engaging in politics, citizenship education policy makers face increasing challenges in program design.<sup>624</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> Robert Woyach argues, “A key goal of citizenship education should be to reassert the role of average citizens in seeking and defining the public good. Educators should reinforce and nurture students’ interest in the public good and their commitment to searching for it.” Woyach, “The Political Perspective: Civic Participation and the Public Good”, Pg. 62; Smits argues that if governments are serious about teaching citizenship questions of “identities and action” must be addressed. Hans Smits. “Citizenship Education in Postmodern Times – Posing Some Questions For Reflection” *Canadian Social Studies*. Vol. 31. No. 3. Spring 1997. Pg. 128

<sup>622</sup> Paul Howe and David Northrup. “Strengthening Canadian Democracy” *Policy Matters*. Vol. 5. No. 1 July 2000. Pg. 95

<sup>623</sup> Adsett, Pg. 254; Even a touted leader of the “next generation”, Justin Trudeau told a reporter in 2001, “I don’t read newspapers...I don’t watch the news...I figure, if something happens, someone will tell me.” Hurst, A1

<sup>624</sup> Before settling down, young citizens have many life distractions interrupting their path political participation including finishing school, finding a job and “a mate”. John M. Strate, Charles J. Parrish, Charles D. Elder and Coit Ford III. “Life Span Civic Development and Voting Participation” *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 83. 1989. Pg. 443-464; Theories exist that suggest political participation is tied to lifestyle changes as young people marry, have children and become more connected to their community. Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich and David W. Rohde. *Change and Continuity in the 1996 Elections*. Washington: CQ Press, 1998. Pg. 76; High rates of mobility are also blamed as a deterrent to

While this has only been a brief review of the struggles of citizenship education policy meeting the traditional pedagogical goals of knowledge, skills and values it does present the need for more directed research in these areas. More quantitative and concentrated research with a more holistic approach to understand the complexities of the topic is needed to evaluate the new wave of citizenship education programs that have been introduced to schools across Canada. As this thesis has noted in all the chapters, one trait of Canadian citizenship education policy that is certain is the presence of contestation and change. Part of this contestation and change has been linked to the identification of goals based on citizenship traits of knowledge, skills and values linked to the “formulation and selection of alternative policy responses.”<sup>625</sup>

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political participation by young citizens. Margaret M. Conway. *Political Participation in the United States*. Third Edition. Washington: CQ Press, 2000. Pg. 23; In the American context, Highton and Wolfinger discovered that taking on adult roles did not necessarily coincide with adopting a tendency to vote. Benjamin Highton and Raymond E. Wolfinger. “The First Seven Years of the Political Life Cycle” *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 45. No. 1. January 2001. Pg. 206-208  
<sup>625</sup> Stone, Pg. 283

### **7.3 A History of Challenge: Citizenship Education in Canada**

Due to its historical and geopolitical relationships with Great Britain and the United States, as well as its bicultural and multicultural identity, the contested nature of Canadian citizenship is not surprising.<sup>626</sup> During the 1960s and early 1970s, the question of “Whose Canada?” began to arise when conceptualizing the new field called Canadian studies. This also acted as a formative – but not conclusive – time for the construction of Canadian citizenship.<sup>627</sup> Morrison et al. believed there were a number of possibly “dangerous” assumptions surrounding the framework of Canadian studies. Two of the most significant assumptions affecting curriculum content were “that conventional explanations of the development of Canadian society are sufficient” and “that cultural pluralism unquestioned values”.<sup>628</sup> Questioning these types of assumptions challenged the historical-institutional-legal framework that regularly had dominated social studies/history/civics lessons up to this point in time. In all empirical chapters – two through six – the tension between different frameworks of content and delivery are apparent throughout the history of both elite produced and classroom level citizenship education policy in Canada.

Assumptions about what is best for young Canadians have influenced the path of citizenship education narrative in Canada. Marshall Conley and Kenneth Osborne argued that political education in Canada focused on patriotic knowledge instead of political

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<sup>626</sup> Sears et al., Pg. 124

<sup>627</sup> Prior to the 1960s, Canadian identity was a myriad of Christian traditions and conservative old-Tory British nostalgia. The previous arrangement was based on a “mythical imperial connection” but Harold Troper argues the adoption of Canadian citizenship was a far-reaching rejection of a status based on French or English origin; Canada was seen to be more inclusive. Harold Troper. “Citizenship Education in Urban Canada” *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. Pg. 157

<sup>628</sup> T.R. Morrison, K.W. Osborne and N.G. McDonald. “Whose Canada? The Assumptions of Canadian Studies” *Canadian Journal of Education*. 2:1. 1977. Pg. 76

literacy, so that that textbooks and curriculum followed a path of conflict-free views.<sup>629</sup>

This view echoes the earlier sentiment of A.B. Hodgetts who described the scene in classrooms across the country in 1968:

Practically every development in our history aroused opposing points of view and controversy. This essential fact is almost completely ignored in the classroom. Canadian history in our schools is a shadowy, subdued, unrealistic version of what actually happened – a bland consensus story, told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history.<sup>630</sup>

However, Conley and Osborne argue that political education had positively evolved in the fifteen years since Hodgetts' devastating assessment with the growth of teacher-training leading to more in-class simulation, role-playing and out of class field trips.<sup>631</sup>

Have the new policies encouraging civic literacy continued to take a “consensual, conflict-free view of politics”? As chapter five demonstrated, sometimes with the right teacher, engaging debate is possible in citizenship education delivery.

Writing in the 1990s, Osborne argued that there have been both positive and negative aspects to past attempts at citizenship education in Canada. In a positive light, citizenship education has been based on the development of a national spirit leading Canadians to hopefully shed some regional tendencies. In a much more negative way, restrictive lessons generally led to a narrow view of Canada, excluding religious and linguistic minorities.<sup>632</sup> Shields and Ramsay describe a curricula evolution that went from a discourse on responsibility and accountability in the 1980s and 1990s to activism and participation in more recent years.<sup>633</sup> As seen in the comparative table in chapter four,

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<sup>629</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>630</sup> Hodgetts, Pg. 24.

<sup>631</sup> Conley and Osborne, Pg. 72.

<sup>632</sup> Osborne, *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?*, Pg. 9

<sup>633</sup> Shields et al., “Social Studies Across English Canada”, Pg. 42

activism and participation are still popular themes in the citizenship education courses of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The difficulty in arriving at empirically sound or overwhelming conclusions on citizenship education is an appropriate problem considering the policy that is being examined. Osborne observed in 1996 that creating a comprehensive account of citizenship education in Canadian education is difficult due to inconsistency of data; some periods are well documented while others are not.<sup>634</sup> Few have attempted to engage in research that considers the aggregate narrative of citizenship education policy across time and place in Canada. Alan Sears' 1996 doctoral dissertation studied the federal state's involvement in citizenship education from 1947 to 1982. Sears concluded that the government was mostly concerned with creating a common identity and citizen participation defined predominantly as community involvement. Sears also found that the growth of the citizenship sector was more about securing administrative control than applying suitable policy.<sup>635</sup>

Well before Jason Kenney's recent call for action on civic literacy and participation, in the 1991 "Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future", Chairman Keith Spicer wrote, "This country is dying of ignorance (about the country) and of our stubborn refusal to learn."<sup>636</sup> While this did not necessarily spur a flood of citizenship education research, it was followed by a spike in interest in Canadian citizenship. In 1993, William Kaplan argued that Canadian citizenship had not been a highly researched area, but much

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<sup>634</sup> Ken Osborne. "Education is the Best National Insurance: Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools, Past and Present" *Canadian and International Education*. Vol. 25. No. 2. December 1996. Pg. 31

<sup>635</sup> Alan Sears. "Scarcely Yet a People: State Policy in Citizenship Education, 1947-1982" PhD Dissertation. University of British Columbia. 1996

<sup>636</sup> Report to the People and Government of Canada. *Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1991. Pg. 129

has changed since.<sup>637</sup> The early nineties found a flurry of important books on citizenship such as Kaplan (1993) *Belonging: The Meaning and Nature of Canadian Citizenship*, Philip Resnick's (1994) *Thinking English Canada* and Will Kymlicka's (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship*.<sup>638</sup> In retrospect, much of the focus on citizenship of the time may have been a product of the mega-constitutional negotiations surrounding the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. Between 1991 and 1994, the Department of Canadian Heritage commissioned a number of studies on citizenship such as Kaplan's analysis of citizenship legislation (1991) and Kymlicka's review of contemporary citizenship theory (1992). The various explorations in Canadian citizenship of the period represented the almost complete, but delayed departure from the imperial roots of Britain, but still the structure of Canadian education policy development and delivery created challenges.

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<sup>637</sup> William Kaplan. "Introduction" *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*. Ed. William Kaplan. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. Pg. 3

<sup>638</sup> Sears et al., Pg. 112

#### **7.4 Provincial Delivery of Citizenship Education**

Returning to the problem of provincial delivery of citizenship education policy in Canada, the lack of a consensus over policy conception and implementation across provinces is noted in the literature.<sup>639</sup> In *Teaching Canada for the '80s* Hodgetts and Gallagher wrote, ‘From the middle to later years of elementary school, there is no pattern of social studies consistent throughout the provinces of Canada.’<sup>640</sup> As noted in chapter four, little has changed since. Provinces varied on the emphasis placed on certain elements of identity and citizenship. In a 1979 survey of provincial curricula completed for the Council of Ministers of Education, it was found that “several provinces feel that greater emphasis should be placed on ‘civic’ education...with particular stress on the values and needs that are unique to Canadian society.”<sup>641</sup> Some general trends emerged as well; Osborne noted that beginning in the 1980s, curriculum designers were reluctant to forward claims of national identity.<sup>642</sup> Internally, there was a concern over reliance on old models of curriculum delivery. A study of journals and publications since shows that not much has changed:

Although evidence from the official curricula indicates that conceptions of citizenship education in Canada have moved toward much more activist and inclusive ones, we suspect that the actual practice of citizenship education in the nation’s classroom remains closer to the older, more conservative values.<sup>643</sup>

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<sup>639</sup> Still, if the Canadian provinces are viewed as ten separate laboratories for political experimentation, it is surprising that before the 1980s there was so little effort to compare educational achievement between the provinces. Thomas Schweitzer, Robert K. Crocker and Geraldine Gilliss. *The State of Education in Canada*. Ed. Stephen T. Easton. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1995. Pg. 41

<sup>640</sup> Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 25

<sup>641</sup> Conley and Osborne, Pg. 68

<sup>642</sup> Hebert and Page, Pg. 244

<sup>643</sup> Sears et al., “Canadian Citizenship Education: The Pluralist Ideal and Citizenship Education for a Post-Modern State”, Pg. 130-131

In their 1996 article “Citizenship Education and Current Educational Reform”, Sears and Andrew Hughes provided a comprehensive review of the state of citizenship education in all nine Anglo-provinces across Canada. The authors present differences that exist from province to province. For example, in Nova Scotia there were few examples of the program explicitly addressing the concept of “citizen”.<sup>644</sup> In contrast, British Columbian curriculum documents overtly included mentions of “citizen” throughout their curriculum.<sup>645</sup> However, after completing a comprehensive “Curriculum Assessment Framework”, Sears and Hughes conclude, “there has been a movement along the continuum toward more activist conceptions.”<sup>646</sup> This is reflected in the most recent incarnations of citizenship education courses discussed in chapter four. Still, variation between provinces remains a major challenge in producing reconciliation between different versions of citizenship education and constructing a more cohesive Canadian citizenship narrative for young Canadians. While possibly not as dramatic as Stone articulates, “political actors use narrative story lines and symbolic devices to manipulate so-called issue characteristics.”<sup>647</sup>

Greater levels of collaboration may help in producing a central policy narrative for citizenship education. Various individuals and groups over the years have advocated a common curriculum for all subjects across Canada. The advocates believe a national curriculum would not only achieve such practical goals as eliminating duplication and

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<sup>644</sup> Andrew S. Hughes and Alan M. Sears. “Citizenship Education and Current Educational Reform” *Canadian Journal of Education*. Vol. 21. No.2. 1996. Pg. 126

<sup>645</sup> Hughes and Sears, 1996, Pg. 129

<sup>646</sup> Ibid.; The authors argue that “multiculturalism is seen as an important organizing idea for the study of Canadian society, and detailed programs with explicit rationales have been developed and implemented.” Sears and Hughes, 1996, Pg. 137; In their study, Sears and Hughes confess to their desires to create a “benchmark against which to evaluate the actual practice of citizenship education.” Sears and Hughes, 1996, Pg. 138

<sup>647</sup> Stone, Pg. 282

raising standards but also promote national unity.<sup>648</sup> These calls advocating the centralization of Canadian education appear to emerge at times of stress on the educational system.<sup>649</sup> Outside of citizenship education, curriculum collaboration has occurred in both Western and Atlantic provinces on subjects from math to science to social studies.<sup>650</sup> In 1993, the Atlantic Provinces agreed on the development of a regional curriculum and four western provinces and the two territories endorsed the Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education.<sup>651</sup> The formation of the Western Canadian Protocol Common Curriculum Framework for Social Studies in 2002 was the first inter-provincial/territorial curriculum endeavor to include both Aboriginal and francophone representatives in course development.<sup>652</sup> Still, pan-Canadian collaboration is absent and provinces remain in relative policy silos when developing and delivering citizenship education to its young citizens.

The final section of this chapter will act as a conclusion to this thesis and present a brief discussion on both the normative and practical challenges that policy makers face.

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<sup>648</sup> The notion of a common national curriculum is not a new one. Education has been described as “the largest public business of the Canadian Provinces”. Kenneth F. Argue. *Wealth, Children and Education in Canada*. Shawinigan Falls: Canadian Teachers Federation, 1945. Pg. 32; In Ontario and the West, the idea of common courses in Canadian history received support during the 1890s. Osborne, *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?*, Pg. 71

<sup>649</sup> The 1966 conference of the Canadian Education Association was concerned with possibility of implementing some type of machinery where information can be shared between provinces without ceding much jurisdiction. Katz, Pg. 119; In the early 1990s there were many calls for review and reform of education delivery in Canada. In 1993, Veronica Lacey, director of education for North York endorsed national testing and standards, argued “we need a national forum for discussion of educational issues...we must be the only country in the world that can’t get its act together as a nation to talk about educational issues.” Lewington and Orpwood, Pg. 123

<sup>650</sup> Dunning, Pg. 11

<sup>651</sup> Dunning, Pg. 90

<sup>652</sup> The 2007 curriculum process began with the Western Canadian Protocol Common Curriculum Framework for Social Studies, Kindergarten to Grade 9. The process was noted as “the first inter-provincial/territorial curriculum project to include both Aboriginal and francophone representatives as full and equal partners in the development process.” One of the groups involved in the curriculum process the Manitoba Cultural Advisory Team with representatives from fifteen ethno-cultural organizations in Manitoba. Government of Manitoba. *Grade 9 Social Studies: Canada in the Contemporary World*. Pg. 1-2

## 7.5 The Future of Canadian Citizenship Education

This dissertation has shown how citizenship education has been a perennial concern in Canada, with many reforms over the years. Yet dissatisfaction and calls for renewal are constant. And debates and struggles over citizenship education are not limited to Canada; the most recent 1999 IEA study of civic education concluded it was impossible to identify an ideal and suitable approach to civic education.<sup>653</sup> By adopting Stone's policy theory that there is an underlying logic that problems can be solved by human intervention because they were caused by human action, we can see how the attempts to create more effective citizenship education policy may never end. The attribution of cause, blame and responsibility in relationship to Canadian citizenship education policy is an ongoing, ever-changing endeavor due to the ongoing, ever-changed conception of Canadian citizenship.

In the 1988 collection, *Political Education in Canada*, the editors Jon Pammett and Jean-Luc Pepin presented a list of seven recommendations for political education, including the recommendation that schools "develop more and better courses fostering political education; these courses should be required of students; and they should be taught in a manner which encourages active participation."<sup>654</sup> In the years since this recommendation, all provinces have updated their citizenship education delivery; more courses are mandatory and more encourage participation but all have been met with incomplete results. No groundswell of youth political knowledge or participation is apparent.

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<sup>653</sup> Hughes and Sears, "Learning From Each Other", Pg. 25

<sup>654</sup> Pammett and Pepin, "Preface"

The policy struggles will most likely not affect policy development and delivery. Most Canadians support the idea of citizenship education. In 1999, a poll found that 86 percent of Canadians considered history to be a very important subject for students to be taught.<sup>655</sup> In 2002, a Canadian survey conducted by the Dominion Institute found 70% of Canadians supported the policy of mandatory “citizenship activities” in schools including the study of history.<sup>656</sup> A year later, a majority of Canadians interviewed believed “that improvements in education and information to prospective voters are the best methods of interesting young people in politics and elections.”<sup>657</sup> In the Dominion Institute’s 2005 annual Remembrance Day poll, 80% surveyed agreed with the idea of compulsory course in twentieth-century Canadian history.<sup>658</sup> Based on these polls, three out of every four Canadians support some form of citizenship education.<sup>659</sup> In a 2003 survey asking the question “what do you think should be done to get young people to be more interested in politics?” the most frequent response was improved education and information.<sup>660</sup>

This level of support allows (and puts pressure on) governments to continue spending time, effort and money on citizenship education programs, regardless of their success. However, it is likely that the never-ending search to deliver effective Canadian citizenship education will continue. The royal commission reports and other studies

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<sup>655</sup> Morton, “Teaching and Learning History in Canada”, Pg. 60

<sup>656</sup> National Post. “The Gift of History” 14 February 2002. A18

<sup>657</sup> Pammett and LeDuc, *Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections*, Pg. 73

<sup>658</sup> Richard Foot. “Dunno much about history?” *Sault Star*. 11 November 2005. A11

<sup>659</sup> The general public has expressed certain limitations on how much citizenship education is necessary. A 1997 Canadian survey found that barely a third of responded supported more than three years of Canadian history courses in high school. Tom Blackwell. “History dispensable: Parents rank English, math, science higher: poll” *The Hamilton Spectator*. 25 January 1999. A11. The British Columbia Department of Education acknowledged in 1977, “Although most of the people from each of the public groups indicate that Social Studies should be required for all students to grade 12, a substantial proportion also indicated that Social Studies to grade 10 or 11 is sufficient.” Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education. *British Columbia Social Studies Assessment. Volume 1. Views of Goals for Social Studies and Interpretive Studies of Selected School Situations. A Report to the Ministry of Education*. 1977. Pg. 101

<sup>660</sup> Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc. Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: A New Survey of Non-Voters. March 2003. [www.elections.ca](http://www.elections.ca) Pg. 52

examined in this dissertation show how continual changes in Canadian society make ideal citizenship a moving target for teachers and policy makers. And the ambiguity of provincial governments' intentions in pursuing citizenship education is demonstrated by the inconsistency of messaging and the policy revisions.

However, Canadian citizenship education has yet to be united by purpose or place; revisions occur sporadically due to external pressures and internal demands. While citizenship education curriculum is influenced by real events, it is also influenced by theoretical and critical debates over what constitutes acceptable knowledge, skills and values.<sup>661</sup> Content is constantly under dispute and through the years, similar concerns remain.<sup>662</sup>

Ambiguity of purpose has been compounded by the regional delivery of a supposedly national lesson. As the 1969 federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism complained, "Canadian history is taught not from the national viewpoint but from the provincial."<sup>663</sup> One solution to this inconsistency may be the elusive but attractive discipline of Canadian studies. Soon after the 1969 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the emergence of Canadian Studies produced a new

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<sup>661</sup> A 1998 Ministry of Education Ontario Secondary Schools guide argued that one of the two important roles for education was to help student "become good citizens". Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education and Training. *Ontario Secondary Schools. Detailed Discussion Document*. 1998. Pg. 1

<sup>662</sup> In 1962, Northrop Frye argued, "The evidence that the whole secondary school curriculum for history suffers from too much fact and not enough thought seems to us to be decisive." Frye, Pg. 106; In 1978, Hodgetts and Gallagher argued, "examination of structures and formal processes of government is an undesirable approach at these levels of schooling." Hodgetts and Gallagher, Pg. 32; In 1980 Paul Bennett wrote, "A new generation of younger Canadian scholars have turned away from political history, finding the old approach sterile, excessively national in scope, too biographical, based on an insufficient understanding of the country's economic and social development." Paul W. Bennett. *Rediscovering Canadian History: A Teacher's Guide for the 80s*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980. Pg. 19

<sup>663</sup> Ken Osborne. *Educating Citizens: A Democratic Socialist Agenda for Canadian Education*. Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1988. Pg. 11

venue for citizenship education.<sup>664</sup> Based on the study of Canada and Canadian Issues it may be seen as a product of the heightened Canadian nationalism of the late 1960s.<sup>665</sup> In 1970, historians Marcel Trudel and Genevieve Jain concluded, “If Canada is more than ever before threatened with schism, we believe we must look for the cause very largely in the manner in which today’s citizens have learned the history of their country.”<sup>666</sup> Is this type of movement needed again? With provinces continuing to grow in terms of administrative and political power, any implicit or explicit link to national identities could be helpful to Canadian citizenship education policy. Certainly this is the position of the federal government and some of the key external actors involved in citizenship education efforts.

Policy enthusiasm has allowed citizenship education development and delivery to continue through government change and major education reform. Baumgartner and Jones write “waves of popular enthusiasm surrounding a given issue provide the circumstances for policymakers to create new institutions to support their programs.”<sup>667</sup> The current level of enthusiasm has been in response to low levels of political knowledge and participation found in young Canadians. It is unknown how long this enthusiasm will last. Baumgartner and Jones argue that certain issues have certain life spans. Social issues such as alcoholism or drug addiction are long-standing but induce various reactions due

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<sup>664</sup> Canadian Studies Foundation Co-director, George Tomkins stated in 1972, “Canadian Studies has begun to take its place with politics, sex and sport as a staple of cocktail party conversation.” Clark, “The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada”, Pg. 23

<sup>665</sup> van Manen and Parsons, Pg. 6; Collins argues, “In the mid-1960s suddenly both Canadian studies and Canadian identity became ‘new’ and contentious topics. This crisis in the national conscience was in fact a variation on an old theme as educators sought new definitions, new priorities, and new methodologies to meet new societal conditions and expectations.” Collins, Pg. 231

<sup>666</sup> Fraser, A1

<sup>667</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 84; In 1971 Harold Entwistle noted, “Periodically, however, interest in political education erupts, usually at times of national or international crisis.” Entwistle, Pg. 2

to changing social realities and societal frameworks.<sup>668</sup> Civic apathy, while not as severe in the personal toll it inflicts, does share traits with long standing social problems impacted by societal realities. Baumgartner and Jones also contend policy-making is defined by the change in public understanding of problems and the institutions that seek policy control.<sup>669</sup> Public and governmental understandings of policy solutions linked to citizenship education policy have changed from a nationalist to a pluralist to a participatory narrative.<sup>670</sup> The discursive transformations share an unfortunate trait of not producing coherent pan-Canadian citizenship education policy development and delivery. Regardless of the struggle over meaning and intent, the idea of citizenship education remains popular. Actors from all parts of the political spectrum have supported citizenship education policy and it is difficult to find more than isolated skeptics and critics.

We arrive at a relatively popular policy with a problematic objective: to teach a lesson that is not understood. Canadian citizenship is exceptional in its elusiveness and dynamism. All of its components which are commendable can make citizenship just as challenging as a pedagogical project. Donald Wilson noted, “often our educational efforts become tied to slogans which tell us very little about a particular course of action required.”<sup>671</sup> Charles Lindblom’s comment on policy making in general is particularly relevant to citizenship education policy: “Policy is not made once and for all; it is made and re-made endlessly. Policy-making is a process of successive approximation to some

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<sup>668</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 169

<sup>669</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 39

<sup>670</sup> As Carole Hahn argues, “Clearly, there is no one form of democracy and there is no one way of teaching for democracy.” Hahn, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education*, Pg. 236

<sup>671</sup> Donald C. Wilson. “Introduction” *Teaching Public Issues in a Canadian Context*. Ed. Donald C. Wilson. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1982. Pg. 3

desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under reconsideration.”<sup>672</sup> By muddling through, the endless quest for effective and ideal Canadian citizenship education continues.<sup>673</sup> Its continuance rests on how its proponents construct problems that provoke policy-making. John Kingdon believed that the policy process is dominated by the “artful connection of solutions to problems”.<sup>674</sup> The artful connection of youth apathy, citizenship education and political engagement will continue. Andolina et al. argue, “Youth engagement won’t be boosted in a single stroke. There is no simple solution to apply, no magic tonic to administer, no engagement gene to alter.”<sup>675</sup> Even if citizenship education does not provide the solutions to contemporary problems such as low voter turnout and knowledge it will continue to be trumpeted as the answer to these or other problems. As long as there is a causal story to be created, policies will continue to be defended, developed and implemented. However, all of these policy debates rest on the central challenge of Canadian citizenship education policy – settling on a coherent and engaging message.

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<sup>672</sup> Charles E. Lindblom. “The Science of ‘Muddling Through’” *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 19. No. 2. Spring 1959. Pg. 86

<sup>673</sup> David Clee titled a curriculum survey, “New Oil, Old Lamps”, “because much that will be discussed is not really that new, as the so-called ‘new approaches’ are merely adaptations or modifications of old techniques, methods, and devices which have been tried out over many years.” Clee, Pg. 3

<sup>674</sup> Baumgartner and Jones, Pg. 29

<sup>675</sup> Molly W. Andolina, Krista Jenkins, Cliff Zukin and Scott Keeter. “Habits from Home, Lessons from School: Influences on Youth Civic Engagement” *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Vol. 36. Issue 2. April 2003. Pg. 279

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix A: Ontario Grade 10 Canadian History and Citizenship Aims – 1938**

1. To give an understanding of the importance of Canada's past in relation to her present position and to study the progress made.
2. To show how Canada's history is linked with that of the Empire and related to that of other parts of the world.
3. To promote tolerance, respect and goodwill towards other races and classes.
4. To foster a spirit of unity among the provinces of Canada.
5. To train the pupil to collect, organize, and use information for the purpose of thinking critically and forming conclusions.
6. To show the pupil that institutions are subject to change; that in seeking to effect changes methods of discussion and persuasion should be preferred to methods of force.
7. To lead the pupil to see that he has duties and responsibilities towards his family, his school, his community, his province, the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire.

Source: Government of Ontario. Department of Education. Courses of Study. Grade X. Social Studies. Canadian History and Citizenship. 1938. Pg. 3

Appendix B: Ontario Grade 10 Canadian History and Citizenship “How may we become useful citizens?” – 1938

- (a) By the development of the individual:
  - i. The mind: clear thinking, how to study, planning one's work, hobbies, reading;
  - ii. The body: personal care, games and recreation, agencies promoting health and safety
  - iii. The character: courtesy, self-respect, accepting responsibility, self-reliance, co-operation, emotional control.
- (b) By the use of educational opportunities;
  - i. Schools of various kinds;
  - ii. Museums, libraries, films, etc.
- (c) By vocational fitness;
  - i. Recognition of the dignity of labour;
  - ii. The fields of occupation;
  - iii. Elements of choice one's life-work; self-analysis, usefulness of the work to society.
- (d) By co-operation with the home and other agencies;
  - i. The home – its opportunities and responsibilities;
  - ii. Organizations; Youth groups e.g. Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, C.G.I.T.; Adult groups, e.g. urban service clubs, rural institutes
- (e) By service to the community and the state;
  - i. Contributions to civic beauty – the preservation and improvement of private and public property;
  - ii. The use of the franchise;
  - iii. The critical study of public questions;
  - iv. The use of one's influence to form a sound public opinion;
  - v. The acceptance of public office

Source: Government of Ontario. Department of Education. Courses of Study. Grade X. Social Studies. Canadian History and Citizenship. 1938. Pg. 15-16

#### Appendix C: Ontario History Intermediate Division Aims –1977

1. to develop an understanding of the Canadian identity and societal goals;
2. to develop an understanding of the roots of Canada's cultural heritage;
3. to develop a reasoned pride in Canada;
4. to develop an understanding of civic responsibility;
5. to develop an understanding of fundamental concepts central to the human experience, such as justice, change, diversity, order, individualism, the common good, worth of the individual, concern for others, dignity of labour, tradition, culture;
6. to develop the ability to imaginatively recreate the past;
7. to develop an awareness of the contributions of both women and men of all ages and groups to the development of our country.

Source: Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. History. Intermediate Division. 1977. Pg. 6

#### Appendix D: Ontario Grade 9 or Grade 10 Contemporary Canada: Life in the Twentieth Century Aims – 1987

1. develop an understanding of the Canadian political and legal systems;
2. develop an appreciation of their rights and responsibilities as Canadian citizens;
3. develop the ability to analyze, in historical perspective and in terms of future implications, contemporary issues of concern to Canadians as citizens of Canada and members of the world community;
4. extend the cognitive skills needed to process and communicate information in a variety of contexts.

Source: Government of Ontario. Ministry of Education. History and Contemporary Studies. Intermediate Division. 1987. Pg. 47

#### Appendix E: Ontario Grade 10 Civics Textbooks (listed by Trillium List up to 2006)

*Canadian by Conviction: Asserting Our Citizenship* by Nick Brune, Mark Bulgutch

*Canadian Civics* by John Ruypers, John Ryall

*Citizenship: Issues and Action* by Mark Evans, Rosemary Evans, Michael Slodovnick, Terezia Zoric

*Civics Today* by Jennifer Watt, Ivor Sinfield, Charles Hawkes

*Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society* by Alan Skeoch

### Appendix F: Key Elements of British Columbia Civic Studies 11

Skills and Processes of Civics Studies	Informed Citizenship	Civic Deliberation	Civic Action
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- critical thinking skills</li> <li>- research skills, media literacy</li> <li>- communication and presentation skills</li> <li>- skills and processes of active citizenship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Canadian government and legal system</li> <li>- Political ideologies</li> <li>- International governance</li> <li>- Rights and responsibilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- fundamental principles of democracy</li> <li>- power and influence</li> <li>- values and beliefs</li> <li>- Canadian social safety net</li> <li>- Canada's role in international issues</li> <li>- Changing nature of citizenship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- citizen's role in civic processes and the power of the individual</li> <li>- options for individual or group action</li> <li>- accessing civic-related resources</li> <li>- types and philosophies of civic action</li> <li>- methods of civic discourse and dialogues</li> <li>- ethics in decision making</li> <li>- designing and implementing a plan for civic action on a selected issue</li> </ul>

Source: Government of British Columbia. Ministry of Education. Civic Studies 11. Integrated Resource Package 2005. Pg. 31