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POLITICAL EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

by

Stephanie Rennick

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
Department of Political Science

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May 1993

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POLITICAL EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

submitted by
Stephanie Rennick, B.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

Chair, Department of Political Science

Thesis Supervisor

Carleton University
May 12, 1992

Abstract

The thesis assesses the need for political education to be a mandatory part of the education curriculum in order for students to be active participants of a working democratic system.

The study posits that the effective functioning of our democratic system of government depends increasingly on having a knowledgeable and well-educated population to handle the complex public policy issues as well as everyday public opinion polling that the parties monitor so closely in shaping policies. This is coupled with the fact that the public has become increasingly disillusioned with politics and now displays a dominant mood of cynical negativism. Educators hope that political education can reverse the trend of elite participation and aim at teaching the skills, knowledge and dispositions that will make it possible for people to participate in the political systems should they chose to do so.

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Political Education and Democratic Citizenship

Introduction:

In order to achieve the relatively recent goal of universal literacy, Canada implemented the requirement for universal compulsory schooling. In Manitoba in 1916, the then Minister of Education, R.S. Thornton, defended compulsory school attendance by saying that "boys and girls, the citizens of the future, must be qualified to discharge the duties of citizenship".¹ In short, children were compelled to attend school not only to obtain an education, but also to be taught citizenship. This citizenship training was advocated in 1926 by Vincent Massey who stated: "to the schools we must look for the 'good Canadian'".² In order to produce the 'good Canadian' a mastery of political literacy was needed. This required a democratic citizen to learn the basic political education which was to be enriched by the school.

It wasn't until 1931 that the fundamental mark of a 'good Canadian' was prescribed by Charles Cochrane and William Wallace in This Canada of Ours: An Introduction to Canadian Civics. They defined the 'good Canadian' as "a person who takes an intelligent and active interest in in the government of the country".³ Simply, it entailed, in the first place, keeping oneself well informed on public questions. "The chief source of information about public questions was the press; and the 'good Canadian' would

always make certain that the newspaper he read was reliable and public spirited".⁴ Secondly, the 'good Canadian' would also take an active interest in public affairs, for "the arm chair critic may be full of knowledge, but he was to back this knowledge up with action, or his knowledge was useless".⁵ There were many ways of taking an active part in public life, one could have sought the support of one's fellow-citizens, and become a town councillor, a Member of Parliament, or perhaps a Cabinet Minister. Even if not everyone had the qualities to have a successful public life, they still had the power to choose proper Members of Parliament, and municipal councillors. By this time both women and men could vote, and it was considered almost a religious duty to do so at every election. Patriotic citizens also had the option to work for the candidate or the party of their choice, helping to persuade lazy or indifferent people to vote, and helping to bring them to the polls. Lastly, "the 'good Canadian' of the present and future would continue to recognize the value of his heritage, and cherish the British traditions to which he owed, not merely his institutions, but infinitely more important still, the spirit which would make those institutions work".⁶

These basic tenets of citizenship encompassed in the 'good Canadian' of the 1930s have taken on a new meaning over the years. Today the effective functioning of our

democratic system of government not only requires mere citizenship duties but depends increasingly on having a knowledgeable and well-educated population. Public policy issues have become more and more complex, and people without the background knowledge and the shared cultural and intellectual heritage provided by a good education will be increasingly ill-equipped to make intelligently informed choices. This can affect not only the outcome of elections but also the day to day development of public opinion that political parties monitor so closely in shaping their policies. When people lack the knowledge to understand difficult but important policy issues, it becomes tempting for them either to follow the lead of people they find persuasive or become indifferent to the political process.

Disillusionment with politics in recent times is shown by a study of opinion in 1974:

...a majority of Canadians simply do not like politics or politicians... the general comments on politics were 33% positive and 52% negative. The general comments on politicians were a staggering 78% negative in tone. Politicians tend to be seen by Canadians as 'terrible', or 'crooked', as 'doing a bad job', as 'out for themselves', as 'generally ineffectual'. Government has the same image, attitudes towards it are 75% negative. Similarly, the general comments on parties are 78% negative.

These statistics show that the public displays a dominant mood of 'cynical negativism'. Although Canadians turn out in reasonable numbers for federal and provincial elections, they rarely do anything more political than cast

a ballot. The evidence suggests that the more activity that is demanded, the lower will be the level of participation. "Thus in 1974 88% of Canadians reported that they often or sometimes voted in federal elections, but only 11% ever took part in campaign activities, although of course, in any given federal election something like a quarter of those eligible will not vote at all".⁸ To add to this, the most active forms of political participation are dominated by the middle and upper middle class, just as parliament itself is dominated by male professionals. William Mishler presents the fact that "although lawyers, doctors, businessmen and other professionals constitute fewer than 10% of the Canadian workforce, they occupy almost three-quarters of the seats in the House of Commons".⁹ Blue collar workers, in contrast, comprise "nearly half of the population but hold fewer than 10% of the positions either in local parties or in parliament".¹⁰

It is the hope of some educators that political education can reverse the trend of elite participation. They feel that it is probably too ambitious to hope that a program of political education will produce a generation of activists, but that at least it can aim at teaching the skills, knowledge and dispositions that will make it possible for people to participate in the political system should they choose to do so. One of these educators, Ken

Osborne, has identified two schools of thought on how political education can lead to a more highly politicized citizenry.

The first school of thought saw political education as a way of saving the system. "Alarmed by the persistent findings of alienation, apathy and cynicism among various sections of the population, and especially by the antipathy felt by many people for politics and for politicians, some people hope that through more effective programs of political education the system can be saved".¹¹ Hodgetts and Gallagher made a similar point when they noted that "manifestations of social dislocations and dangerously high levels of tension in Canada are readily apparent".¹² They concluded that "there can be little doubt of the continuing need...to recognize the possible disruption of democracy by internal stress; and to give more intensive consideration to the contribution civic education might make to society".¹³ Clearly this view sees political education as valuable for maintaining and improving the political system.

The second school of thought takes no position on whether the system should or should not be preserved. "It concentrates upon the individual citizen and sees a more broadly based and active political involvement as a matter of simple justice. If this results in radical political change, so be it".¹⁴ The first approach sees a wider

citizen involvement in politics as a way of reducing alienation and cynicism and so preserving the system. The second sees it as simply worthwhile for its own sake. "It accepts the premise of classical democratic theory that participation serves to educate and humanize those who participate".¹⁵ As William Mishler has put it "participation in whatever form is conducive to democracy; it strengthens individual self-esteem, broadens political understanding, and fosters tolerance and respect for political authority".¹⁶ The difference in emphasis in each of the two schools of thought in the political education movement has led writers to support each of them, and develop projects to advance their goals.

This thesis Political Education and Democratic Citizenship seeks to emphasize the first school of thought in which political education should be a mandatory part of the education curriculum in order for students to be active participants of a working democratic system and therefore contribute to 'saving the system'.

Outline of Thesis:

This thesis is divided into three chapters. Chapter One is entitled The Development of Political Education and it begins with a definition of the meaning and importance of the terms political education and democratic citizenship. Political education has had immense significance in classical political thought; therefore the

definition of it must be developed from Plato's The Republic and Aristotle's The Politics. From here, an analysis of the modern definitions of political education helps to demonstrate that most of the general electorate do not possess the knowledge, skills or attitudes necessary to participate effectively in the democratic system. Therefore the need for political education to rectify this situation became most apparent to academics during the 1960s and 1970s. In attempting to do so, they turned primarily to the academic discipline of political science for many of their concepts and frameworks, at least by implication turning away from history, which had long been assigned the main role in citizenship training.

In order to understand the difficulties in establishing a political education program in the school system, two countries and their approaches must be analyzed: a historical overview of the American school system's attempt to politically educate their students through civics courses is contrasted to the model British political education system that was developed by the 'gurus' of political education.

Chapter Two is entitled Political Education in Canada. It first includes: a historical analysis of the Canadian education system during the 'early period' of 1790 to 1967, in which five obstacles to national identity are examined in order to explain Canada's slow start in political

education development. Secondly, the 'modern era' of political education is analyzed beginning in 1968 with the landmark book by A.B. Hodgetts entitled: What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada. In it Hodgetts encouraged other academics to develop approaches towards the teaching of political studies in the Canadian school system. An analysis of the approaches developed by the Canadian Studies Foundation, Mel Hurtig, Joseph Jabbra and Ronald Landes, Marshall Wm. Conley and Ken Osborne will be presented, as well as the most recent advances by the Institute for Research on Public Policy. This institution was responsible for holding a seminar on political education in February 1987, and producing the first book dedicated solely to the field of political education in Canada. Lastly, an analysis of political education in the 1990's will be presented in the form of a survey of elementary and secondary school curriculums from the ten provinces and two territories. The results will serve as a basis for comparing the best and worst political education systems in the different regions within Canada.

Chapter Three is entitled How Political Education can be best accomplished. Included in this analysis is a presentation of the research on political socialization in which particular attention is paid to childhood experiences and how and when the 'political self' is acquired. In these studies it is revealed that in order for political

knowledge and attitudes to be effectively developed a political education program beginning at the elementary level is required. In Manitoba, an example of a working model of political education entitled, 'The Winnipeg based Political Education Project' was developed by Ken Osborne. The aim of the project was to develop classroom materials that effectively taught political studies at both the elementary and secondary school levels. Although this project presented a general framework for developing a political education program, many of the more specific didactics of political education must be analyzed. These include concerns over the 'climate' of the school; the attitudes and values of teachers and the education hierarchy; the character of the curriculum and curriculum materials; and the difficulties encountered by teachers in finding and creating materials that help adapt provincial guidelines into full fledged political science courses. All of this information combined provides the formula to how a political education program can be successfully implemented in the Canadian education system.

Chapter One:

The Development of Political Education

More than two thousand years ago Plato set out to investigate the nature of the good society, wrestling with the problem of whether the good society produces the good citizen or the good citizen produces the good society. The results of the investigation are set out in Plato's The Republic which is still the classic text of political education. Indeed, it can justifiably be described as the first systematic investigation of political education theory in the Western tradition.

In George Sabine's analysis of The Republic, he points out that Plato believed that the state is first and foremost an educational institution. "If virtue is knowledge, it can be taught, and the education system to teach it is the one indispensable part of a good state".¹⁷ From Plato's point of view, "with a good system of education almost any improvement is possible; if education is neglected, it matters little what else the state does".¹⁸ Therefore the achievement of the just society fundamentally rests on extensive political education.

Plato distinguishes between education for the small elite 'guardian class' of society, and education for the masses. He explains this through his story of the allegory of the cave.

On the one hand, political education can refer to a

process of genuine enlightenment, the development of vision and understanding made possible by leading an individual or a group out of the cave of ignorance. This was the intent of the extensive education given to the guardian class, a class limited to those few individuals capable of benefitting from the dazzling brilliance of such education. The masses, on the other hand, should be relegated to a much less profound and more limited education, which could be better termed indoctrination. ...In short political education for the masses is tantamount to indoctrination; only for the elite of society is it true enlightenment.¹⁹

It is Plato's devotion to the role of education and childhood training for instilling appropriate political values in the citizen that fosters the question: how would individual political beliefs affect the stability of political structures? In Plato's terms, "the cyclical degeneration of politics is traceable to defects in political education".²⁰ Therefore the goal of education was the positive means by which the ruler could shape human nature in the right direction to produce a harmonious state.

In Aristotle's The Politics, he advocated a form of mixed government or polity, in which all citizens 'rule or are ruled by turn', and power is monopolized by no particular class.

Aristotle's conception of citizenship involved teaching of a type of political obligation in which distributive justice is found. This principle unites citizen to citizen and all to the state. Therefore the state is a whole and the individuals within it are incomplete until they have taken part in political organization. When that organization is not merely

political but also just, then the citizen may be not only complete, but also fulfilled.²¹

Aristotle states that, as man is a rational animal and, subsequently a political animal, it is inevitable and right that he should seek to fulfill himself through living as a part of a state.²² More specifically, citizenship was restricted to the free man, thereby ruling out women, children, slaves, and farmers who had to work for a living and who did not, therefore, have the native ability or the education or the leisure to engage fully in the task of ruling.²³ When he spoke about the citizen class itself, he stated that they were all equal in their political rights and responsibilities, for a citizen is ruled only by other citizens, all of whom take part and take turns in governing.²⁴

Despite their differences as to the essential qualities of the truly just state, both Plato and Aristotle agreed on two major characteristics. The first was that the political community was seen as the most valuable means for human fulfillment and justice, and the other was that education should be a public function of the polity rather than a private function of family, kinship or religion.

Aristotle states:

No one will doubt that the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of youth, for the neglect of education does harm to the constitution. The citizen should be molded to suit the form of government under which he lives. For each government has a peculiar character which

originally formed and which continues to preserve it. The character of democracy creates democracy and the character of oligarchy creates oligarchy, and always the better the character, the better the government.

....since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public, and not private- not as at present, when everyone looks after his own children, separately, and gives them separate instruction of the sort which he thinks best; the training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belong to himself, for they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole.

That education should be regulated by law and should be an affair of the state is not to be denied, but what should be the character of this public education, and how the young should be educated, are questions which remain to be considered.²⁵

Unfortunately, Aristotle does not explain in his Politics what the proper political education for citizens should be, beyond mentioning the usual elementary subjects taught in most city state schools. It would have been interesting to see what differences he would have prescribed for the education of citizens in each of his types of government; monarchy, aristocracy and constitutional republic.

What Plato began, others continued and many of the great names of political theory are also the great names of educational theory. Some of the most notable philosophers in this area were Locke and Rousseau. "It is also notable

that many educational theorists, although not in the front ranks of political philosophy, nonetheless thought and wrote seriously about political and social issues, among them the Renaissance humanists, Puritan reformers, Enlightenment rationalists and nineteenth century nationalists".²⁶ The work of the education theorists continued to evolve throughout the twentieth century with some focusing specifically on defining the basic tenets of political education.

Modern Definitions of Political Education:

A definition of political education is difficult because in a very real sense all education is political and, to some extent, the phrase political education is a tautology. At the same time, however, it also carries a more specific meaning. Willem Langeveld defines political education as "the acquiring of knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for the study of politics and for participation in the political process".²⁷ All three elements of political education are significant and have to be developed together, each conditioning the other. Mere knowledge does not serve the objectives of political education, which requires effective participation based on appropriate skills and attitudes.

Marshall Wm. Conley takes this definition one step further by defining each of the three components of political education:

Knowledge: the basic information which is prerequisite to understanding the political dimensions of a given context, including the knowledge of what information was lacking and how it may be discovered; a knowledge of basic political concepts; and the knowledge of how to construct analytical frameworks within which to judge political questions.

Skills: Information processing skills, that is the capability to critically analyze and evaluate political information, and to reveal any underlying prejudices or ideologies behind arguments; and action skills, which go beyond analytical and verbal skills and lead to positive action, and the capacity to participate in, and change, political situations.

Attitudes: A politically educated or literate person can take a critical stance towards political information. Lister points out that within the Western tradition it is usual to stress such procedural values as 'freedom, toleration, fairness, and respect for truth and reasoning', which include a capacity to try to see things from the point of view of other groups and persons.²⁸

As measured by these specific elements that compose political education, most of the general electorate do not possess the political knowledge, skills or attitudes necessary to make meaningful decisions. The evidence presented on citizens political apathy and sense of powerlessness can be attributed to the way they have been taught about politics. "Not only have forms of political participation other than voting rarely been discussed, but students have been taught not about what exists but what is supposed to exist. The ideal is preferred to the real".²⁹ The renewed interest in political education has taken the focus back to the real issues of politics. These new

approaches to political education concern themselves with political knowledge, attitudes, values and skills. They have taken the view that political education is crucial for effective democracy.

This meant that several characteristics of the traditional approaches to political education had to be rejected.

They are 1) emphasis on government structures and institutions; 2) the preaching of a particular set of virtues; 3) the avoidance of controversy and conflict; 4) the ignoring of the lessons of what we have learned to call the hidden curriculum; and 5) the avoidance of action.³⁰

In the past, political education or civics relied heavily on factual descriptions of institutions and structures. It seemed

to vacillate between didactic approaches that range between two extremes: those motivated by strong moral, national, or nativist fervor that gave civic education a tone of preachy or pugnacious patriotism; and those that would at all costs avoid political controversy in the schools, and thus turn civic education into pedantic, pallid, platitudinous, or pusillanimous exercises.³¹

The problem with civics was that the student learned nothing about the processes and dynamics of politics. They weren't shown that politics touches everyone directly or indirectly and helps to shape their lives. The most obvious problem with the approach was that it was static and ignored reality. Many students have also become

cynical by the gap between what they are taught and what they are presented via the communications media. Therefore it has been stated that civics and civics education was political education without the politics.

The second term which was often used, citizenship education, was even more a-political. Citizenship education encompassed a whole range of socially useful and desirable qualities that youngsters should acquire. Thus, the "Handbook of Basic Citizenship Competencies categorized the goals of citizenship education under seven headings: acquiring and using information; assessing involvement; making decisions; making judgements; communicating; co-operating; promoting interests".³² Clearly, there is much here that is political, but there is no specific reference to politics or the political system as such. It is true that politics does not have to be equated solely with government, that one can legitimately speak of the politics of the classroom or the family, but the fact remains that these seven 'basic citizenship competencies' will not necessarily entice people to become active members of the political process.

To educate students in the true form of politics, questions of conflict and power have to be addressed. It is conflict that is at the very core of politics, especially in Canada where the political parties draw their parliamentary strength not as much from the country at

large as from particular regions within it. One of the problems is how to teach youngsters about conflict and power in ways that can be understood and which will induce them to become involved. It is here the newer approaches to political education turn to the hidden curriculum of classrooms and schools. "They see politics as involving far more than government; they embrace the whole concept of rules and authority, which in turn, imply power, enforcement, obedience and resistance".³³ Politics can then be seen in the classroom, the family and in encounters among people.

This approach has been described as the politics of 'everyday life'. The most obvious pedagogical advantage is in its concreteness and familiarity to students. A good example is school discipline, which can teach students a good deal about the use and abuse of power and authority.

In most classrooms there is a list of rules outlining the acceptable conduct of behaviour. The message that such rules convey is that students can not be trusted and that above all else they must obey orders. One rule consists of students practicing good citizenship and courtesy to all students, in other words, students must do what they are told.³⁴

It is in environments such as these that children learn to be dependent rather than autonomous, "to assume what psychologists are calling a condition of 'learned helplessness'. They define the teacher's role as one of keeping order, giving instructions and evaluating

performance. There is not much room for efficacy and autonomy-political or otherwise".³⁵ The irony is that one learns to be active by being active. If political education is serious about developing students' involvement and participation, as well as knowledge, it must pay attention to how students learn as well as what they learn. "Research indicates that political competence and efficacy are aspects of a more generalized sense of competence. Persons who feel more effective in their everyday tasks and challenges are more likely to participate in politics".³⁶ Therefore by "simply providing students with the information and skills necessary for participation, they will frequently make such participation personally meaningful".³⁷

As G. Almond and S. Verba said in the Civic Culture:

...if in most social situations the individual finds himself subservient to some authority figure, it is likely that he will expect such authority relationships in the political sphere. On the other hand, if outside the political sphere he has opportunities to participate in a wide range of social decisions, he will probably expect to be able to participate in political decisions as well. Furthermore, participation in non-political decision making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation.³⁸

All of these approaches are continuing to be developed and tested in order to produce an effective political education program. The amount of time devoted to education and to political education differs from country

to country and depends on various factors. In order to understand the difficulties in establishing a political education program in the school system, two countries and their different approaches must be analyzed: first, a historical overview of the American school system's attempts to politically educate their students through civics courses, is contrasted to the model British political education system that was developed by the 'gurus' of political education. In order to highlight the differences between the two countries they both will be analyzed in three areas: 1) the different approaches to political education that have been developed over the decades; 2) the overall result of the programs in place and their outlook for the future; and 3) their influence on the field of political education.

Political Education in the United States

In the first half-century of the Republic, (1770s-1820s), civic education "put preeminent stress upon the inculcation of civic values, relatively less on political knowledge, and made no discernible attempt to develop participatory political skills".³⁹ Learning to participate was left to the political parties, the town meetings, the churches, and the coffee and ale houses. The press did more to disseminate realistic as well as partisan knowledge of government than did the schools.

Political education for the non-elites was "dedicated to inculcating uncritical acceptance of traditional American values which typically emphasized civic virtue, patriotism, and Protestant devotion to duty."⁴⁰ The few who did receive more advanced instruction constituted the civic elite of the time. Educators were intent on developing "a group of capable, practical politicians trained to implement American ideals".⁴¹

In the middle half of the century, (1820s-1870s), educators began to face the difficulties posed by pluralism in the modernization of the new nation. They felt that students had to "understand something of the true nature of the government under which they lived".⁴² Horace Mann, the Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, spelled out the first approach to a political education program in terms that will sound familiar to all teachers of civics since that time:

...the constitution of the United States and of our own State, should be made a study of our Public Schools. The partition of the powers of government into the three co-ordinate branches--legislative, judicial, and executive--with the duties appropriately devolving upon each; the mode of electing or of appointing all officers, with the reason on which it was founded; and, especially, the duty of every citizen, in a government of laws, to appeal to the courts for redress, in all cases of alleged wrong, instead of undertaking to vindicate his own rights by his own arm, and, in a government where the people are the acknowledged sources of power, the duty of changing laws and rulers by an appeal to the ballot, and not by the rebellion, should be taught to all the children until they are fully

understood.⁴³

Although educators admitted that the public schools should teach political education, "they felt they couldn't risk the destruction of the public schools by urging them to become theaters for party politics. Their solution was similar to that which they proposed for religious controversies; the schools should teach the common elements that are agreed to, but skip over the controversial".⁴⁴ Therefore political knowledge was concentrated upon formal structures of government institutions, but the skills of participation were delegated, along with the controversial, to the nonschool agencies of party, press and caucus of adults.

In the fifty years straddling the turn of the twentieth century, (1870s-1920s), conflicting political values began to reveal themselves in different approaches to civic education as educators responded to the modernization of America's polity and economy. The most influential force was the rising movement to make civic education part of social studies. "This movement took place under auspices of the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education whose final report, Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, was published in 1918".⁴⁵ In the final report of the Committee "the term 'social studies' was used to include not only history, civics, and

government but also concepts from sociology and economics that related directly to the organization of society and man as a member of social groups. It also most importantly reduced the political concerns of civic education in favor of social and economic and practical personal problems".⁴⁶ It was with this that the terms civics education had taken on the new name of 'citizenship education' and changed the focus away from political education.

In the ensuing fifty year period, (1920s-1970s), many attempts to reform and break out of the social studies cycle and develop a better civic education program were witnessed. Under the driving force of Charles Merriam, a massive series of international studies on citizenship and civic education were completed in the early 1930s. In these he became aware that, "in most nations, citizen training was used to keep governments in power, especially to assist authoritarian regimes".⁴⁷ But for him the underlying issue was "the citizenship training for a democratic society was not self-generating but had to be effectively constructed".⁴⁸ He wanted an effort made towards making civic education "more realistic, while at the same time not embracing the extremes of radical-sounding reconstructionism or reactionary radical-baiting".⁴⁹ This led civic educators back to the basic ideals of democracy, like those of Horace Mann, and to

activities that would involve students in community participation but no controversy.

This concern with community participation was epitomized in 1950, when education for good citizenship became popular in school systems across the country. This approach was useful in making available "solid political knowledge and reversing the usual subordination of the political so common in other approaches. Its stress was on participation skills, which it identified in the neutral term 'laboratory practices', so as not to be charged as politically controversial".⁵⁰ Hundreds of laboratory practices detailed how teachers and students could engage in action-oriented problem solving in the schools and in the community. Workshops and training programs were conducted across the country for hundreds of schools and thousands of teachers during the 1950s.

The experiments of the 1950s led academics to be even more inventive in their approaches to political education during the 1960s and 1970s. These new projects represented one very significant approach to reforming civic education, they had brought up to date knowledge, concepts and evidence from the discipline of political science into existing elementary and secondary school courses in civics and government.

E. Fenton was the first academic to use the discipline of political science as the source for his 'concept

approach' to political education. In 1966 a program entitled 'Comparing Political Systems', "used the selection of fundamental concepts combined with questions involving analysis to arrive at what was described as 'analytical concepts', which were the basis of the curriculum... this particular program was organized around five major concepts: leadership, decision making, institutions, ideology, and citizenship".⁵¹ For Fenton the usefulness of these concepts lay in the questions which they generated, since each of these concepts can be further subdivided and can generate as many questions as necessary. The important point was Fenton's insistence that in politics, and the social sciences the student must be taught these 'analytical questions'. At the same time simply knowing what questions to ask was not enough unless one also had some skills in asking them. More than any other program, "this program had systematized the whole method of inquiry and had taught the student how to formulate their own political questions and have a richer awareness of the political world".⁵²

After implementing the program Fenton concluded that it suffered from a major weakness; "it required a process of full formal operational thought- the ability to hypothesize, to see all possibilities in a situation, to relate evidence to inference, and so forth".⁵³ This meant

the program was formulated at a level which youngsters often found unnecessarily difficult.

Fenton felt he could rectify this by working with Lawrence Kohlberg in applying his moral reasoning and moral development theories to political education. The product of this collaboration was the moral development approach. "It sees the cognitive process broken down into higher and lower stages with the higher stages being more desirable and ethical than lower ones. It is alleged, for example, that the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights can be understood only by people who have attained higher stages in cognitive development".⁵⁴ Kohlberg argued that "the higher principled types of reasoning are ethically and epistemologically better than the lower stages. The higher stages signify a concern for social contract, equality, liberty and more generally the principles of justice that a democracy presumably aspires to attain".⁵⁵ According to the theory, students will discover inadequacies in their reasoning as they confront persons who reason at higher stages and therefore will advance from lower to higher stages in their learning. Although the teaching strategy which Kohlberg proposed for helping students to attain the higher levels is useful with any content in which there are human dilemmas, "it is operationalized in political education by confronting students with civic dilemmas and

asking them to choose solutions and discuss them with their peers".⁵⁶ The problem teachers found with this approach was "they didn't have the time to pursue a rigorous examination of underlying value positions".⁵⁷ Therefore "it has only been institutionalized in 14 states as of the 1980s".⁵⁸

In 1972 another conceptual approach that became notable was presented by H. Mehlinger and J.J. Patrick entitled the 'American Political Behaviour' approach. This analysis focused not on systems, but on behaviour, ie. why people act and think politically. "It dealt with the relationship between political behaviour and social forces and uses such concepts as political culture, political socialization, class and status and finally role and decision making".⁵⁹ From this conceptualization emerged a course at the grade 9 level consisting of 5 units:

- "1) introduction to the study of political behaviour,
- 2) similarities and differences in political behaviour,
- 3) elections and voting behaviour, 4) political decision makers, 5) unofficial political specialists".⁶⁰

The problem with this approach was that it wasn't widely recognized by education specialists and therefore was only implemented in a limited number of states.

Political Education was taken further again in 1974 by a project sponsored by the American Political Science Association, called 'Comparing Political Experiences'.

This project was the first systematic attempt in using the school itself as an object of political analysis, in other words a 'political laboratory'.

The school is viewed as a microcosm of political life and everyday experiences in leadership and decision-making which are utilized both for study and for participation by students. In this way the students' everyday life experiences in the school governance activities are tapped for multiple instructional purposes.⁶¹

Therefore this project examined the school as a political institution in which decision-making, leadership, communication and participation occurred. There was particular emphasis placed on participation and its teaching. For example, "students can act as participant-observers in decision-making situations, interview relevant leaders, or make changes in student organizations in order to determine how alternative forms of political organization work".⁶² They were also taught to conceptualize, rehearse and put into practice different styles of behaviour and participation in student clubs and other school organizations and then to reflect upon their experiences. Eventually they would have the opportunity to move outside the school and practice what they had been taught in various community settings.

Shortly after 'Comparing Political Experiences' was created, the community involvement approach was invented. The community involvement approach was

concerned that curricula tended to isolate

students from experiences in the 'real world', advocates of community involvement try to move students into the nonschool community in order to observe the social process as it occurs, to render volunteer service in social agencies, to create new youth-operated programs, to participate in electoral politics and community organizations and to participate in other forms of direct citizen action.⁶³

Involvement and participation are emphasized as an example of the real world. This approach was a reaction to the traditional idea that political education had to do with training students to do something in the future, as adult citizens. Therefore, community involvement programs advocated putting students into the community where they learned by doing. The problems with this approach were numerous; first "a lot of background preparation for students was needed and the administration viewed this as a risky approach to replace traditional programs. Second, students spent a lot of time away from the school, and lastly, it wasn't applicable to elementary and junior high school students".⁶⁴ With these problems in tact "only 7 states have institutionalized this approach".⁶⁵

After educators analyzed the practical aspects of political education, they began to question the link between political learning and the hidden curriculum within the schools. The institutionalized school reform approach advocates reforming the school because

the hidden curriculum which includes the organizational design and general quality of school life may have more impact on political education than the academic

program. They believe that the knowledge, skills and attitudes requiring of participating responsible citizens cannot be taught in authoritarian institutions by autocratic teachers. For them, students are citizens who should be allowed to participate in a meaningful way in making decisions about school governance and policies.⁶⁶

The problem perceived with this approach was the fact it was seen "as risky by teachers and parents and those who believe in strict discipline and a hierarchically arranged authority structures. They didn't feel comfortable with students taking major responsibility for their own educational development. As well there was only modest evidence that indicated that students would become more competent just as a function of participating".⁶⁷

The last four approaches were presented by Fred M. Newmann in the report of the 'National Task Force on Citizenship Education' in 1977. They have only just received attention during the 1980s by being implemented with varying importance across the state education systems. The first approach was the Law-related education approach. It is considered to be an important subset or category of political education.

The earliest forms of law related education emphasized the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the structure of federal, state and local governments- often in a ninth-grade civics course or a latter course in American government. More recently a major national effort, supported by such groups as the American Bar Association and the Constitutional Rights Foundation, have tried to revitalize and expand the teaching of these fundamentals of legal process.⁶⁸

What has made this approach important is the fact that the content is comfortable for traditional teachers who implicitly understand that civics education is deficient without some grounding in the law. As well as the material that can be inserted into existing courses or stand on their own as separate courses in legal process. The latest techniques in "teaching ie. games, simulation, role plays, mock trials and case studies are among the multiple strategies incorporated into the learning packages".⁶⁹ It is presently "instituted in 30 states across the country"⁷⁰ and will continue to be a vital part of political education in the future.

The second approach, social problems draws its content from persistent and pressing social problems- "poverty, racism, drug abuse, pollution, crime, discrimination and so on. The strategy behind this course is chosen for its usefulness in helping students think about and consider alternative solutions to critical problems which affect all citizens. It has however been institutionalized in a course called problems of democracy."⁷¹ In its pure form the social problems approach is sharply divergent from the traditional approach. Controversial topics are deliberately selected, no attempt is made to gloss over past or present inadequacies in public policy, the real rather than the ideal is featured. The problem found was "that

controversial aspects of the approach tended to be avoided and teachers often overlaid their own preferred values on the content".⁷² Social problems will probably never become the core political education curriculum, since it is quite removed from what is typically taught.

Many approaches relying upon teaching 'how to think' were undertaken in the 1960s and there are today several conceptions and typologies. The critical thinking approach of today strives to develop the critical citizen:

a critical citizen is portrayed as someone who cannot be deceived or manipulated by leaders and the media but who reaches autonomous conclusions and can rationally justify them to others. To arrive at this point, the citizen needs to learn a thinking process that helps distinguish among different types of issues, a process that offers a method for testing and evaluating empirical claims, logical inferences, definitional statements value judgements and so on.⁷³

Seperate courses on critical thinking are rare; the requisite skills, if taught at all, are taught usually in connection with a particular subjects such as history, economics or social problems. The problems continue when "few teachers are trained in this methodology and few textbooks available are dependent upon it. It isn't likely it will change the quality of political education in any significant way".⁷⁴

The fourth approach, values clarification, "helps students discover what they value by making their own decisions in various dilemmas and trying to determine

whether their decisions were actually freely arrived at, with due consideration of alternatives".⁷⁵ The whole intent of the approach is to give students a systematic way of thinking about their own value positions. "Any value position is supportable as long as students understand the consequences of their value, are willing to state them to others, and consistently choose the same values across issues".⁷⁶ It is obvious values clarification could not constitute the total political education curriculum; as well it may not make serious inroads on traditional programs, but "it has been institutionalized in 38 states".⁷⁷

Although much interesting and valuable knowledge was achieved in these approaches, no consistent one had been implemented that focused specifically upon political education. Such approaches as value clarification and moral development were potentially useful and personally rewarding but did not concentrate on the political part of political education. While approaches such as social problems and critical thinking provided political knowledge they did not give the political skills needed to participate effectively in the democratic system. The last approaches of law-related education and community involvement were considered a mere revival of civics learning.

Although many academics as of the 1980s had responded to this challenge of reform with new experimental approaches to political education, many critics felt that they were once again displacing traditional civics by offering political education without the politics. The states responded to these political demands that something ought to be done about political education by implementing:

- 1) Statutes in 45 states prescribe the study of constitutions, 41 of both federal and state constitutions and four of the federal constitutions only.
- 2) Statutes in 38 states require study of civics and government in some form.
- 3) 41 states prohibit graduation from high school for any students who have not taken the required courses on constitution or history of government.⁷⁸

Several new trends in state legislation and regulations have been observed, as reported by LeAnn Meyer in her analysis for the Education Commission of the States. She reported that "since 1983, about one-half of the states have taken action of some kind related to political education, usually requiring a course or a unit on some topic of politics".⁷⁹ A second trend that Meyer reported was the recent legislative stampede to require tests of minimum competency in the basic skills for high school graduation. "Of the 36 states that have initiated such programs, a research study by the Education Commission of the States indicates that 10 states have included politics as one of the subjects to be tested".⁸⁰

The evidence from the late 1980s recognized the fact that although a multiplicity of approaches to teaching political education had been developed, no consistent one had been implemented. In order too rectify this situation a number of encouraging new initiatives have been mounted on behalf of improving political education. The most prevalent and important one is a new found collaboration between the federal government, state governments, private foundations, not-for-profit educational organizations, professional associations and academics. Their goal is to develop a cohesive political education program that will provide their students with more political knowledge in order for them to be more active members of society. With these new efforts the outlook for the future of political education in the United States looks encouraging. It may only be a short time before it has perfected an effective political education program like that of Britain.

Political Education in Britain

Unlike the American civics education system, the British political education program hasn't had a variety of approaches to its effective establishment. Once it overcame various problems during the classical period of the education system, its focus turned to a gradual continuum of change in which all those associated with education became proponents of political education.

During the 'classical period', (1920-1960), those arguing for the teaching of politics and for political education in the secondary schools were voices crying in the wilderness. "They included Victor Gollancz (1918), Michael Stewart (1938), Hugh Gaitskell (1939) and Margaret Cole (1942)".⁸¹ There were also three organizations campaigning for political education- 1) the New Education Fellowship "was part of the progressive movement, and had famous supporters like Bertrand Russell and Tagore, and its sphere of influence included the progressive private schools, like Bedales, Dartington Hall and Summerhill".⁸² 2) The Association for Education in Citizenship was established by a professional organization led by a group of eminent scholars and public figures.⁸³ 3) The Council for Education in World Citizenship was founded

against the background of the rise of totalitarianism in Europe in 1934 by a group of leading educationalists and statesmen. Although the membership was split between those favouring the direct and explicit teaching of politics and those who didn't, the latter eventually won out. The reason for this was that they wanted to preserve British parliamentary institutions rather than to spread wider notions of democratic learning and citizenship.⁸⁴

None of these organizations had an operational base in the schools due to the fact they couldn't get their ideas or publications into the education system.

In spite of the attempts of some eminent political and social scientists in the 1930s to arouse public concern

over the lack of political education, the official view continued to be hostile to any direct approach. Report after report reached the same conclusions. The Spens Report in 1938 again favoured the indirect method.

The importance of history, and in particular recent history for its own sake is obvious, moreover, since with pupils under 16 the theoretical discussion of economic questions is impractical, and the objections to the direct discussion of current political questions are considerable, recent political and economic history is the best introduction to the study of politics. Not only does it supply the necessary information, but it can also be taught so as to induce a balanced attitude which recognizes differing points of view and sees the good on both sides...it is in this way, by precept or still more by the breadth of their own sympathies, that teachers can best educate pupils to become citizens of a modern democratic country.⁸⁵

The Norwood Report of 1943 laid even more emphasis on the importance of good citizenship but was explicit in its denial that politics could be taught, except incidentally, in any systematic way before the age of sixteen. "Nothing but harm can result, in our opinion, from attempts to interest pupils prematurely in matters which imply the experience of an adult".⁸⁶ They felt it was through history that the best contribution could be made in schools to the growth of an informed democratic citizenry.

Even as recently as 1967 the Department of Education and the Schools Council still had remarkable faith in the efficacy of history teaching. "Even pessimists argue that...it will be as well to give (the next generation) as

good a political education as may be, which means giving it an education in history".⁸⁷

Professional activity in the field of political education became one of pervasive stagnation during the classical period. In the field of publications, "no book specifically on political education had been written since pre-war days; nor did any professional journal exist. Articles on political education in any educational journals during the two post-war decades were few in number. Even the buoyant school-book trade did not dare to venture beyond the safe descriptions of central and local government institutions in its politics texts".⁸⁸

Where political education occurred at all, it was in one of two forms: 1) Civics courses:

This course is concerned with a description of the mechanics of central and local government and prescriptive of the conformist and deferential participation of the good citizen as a voter. So long as such participation was at some distance removed from the school-leaving age and the institutions described were remote and seemingly irrelevant, such courses were doomed to achieve only very limited success.⁸⁹

2) The British Constitution course was "an analysis of the important aspects of the system of government, as well as some knowledge of the historical development of the constitution since 1832. A familiarity with current issues and proposals for change within the present system were also expected of the student".⁹⁰ Frequently, it was seen as a soft option subject, valuable more as a mere step to

the next educational level than for its challenge or intrinsic value.

The problem with both these courses was their concern with procedural and institutional descriptions which were far removed from the real world of politics. Therefore this neglect of political education created a situation in which the majority of pupils leaving school at the age of sixteen were ignorant of even the most basic political issues and subsequently had no preparation for even a minimal involvement in political activity.

The 'Modern era' in British political education began by addressing this neglect with new debates about the need for political education. It had been noted that since the 1950s no real lead had been given either by the ministry or by any private associations in addressing this problem. "This changed on the 14th of April 1967, when a letter was published in the correspondence columns of the daily newspaper, The Guardian, deploring the state of political education in Britain and recommending courses of action to improve the situation. This included: the establishment of a professional association to provide the service for political studies that the Historical Association, for example, had provided for history".⁹¹ A number of approaches were made without success. The breakthrough eventually occurred when Bernard Crick, then Professor at Sheffield University, recognized the

importance of the projected organization. In turn, "he stimulated the waning powers of the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government to arrange a conference of interested teachers at University College London in the autumn of 1969. For all intents and purposes the Politics Association came into existence at that conference, though formally a year later with Professor Crick as president and Derek Heater as chairman".⁹²

The success of the Politics Association was seen through its constant pressure to change the curriculum. It was responsible for a change away from the 'British Constitution' course and towards an approach based on political science as it had been developing in higher education. "This involved...emphasizing actual political behaviour and including informal and non-governmental political organizations such as pressure groups, the mass media, political parties etc."⁹³

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to focus on the Politics Association in isolation. There were four other areas of change that helped the political education movement gain momentum. First, in the 1960s politics was rapidly emerging as an accepted discipline in universities and graduates were therefore becoming available in appreciable numbers to teach in schools. As well two Universities had recognized the particular importance of political education by making direct provision. "The

University of York had set up the 'Political Education Research Unit', under the direction of Professor Ian Lister, and had established a Joint Honours Degree in Politics and Education. As well, the University of London Institute of Education had decided to establish a 'Lectureship in Education' with particular reference to political education".⁹⁴

Secondly, the movement towards establishing political education was further enhanced in 1972-1973 when the statutory school leaving age was raised to 16 while, at the same time the legal age of majority was lowered to 18.⁹⁵ "Lowering the age of enfranchisement by three years was dramatic enough to enhance the country's consciousness about political education. But taken together with the raising of the minimum school-leaving age, the case against political education built upon the argument of immaturity was utterly demolished".⁹⁶ It was now possible for pupils to vote in elections; and even those who left school at the first opportunity would be eligible to vote only two years after leaving the classroom.

Thirdly, the growth in writing, and to a lesser extent broadcasting, on the subject began to flourish during this time. In 1969 the publication by Methuen Education of the first book on the subject was a collection of essays edited by Derek Heater entitled the Teaching of Politics. It was important in assisting the breakthrough to greater

activity, and thought, which continued during 1971-75 when three further books were published. F.W.G. Benemy's 1974 Teaching British Government; Political Studies: A Handbook for Teachers by Tom Brennan in 1975; and Political Education in a Democracy by Harold Entwistle in 1971. Finally, to provide background for a series of radio broadcasts, Tom Brennan and Johnathan Brown 1975 edited a booklet entitled Teaching Politics: Problems and Perspectives. It provided a valuable indication of the state of political education in Britain in the mid-1970s.

Just as books discussing political education flowered after the barren 1950s and 1960s, so articles, both journalistic rhetoric and academic analysis, flowed from the late 1960s onward. Material had been published in a variety of journals, though the most important sources, not surprisingly, have been Teaching Politics and the International Journal of Political Education for the more substantial articles and the Times Educational Supplement for the more ephemeral pieces. "Beyond print there had been some use made of local radio; one or two radio interviews about the Politics Association; and one of a series of eleven television programs entitled Politics Now screened by the BBC in the early weeks of 1976 were devoted to political education".⁹⁷

Lastly, in 1974 the Politics Association, jointly with the Hansard society for Parliamentary Government, received

a grant from the Nuffield Foundation to launch a 'Program for Political Education'. "It wasn't until 1978 that the report of the working party of the Hansard's Society's program for political education was complete and entitled Political Education and Political Literacy".⁹⁸ It was this project that established the British 'gurus' of political education, such names as: Bernard Crick, Derek Heater, Robert Stradling, Ian Lister, and Alex Porter.

It was here that the first of many different approaches towards political education were developed. The 'gurus' of political education offered "a series of working papers, theories and proposals which were developed, modified and even contradicted by the experiences of teachers in collaborating schools seeking to put the suggestions into practice. The only provisions were that no approach should be so inflexible as to rule out other approaches or negate the objectives of political education".⁹⁹

This project's overall focus was to move the emphasis of political education away from a subject narrowly concerned with state-centered and constitutional affairs. "The project proposed, that political education should be available to all pupils in school either explicitly in the form of courses or modules concerned with politics, or infused through other curriculum areas such as geography, english and history".¹⁰⁰

More significantly, the proposals of the Program for Political Education shifted the stress away from the transmission of knowledge towards the development of skills and attitudes. "The aim of political education should be to develop political literacy... a compound of knowledge, skills and attitudes to be developed together, each one conditioning the other two".¹⁰¹ With this political literacy the ultimate goal was to prepare the citizenry for an active and committed role in a participatory democracy.

The first approach towards developing political literacy was developed by Bernard Crick. He felt that a politically literate person should have the knowledge of basic political concepts. "Its main feature was that it didn't have to go beyond the language of everyday life because it utilizes the study of politics as consisting of three elements: government, people and the relationships between them".¹⁰²

While this approach proved to be useful in many contexts, it was less appropriate to the analysis of issues in the political system. Robert Stradling offered an alternative arrangement to concepts in his issue-based approach. He defines an issue as:

a disagreement over policy goals, values, methods and/or results. Such disagreements would arise when members of a group realize that they may be affected by a decision in a way that strikes them as unfair and not inevitable. An issue is political only if it creates the kind of conflict with the group

which threatens the continued existence of that group.¹⁰³

He saw five ways in which teachers can select issues. "The first three are objective measures: the findings of national opinion polls, use of the media of national and local level and material issued by a political party in the form of manifestos, electoral addresses and party policy broadcasts. The last two are more subjective: they are the politics of everyday life, selected by teachers or pupils".¹⁰⁴ Therefore issues are selected by a clearly stated criteria, not the whim or prejudice of a teacher.

The last approach developed by Ian Lister was entitled the procedural values approach. He saw "political literacy not purporting to be value free but rather included and dependent on a particular set of attitudes... The underlying attitudes are defined as procedural values for they are intended to provide a guide to one's political behaviour without prescribing one's substantive political beliefs".¹⁰⁵ The five procedural values were "freedom, toleration, fairness, respect for truth and respect for reasoning".¹⁰⁶ The working curriculums of the procedural values approach were offered much as were those using the same as the basic concepts approach.

The political literacy approach to political education represented a clearly articulated theory of politics, based on the conceptual, procedural, issue-centered approach. The conclusions drawn from this analysis "were that the

political literacy approach embodied the most practical and generally acceptable approach to political education. As well it provided illustrative material in the form of sample syllabuses and teaching units intended for specific levels".¹⁰⁷ Consequently, in the course of development work, many teachers and educators elaborated on these concepts in a wide range of teaching contexts.

In light of the vast curriculum developments made possible by this project, "as of 1982 just over half of the secondary schools in England and Wales were providing some direct form of political education, according to a national survey. The survey showed that more and more schools were introducing politics as a compulsory but non-examined element of the curriculum...Only one in five not providing any kind of political education".¹⁰⁸ The survey was the first of its kind, and was "the first part of a project on political education sponsored by the Curriculum Review Unit, a joint unit of the Hansard Society and London University's Institute in Education. It was based on information gathered from a random 10 per cent sample of the secondary schools in both England and Wales in 1979-1980".¹⁰⁹

The research team, led by Dr. Robert Stradling, found that:

just over a fifth of schools had courses
solely concerned with political education,
30 percent inserted self-contained units

into more general courses; and 71 percent claimed to make indirect provisions integrating it into other subjects.¹¹⁰

It has become abundantly clear that political education has become a sophisticated program in the British education system. It has been due to the unrelenting work of the Politics Association, as well as academics in this field, that the political education program in Britain has become a model to be envied by other countries striving for the same goal.

The information drawn from the analysis of both countries shows, that the establishment of a political education program is not easy. Neither is there an ideal or a standard practice between countries. While the American education system is still battling to institutionalize a standard political education program, the British are now perfecting their system with an increasing number of schools offering political education each year. The British political education system has proven to have the staying power required for the future, while the American system had established the infrastructure necessary for support of further experiments and reforms to develop an effective program.

The influence of these two countries on the field of political education has been substantial. They have provided the ideas behind a three point formula that will aid any country in producing an effective political

education program. First, there must be a group devoted to establishing political education in the education system, like that of the Politics Association in Britain. Second, there has to be a collaborative effort among academics in the development of different approaches to political education. Lastly, the educational hierarchy of political parties, governments, ministries of education, school boards, departments of education, individual schools and teachers, must have the initiative to experiment and implement the most effective programs developed. Only with these three building blocks will a country succeed in producing an outstanding political education program.

Chapter Two:

Political Education in Canada

Although contemporary political education programs in Canada reflect the most rapid period of developments ever recorded in education history in this country, the result is by no means comparable to the wide-reaching scope of political education in Britain or the massive experimentation in the United States. Canada's problem in establishing a political education program began early in the history of the Canadian education system during the period prior to 1967. It was at this time that the educational institutions were seen as unable to foster a sense of national awareness or national identity.¹¹¹ Without a strong sense of national identity the teaching of a distinct Canadian political ideology and subsequent Canadian political knowledge, attitudes and skills was seen as nearly impossible. It is in analyzing the history of the Canadian education system that five obstacles to national identity can be shown to explain Canada's slow start in political education development.

The most prominent obstacle has been the American and British influences over the Canadian education system. They overshadowed the growth of Canadian nationalism up until the 1950s. Historically, these outside influences began as early as the 1790s when concerns were being expressed about the undesirable influence of American teachers and

textbooks in the schools of Upper Canada.¹¹² It was pointed out that American teachers, "used their own schoolbooks...and tinctured the minds of their pupils with their own political views".¹¹³ This was still the case nearly half a century later, when concerns about American books reached its peak: "in 1847... half the books used in the Canadian schools came from the United States".¹¹⁴ In an attempt to reduce this influence from the South, Irish National Readers were substituted for the American textbooks.¹¹⁵ These were not viewed as improvements in fostering Canadian nationalism, since the Readers "emphasized British literature, and history and civics were oriented towards a reverence for the achievements of the mother country and her national heroes".¹¹⁶

George Brown, editor of the Toronto Globe, took strong exception to the Irish National textbooks, asserting that "these Canadian provinces are not to be ruled according to the colonial ideas of the Superintendent... but on enlightened national principles".¹¹⁷ Brown tried in vain to unite the citizens of the province to fight for the development and defence of Canadian textbooks.¹¹⁸ But Upper Canada and the other English speaking provinces didn't share this concern, since they regarded themselves as provinces of the British Empire, not of a united Canadian nation.¹¹⁹ Therefore "when loyalty was stressed in the

schools... it was loyalty to the British throne and British institutions, not to anything distinctly Canadian".¹²⁰

The Confederation of the British North American provinces in 1867 brought little change to education in Canadian schools; it simply made it a provincial concern. Robert Stamp in his analysis of Confederation felt that

the orientation of political education in Canadian schools might have changed if the Fathers of Confederation had assigned control of education to the new federal government, rather than leaving it under provincial jurisdiction. This might have given Canadians national goals and aspirations in education and therefore made it possible for Canadian schools to do more to develop a national identity, ...rather than supporting imperial loyalty in English-speaking Canada and provincial loyalty in French-speaking Canada.¹²¹

After Confederation, instead of the provinces developing their own political autonomy and identity, they chose to enhance the country's membership in the British Empire by using the schools for patriotic purposes. "Children from coast-to-coast received a daily dose of flag-saluting, allegiance-pledging, and patriotic songs and poems. Yet, it was imperial loyalty that was stressed, not Canadian nationalism".¹²² The epitome of British imperialism and Canadian education was developed by George Ross and entitled 'Empire Day', which was the annual patriotic rite for youngsters in English-speaking Canada throughout the first half of the twentieth century.¹²³ In analyzing this time period historian Arthur Lower

concluded: "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 school to an unending steeping in the liquid of imperialism".¹²⁴

Canadian achievements during World War I seemed to promise some hope for those interested in promoting a stronger national identity. Canada gained political autonomy through the Balfour Declaration in 1926 and the Statute of Westminster in 1931, but was not able to achieve cultural autonomy. Once again the influence of the United States was felt when it became responsible "for over 70 percent of foreign investment in Canada and had also been viewed as a major cultural threat".¹²⁵ For many Canadian school children the lure of American popular culture appealed to them most during the 1940s and 1950s. Many critics felt that this "American domination of the mass media meant that many children were being socialized to American rather than Canadian political values, and this in turn threatened the emergence and maintenance of a distinct Canadian identity".¹²⁶ To support this "studies revealed that Canadian schoolchildren already knew more about the history, politics and cultural symbols of the United States than about their own country. Subsequently, educational authorities urged the inclusion of more Canadian studies in the school curricula".¹²⁷

These external pulls on the loyalty of Canadian youth were accompanied by internal strains. "History, civics and social studies had different emphasis and different purposes in the schools of English and French speaking Canada. The result had been an inability on the part of Canadian schools to help develop in students a Canadian identity".¹²⁸ For students in Quebec, "although english history was taught in the schools, it was regarded as foreign history, in the same way as that of France or the United States".¹²⁹ The differences in history textbooks within Canada's two cultural communities also produced problems. In the 1940s Charles Bilodeau concluded a study with the observation that "textbooks in the French language failed to do justice to the contributions of English Canadians and that textbooks in the English language were similarly deficient in presenting the contributions of French-speaking Canadians".¹³⁰ Similar conclusions were reached by the Parent Commission in Quebec in 1965¹³¹ and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1968¹³².

While the Parent Commission recommended a common Canadian history syllabus for both French and English-speaking schools¹³³, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism rejected "an authorized version of Canadian duality"¹³⁴ and instead urged the textbook authors to possess the attributes of "scholarly competence and an

ever-present awareness of the probability of a restricted point of view".¹³⁵ By 1967 it was found that "the very significant differences in subject content which these studies exposed illustrated that Canada's two founding nations' schools never shared a common national mythology,"¹³⁶ and therefore contributed to the lack of Canadian identity.

The modern era of political education in Canada sought to rectify the neglect of a Canadian national identity and subsequent distinctly Canadian teaching materials, when both Canadian studies and Canadian identity became 'new' and contentious topics. The centennial celebrations of 1967 seemed to crystalize the feelings and attitudes of Canadians into a new sense of identity. In the field of education, a growing number of educators became concerned about the teaching of Canadian studies in the nation's schools. Few realized how neglected Canadian affairs had been until the publication of What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada. The report had been prepared from data gathered by the staff of the National History Project and written by A.B. Hodgetts, the Director of the Project, working in cooperation with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.¹³⁷ "It was the result of a two year fact-finding investigation into the teaching of Canadian history, social studies and civics in the elementary and secondary schools of all ten provinces".¹³⁸

In essence, What Culture? What Heritage? was an assessment of civic education, that is, "the influence of formal instruction in developing the feelings and attitudes of young Canadians toward their country and its problems, and the knowledge on which these attitudes were based".¹³⁹ The investigation was motivated by the belief that "the quality of civic education in any nation was an important factor in molding that nation's future".¹⁴⁰

Hodgetts' final report summarized the many problems with civic education in Canada under the subheading 'a labyrinth of confusion and inefficiency'.¹⁴¹ He begins by stating that

in the nearly 1,000 classrooms that I visited the teaching of our young people about Canada and its problems was antiquated. The courses of study in Canadian history were based on the interests and concerns that preoccupied academic historians of the 1920s. These courses lacked any contemporary meaning... Teachers were teaching a bland, unrealistic consensus version of the past; a dry-as-dust chronological story of uninterrupted political and economic progress told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history. (He also found that) a great majority of students in all parts of Canada spent their time in the Canadian studies classroom trying to memorize the discrete, unpatterned and therefore all but meaningless facts of a dead past... The psychological or sociological motives for voting, the influence of the mass media, the roles of political parties, the effects of lobbying and pressure groups, the decision-making processes, the importance of bureaucracies, power elites and other factors that bring politics to life seldom get into the Canadian studies classroom. (He felt that the) cynicism of many of our young people toward politics was caused by the unrealistic, oversimplified courses of study in civics.¹⁴²

Hodgetts concluded that "the majority of english-speaking high school graduates leave the Canadian studies classroom without the intellectual skills, the knowledge and the attitudes they should have to play an effective role as citizens in present-day Canada".¹⁴³ For this sad state of affairs, all were responsible: teachers, universities, teacher-training institutions, and ministries of education. Hodgetts found that most importantly schools were starved of Canadian materials and using teaching methods that were universally condemned and outdated. Hodgetts' basic prescription for reform was the establishment of a Canadian Studies Consortium, an

interprovincial but politically independent organization to be sanctioned by the Council of Ministers of Education for the purpose of serving as a data bank and clearinghouse for the activities of several regional centers exclusively concerned with the development of Canadian studies materials and teaching strategies.¹⁴⁴

In line with Hodgetts' recommendation, the Canada Studies Foundation (CSF) was established in March 1970 with the general aim of improving the quality of Canadian studies mainly at the elementary and secondary school levels over a five-year period.¹⁴⁵ By 1973, nearly fifty teams were functioning in all ten provinces,¹⁴⁶ and a growing number of both commercial and non-commercial materials were being produced.

By the end of 1975, critics started to find many problems with the CSF. They felt that "inadequate attention was given to the development and articulation of a strong philosophical and operational framework".¹⁴⁷ The evidence of such a weakness was provided by one of the founders who referred to the CSF "as essentially a rescue squad designed to sweep away decades of bad teaching of Canadian history and civics in the elementary and secondary schools of Canada".¹⁴⁸ Rescue squads attend to crises and provide short-term emergency help. This was hardly an encouraging basis for re-thinking the style and content of Canadian studies education.

Another evidence of weakness was the resources which were developed. The "CSF hadn't been concerned with developing a total curriculum in Canadian studies. Rather it had been hoped that the work of its projects might 'seed', enrich or supplement existing curriculum".¹⁴⁹ Therefore, too often the resources "were limited in their transferability because of narrow conceptualization or the unavailability of the means to develop them into a format which would make widespread distribution and use conceivable".¹⁵⁰ The CSF Annual Report for 1975 verified this analysis of the problem by stating: "Future projects, in accordance with new guidelines, will be organized on a country-wide basis rather than regionally as they have been up to now; they will be more specifically coordinated to

focus on national issues, nation-wide perspectives and inter-regional comparisons".¹⁵¹

Even though there were many criticisms of the CSF, there were also many helpful secondary effects, like providing much needed resources for the whole educational hierarchy.

Hundreds of classroom teachers gained a measure of expertise in curriculum development. Thousands of students in the project schools benefitted from enriched classroom experiences. Many school boards were provided with new curriculum units which were integrated with existing material and seeded further development. These resources were a significant alternative to the official materials emanating from Ministries of Education and sterile texts that had formed the basis of much of what had been taught.¹⁵²

The work of the CSF changed the scope of the education system in Canada by providing the system with much needed Canadian teaching materials and aiding in the development of a clearer national identity. This in turn made it easier for teachers to address the teaching of Canadian politics and the development of a political education program.

This change in focus towards Canadian political education began in March 1974, when a local Committee for an Independent Canada (CIC) conducted a Canadian Awareness survey of senior high school students in the Vancouver area.¹⁵³ Newspaper stories told the results: "only 7% were able to name the Governor General; 71% could not name the

capital city of New Brunswick; and fewer than 30% could identify the British North America Act as Canada's constitution".¹⁵⁴ These results so upset Mel Hurtig, a member and former chairman of the CIC, that he decided to verify the results across Canada. Another questionnaire was prepared by several secondary school teachers and given to the students in all provinces. The results were poor and headlines told of students flunking the test. Hurtig stated that "if they (the students) are supposed to be the decision-makers of the future, then surely we must equip them better than the results of the survey indicate".¹⁵⁵

During this time two other studies of school children ranging in age from eight to seventeen were completed in Nova Scotia, by Marshall Wm. Conley¹⁵⁶ in 1973 and the team of Joseph Jabbra and Ronald Landes¹⁵⁷ in 1976. Basically the studies discovered "that most Canadian students knew very little about their heritage and the workings of the Canadian government".¹⁵⁸

After analyzing these studies Mel Hurtig produced a pamphlet entitled Never Heard of Them.... they must be Canadian. In it he stressed "that in the interest of producing intelligent and politically aware students who would be prepared to enter into a democratic society, political studies should be included as an integral part of secondary school education".¹⁵⁹ Hurtig felt very strongly that it was indeed the role of the educational system to

teach political awareness and that such awareness, if not picked up in school, would not be acquired later.¹⁶⁰ His goal was for the education system in Canada to produce politically aware Canadians who had developed the civic consciousness to intelligently participate in the political process.¹⁶¹

A.B. Hodgetts' answered Hurtig's call by introducing Teaching Canada for the '80s. Its main emphasis was educating students to participate constructively in the civic life in Canada. In his analysis he found:

there was strong evidence to indicate that far too many students leave school without having studied Canada's political system, and not surprisingly, have virtually no idea of the structure of the system or how it works. There was also evidence to indicate that young people are becoming increasingly cynical about politics, and that schools, as one of the agents of political society are, by default, partly responsible. A democratic society that tolerates such a situation for long takes unwarranted risks with its own stability, and does a disservice to students whose lives will be so pervasively influenced by governments and the total political system.¹⁶²

Hodgetts' approach to civic education was designed to help young people "acquire the necessary knowledge, understandings, intellectual skills, and feelings of social competence which may eventually eliminate at least some of the feelings of apathy and alienation apparent in a society whose major institutions seem to be growing more remote and impersonal".¹⁶³

In Hodgetts' analysis he produced the first constructive curriculum outline for a political education program. At the elementary level he called for the elimination of the old approach to social studies, since it placed too much emphasis on basic citizenship education and the study of the Canadian community.¹⁶⁴ He felt there must be more of a concern with the development of attitudes than with the accumulation of information. In other words positive attitudes towards participative citizenship and Canadians from across Canada, rather than the memorization of facts and figures.¹⁶⁵ His curriculum suggestions included topics such as: "community life throughout Canada and the world, Canada within the world community, participative citizenship, compromise and consensus, and responsible government".¹⁶⁶

At the secondary level he argued that

Canadian society should first be viewed as a total environment; accordingly, the first secondary school course on Canada should be The Canadian Environment. Following an examination of the characteristics of this unique environment, students should have the opportunity to understand the essential characteristics of the systems Canada has developed to enable Canadian society to function in this environment. A second level of the secondary school study of Canada should therefore be the Canadian Political System and the Canadian Economic System. With an understanding of both environment and systems, Canadian students should then proceed to Canadian public issues, to which their understandings of the Canadian environment and the political and economic systems might be practically applied.¹⁶⁷

Hodgetts felt that the study of the political system based on this formula would encourage "a pan-Canadian understanding and active and informed citizenship".¹⁶⁸ His suggested topics for the Political Systems course were: Canada's federal system of government; political values, attitudes and behaviour; the party system and the electoral process; public opinion; interest groups; structure and functioning of government in Canada; and intergovernmental relations.¹⁶⁹

With this presentation Hodgetts became the first academic to develop curriculum instructions on political science teachings and also spur other academics to analyze the situation and propose their solutions. Ken Osborne responded to Hodgetts' call by developing in Manitoba the Political Education Project. The Project was established at the University of Manitoba in 1981 and was founded primarily by the Canadian Studies program of the Department of the Secretary of State of the Government of Canada.¹⁷⁰

In broad terms the Project proposed to produce classroom materials for both students and teachers at both elementary and secondary school levels. "Its aim was to introduce students to political realities in ways that they could understand and find interesting. This in turn would encourage in them the development of a sense of political efficacy and a disposition to participate in the political process".¹⁷¹ It was essentially designed as a means to

combat the apparently widespread political apathy, cynicism and above all sense of powerlessness.¹⁷² It took the position that

political education generally did not suffer from any lack of theoretical work, for there exists a wide range of scholarly writing dealing with goals, models, curriculum and frameworks. However, at least in Canadian schools, little of this seemed to reach the classroom. Scholars and researchers in political education seemed to be talking to each other rather than to teachers.¹⁷³

Therefore, their focus was to develop a curriculum that used "the politics of everyday life so that teachers could teach concepts applicable to a wide range of political problems and the political process arising from them".¹⁷⁴ After the popularity of the Project died down, Osborne continued his work through to 1988 with many articles, newsletters and books based on this Project to adapt politics as a subject more for the secondary school classroom.

Another academic that became well known in the political education field was Marshall Wm. Conley. His book Teaching Human Rights contained an analysis of political education courses provided by the provinces. Shortly after this he went on to become Vice Chairman of the Research Committee on Political Education of the International Political Science Association.¹⁷⁵

Shortly after Teaching Human Rights was published in 1984, the Association of Universities and Colleges of

Canada appointed the Commission on Canadian studies to make recommendations designed to foster appropriate attention to the Canadian content and context of education.¹⁷⁶ Over 2,000 briefs and recommendations, as well as the literature and information from other sources, made it clear that many teachers and students were dissatisfied with the priorities and direction of Canadian political studies¹⁷⁷ and "that political education in Canada left much to be desired".¹⁷⁸ The Commission subsequently recommended:

strongly that no student be permitted to graduate from high school, and still less from university, without certain minimum levels of knowledge about the political institutions and political culture of this country. It proposed that provincial school systems that do not offer a course on the Canadian political system should do so, and that, in other parts of the school curriculum, more attention should be given to Canadian political matters.¹⁷⁹

While these recommendations were considered radical, the commission helped the tide to build in favour of increased political education. This swell of support reached its peak in 1987 when the Conference of Political Education in Canada was organized by the Institute for Research on Public Policy. The result of the two day meeting appeared in the form of the book entitled Political Education in Canada. The purpose of the book was to discuss whether political education had been a neglected subject in Canada both in theory and practice.¹⁸⁰

Most participants believed that the Canadian school system bears much of the responsibility

for the present state of affairs. At the secondary school level, regardless of the region of the country being considered, students are exposed to little direct teaching about politics. While high school curricula at times contain impressive looking courses on politics, these appear to be either infrequently taught or lightly enrolled. High School teachers are frequently not adequately trained to teach these courses in any case. Even in Western Canada, where courses appear to be more widespread, the teaching style does not generally involve active student involvement. It is characterized here as preparing students to be passive spectators rather than active participants.¹⁸¹

In light of these observations one of the recommendations made by the conference was "that the schools should 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".¹⁸²

It has been a little over six years since the conference in 1987 and the status of political education in Canada has changed significantly. This is due to the growing awareness of the problems and stereotypes that have hindered the development of an effective political education program. For example, one of the problems that educators are currently addressing is the lack of consistent building blocks as the grades get higher. After grade nine or ten the students could opt to never take a political content course again. One reason for this is that course offerings are at the individual discretion of each school; therefore a 'Canadian Politics' course may be

optional in one school but not offered at all in another. This also means that those students who decide to leave school at the legal age of 16, may have had only one political content course to last them the rest of their lives. This becomes important when "only 69% of Canada's 15 to 19 year olds were enrolled in elementary- secondary schools in 1989-1990".¹⁸³ It is problems such as these that the school boards are trying to correct with new curriculum changes every school year.

In addition to the problems, political education in Canada has suffered from three main stereotypes.

First, rarely is political education in Canada explicitly identified as such. Secondly, even when courses in politics are included in the secondary-school curriculum, they are generally taken by only a few students. Lastly, although there is an active pursuit of political education in Canadian schools, it is carried out through History and Social Studies courses rather than through specific political science courses.¹⁸⁴

As of 1992 these judgements can no longer be sustained. There are many more courses clearly titled politics, political studies or Canadian politics, that are independent from the history and social studies curricula and are taken by a substantial number of students. More specifically, at the secondary level there is a greater proportion of students studying at least one topic or unit of work dealing with a political theme. Most often this will consist of an analysis of government and political institutions, Canadian federalism, parliamentary democracy

and constitutional monarchy. In addition to this, most students get some grounding in current events, and many take part in politically oriented extra-curricular activities.

There have also been changes at the elementary level where teachers traditionally "did not give politics a very important place among their curricular and pedagogical priorities. In many cases they saw most topics in politics as far too abstract and complex to be effectively taught to young children. In others, they felt that the subject matter was simply inappropriate".¹⁸⁵ Today, there is movement towards giving political education a more prominent place in the curriculum at this level. Most provinces offer a unit on civics or an analysis of political communities, with particular emphasis on current events.

The following analysis based on interviews with the twelve provincial and territorial social studies coordinators demonstrates that the tide has turned towards increased political education in the school system. This analysis includes, first, a list and description of courses by grade that are considered to have political content. These courses are then further classified on a three star system. A one star (*) course usually appears at the elementary or secondary level under the history or social studies curricula. At the elementary level it may appear

as a small unit on civics or local government, while at the secondary level the course may appear as a review of ancient civilizations with a unit on the types of governments during that time period. The time spent on political content is very short, usually less than a week, and is considered only in 'passing reference'. A two star (**) course appears most frequently at the secondary level under the history, social studies, economics, world or global issues and law courses. It is considered to have an 'intense' political content unit; for example, in an economics course there will be a specific section entitled political economy. It may take anywhere from three weeks to half a year to cover. When a two star (**) course does appear at the elementary or intermediate level, it usually consists of a comparative analysis of federal, provincial and local governments in Canada or of political systems internationally. A three star (***) course is considered purely political education and is the 'most intense' of courses taking a full year to cover the material. It appears as either a Politics, Democracy, Political Studies, Political Science, Political Thinking or Comparative Government course and helps the students develop an understanding of the operation of political institutions, processes, systems and ways in which individuals and groups translate political knowledge, skills and attitudes into a wide range of action. The tables also include the number

of students taking the course in the 1991-1992 school year as reported by the provincial ministries of education, and lastly, whether the course is optional or compulsory.

Newfoundland¹⁸⁶

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	*	3	approx. 9,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	*	5	approx. 9,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	6	approx. 9,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	7	approx. 10,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	8	approx. 10,000	Compulsory
History of Canada	**	9	approx. 10,000	Compulsory
Cultural Heritage	**	10	approx. 5,600	Optional
Canadian Issues	**	10	approx. 3,000	Optional
Canadian Democracy	***	11	approx. 4,900	Optional
Canadian Law	**	11	approx. 3,000 to 4,000	Optional
World Studies	*	12	approx. 6,000	Optional
World History	**	12	approx. 2,000	Optional
World Problems	**	12	approx. 2,500	Optional

Political studies in Newfoundland begins at grade 3 with a unit entitled a 'journey of discovery', in which the students analyze the meaning of living in Newfoundland and

Labrador.¹⁸⁷ Included in this is a community case study of Fogo Island, which examines political empowerment through local politics, as well as compares the capitals of St. John's and Ottawa.¹⁸⁸ The grade 5 social studies course escapes the community aspect and looks at the province as a whole. "It studies the province's history and the debates over Newfoundland's entry into Confederation".¹⁸⁹ At the grade 6 level the social studies course introduces Canadian political studies through an analysis of: the parliamentary process, the role of the Prime Minister, Members of Parliament and the Senate; as well as elections at the local, provincial and federal levels. The grade 7 students then compare the political processes of Canada with the United States and Mexico, and expand at grade 8 to look at world cultures and the government systems of: Ecuador, France, Siberia, Nigeria and Japan.¹⁹⁰

At the secondary level courses are more specialized beginning with the grade 9 History of Canada course. It is a compulsory course that studies enfranchisement, Prime Ministers and the political historical process. The Ministry is deciding whether to change this course in September of 1993 to a grade 10 course, and include an analysis of political philosophy from around the world.¹⁹¹ The grade 10 Cultural Heritage was recently changed in September of 1992 to an optional course with approximately 5,600 students presently enrolled. In this course students

are responsible for learning about Newfoundland heritage in which they examine local politics and culture.¹⁹² "The Canadian Issues grade 10 course is offered in 91 Newfoundland schools and has an enrollment in excess of 3,000 students"¹⁹³ or approximately 28% of students in the province. It was designed to analyze various political, economic, social and up-to-date issues. "One of the topics, 'the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery' is required, while the students must select an additional three topics from a list ranging from Canada's law, french-english relations, free trade, labour management, minority groups, Canada-American relations and the lobby process".¹⁹⁴ The grade 11 Canadian Democracy course is presently attended by 4,900 students in 160 schools.¹⁹⁵ This course was changed in September of 1992 to an optional course which studies such topics as: personal empowerment in the democratic process and "the meaning of democracy, organizational political activity, (ie. political parties, interest groups and voting), the structure of Canadian government and the federal system".¹⁹⁶ The Canadian law course at grade 11 services 3,000 to 4,000 students or approximately 40% of students in the province and offers an analysis of how the judicial process can affect the legislative process.¹⁹⁷ At the grade 12 level there are three courses offered that are optional and service a minimum of 2,000 students in each course or 18% of the students in the province.¹⁹⁷ World

Studies includes a study of the government systems from the classical period to the Napoleonic era; World History is based on material from the twentieth century in which the superpowers are analyzed as well as other international governments; and World Problems will be changed to a global issues course in September of 1993 and include topics such as the superpower struggle, pressure groups, human rights, geo-politics and the work of the United Nations.¹⁹⁸

The two most outstanding features of Newfoundland's political studies program are the 'compulsory' progressive building of knowledge from grades 3 to 10, and the thorough analysis of Newfoundland political culture and issues. This is accompanied by a wide range of choices at the senior level of high school, which help to make Newfoundland one of the leading provinces in political education.

Prince Edward Island¹⁹⁹

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	*	6	approx. 2,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	*	7	approx. 2,000	Compulsory
Canadian History	**	9	approx. 2,000	Compulsory
Ancient History	*	10	approx. 700	Optional
Global Studies	**	11	approx. 500	Optional
Modern World History	**	11	approx. 500	Optional
Modern World Issues	**	11	approx. 200	Optional
Law	**	11	approx. 700	Optional
Political Studies	***	11	approx. 200	Optional
Political Studies	***	12	approx. 200	Optional

In Prince Edward Island the social studies program at the elementary level simply looks at various communities and their local governments, while in grade 7 there is a 7 to 15 hour unit on civics.²⁰⁰ This province makes up for its lack of attention to political education at the elementary and intermediate levels by offering a wide variety of courses during secondary school. Canadian

History at the grade nine level is a compulsory course which spends one half the year on Maritime Studies. This part of the course was established by the three Maritime Premiers during the discussion on the Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms. "The premiers of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island came to conclude that students in these provinces had little knowledge and understanding of the Maritime way of life. The consequence of the discussion was a proposal for a multi-disciplinary textbook on Maritime studies to be used at the grade nine level and utilized in social studies courses".²⁰¹ The course that developed in PEI changed some of these basic tenets and uses the title Canadian History instead of Maritime Studies. As well it only spends one-half the year examining political empowerment and the functions of the provincial legislature.²⁰²

The Ancient History course at the grade 10 level simply looks at different forms of government with approximately 700 students taking the course, 37% of students in the province. At the grade 11 level there are five courses to choose from: Global Studies with its emphasis on geo-politics; Modern World History provides an analysis of the 'isms', for example, authoritarianism and communism; Modern World Issues examines topical political issues; and Law provides the historical background to legal issues and political institutions.²⁰³ Since all of these

courses are optional, the percentage of students enrolled in them across the province varies from 37% for Ancient History; 23% for both Global Studies and Modern World History; 10% for Modern World Issues and 32% for the Law course. Political Studies at both grades 11 and 12 are optional courses taken by approximately 10% of the students province wide. The grade 11 course provides an introduction to politics through an analysis of Canadian government, structures and processes, as well as, the political participation of the average man.²⁰⁴ The grade 12 course takes these concepts to a comparative nature in examining Canada-US relations and party politics in Canada.²⁰⁵

The requirements for attaining a secondary school diploma from PEI specify that two social studies credits have to be attained between grades 10 and 12.²⁰⁶ This is an insurance policy against students only taking the required course at grade nine and never experiencing political studies again. As with Newfoundland, PEI continues the trend of offering an outstanding political education program based on a wide variety of courses including two full year Political Science courses, and extra emphasis on its political culture.

Nova Scotia²⁰⁷

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	**	7	approx. 13,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	8	approx. 13,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	9	approx. 13,000	Compulsory
Ancient & Medieval History	*	10	approx. 6,000	Optional
Modern European History	**	11	approx. 6,000	Optional
Canadian History	**	12	approx. 6,000	Optional
Global History	**	12	approx. 13,000	Compulsory
Political Science	***	12	approx. 5,000	Optional

The Ministry of Education for Nova Scotia provides a cohesive study of political content from grades 7 through to 9, under its social studies program. In grade 7 there is a substantial civics component which focuses on the municipal level of government, while grade 8 looks at the provincial political system and grade 9 at maritime studies and federal politics.²⁰⁸ After grade 9 four of the five courses become optional and have approximately 40% of the students province wide enrolled in them. The Ancient and Medieval History course at grade 10 studies government

systems during that time period and the development of the rule of law.²⁰⁹ The grade 11 Modern European History course analyzes the evolution of world political institutions, for example the League of Nations.²¹⁰ The grade 12 Canadian History course studies the development of the Canadian government, its institutions and processes; while Global History provides an explanation of international governments and processes.²¹¹ In September of 1992 the Ministry decided to change Global History to a compulsory course since they found students were lacking an international perspective to their studies. The Political Science grade 12 course simply compares the Canadian political system with international political systems.²¹²

The Nova Scotia Ministry of Education has found upon analysis that after grade 9 students could possibly avoid taking any course with political content. Therefore it has decided that beginning in 1993 those students who continue on past grade 10 would be required to take two social studies courses and one global studies course to obtain their diploma.²¹³ It is interesting in light of these changes that none have been proposed for introducing political content at the elementary level. The Ministry feels that politics is adequately covered at the intermediate level with an analysis of municipal, provincial and maritime studies.

New Brunswick²¹⁴

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	**	6	approx. 10,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	7	approx. 10,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	8	approx. 10,000	Compulsory
Global Studies	*	9	approx. 11,000	Compulsory
Ancient & Medieval History	*	10	approx. 2,000	Optional
Maritime Studies	**	10	approx. 5,700	Optional
Modern History	**	11	approx. 5,300	Optional
Canadian History	**	12	approx. 1,100	Optional
World Issues	**	12	approx. 1,000	Optional
Economics	**	12	approx. 1,500	Optional
Political Science	***	12	approx. 600	Optional

In New Brunswick the social studies program from grades 6 to 8 is designed to provide a progressive building of political knowledge. The grade 6 course presents an analysis of government structures at the federal, provincial and municipal levels for approximately one-third of the school year.²¹⁵ This continues in grades 7 and 8

with an indepth analysis of Canada's political system from the 1790s through to the 1990s.²¹⁶ At the secondary level the grade 9 Global Studies and grade 10 Ancient and Medieval History courses both briefly look at the political systems of different countries during different time periods. The Maritime Studies course is different from the course offered in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, since it is offered at the grade 10 level and in both English and French Immersion.²¹⁷ It is interesting to note that almost 42% of the English students have opted to take this course versus only 7% of the French Immersion students.²¹⁸ At grade 11 the Modern History course is also a bilingual course with 40% of English students and 9% of French Immersion students opting for an analysis of world political systems.²¹⁹ At the grade 12 level there are four optional courses: 1)The Canadian History course offers a comparative political approach to Canada-US issues and is taken by 9% of the students province wide. 2)The World Issues course has recently been revised from a cold war to a new global world perspective, that includes an examination of the 'new' political systems from around the world and up-to-date political issues like the environment.²²⁰ 3)The Economics course features a section on political economy and ideology, and is attended by 13% of students in the province. Lastly the Political Science course is currently being revised to include political

ideology, comparative government and international systems; as well as Canadian government, the constitution and federal-provincial relations.²²¹ With this revision the Ministry hopes to attract more than the 5% of students who are presently enrolled.

As of the 1992-1993 school year, the Ministry of Education for New Brunswick prided itself on three main achievements towards a more effective political education program. First, they feel that the amount of political material that begins at the grade 6 level and is progressively built upon through to the compulsory course in grade 9, is one to be rivaled by very few other provinces. Secondly, they have developed two courses that offer political content in both official languages; and lastly, they have changed the curriculum at the grade 12 level to reflect the day-to-day changes in the world political structures and systems.²²² Hopefully over the next few years they will be able to add to these achievements by changing the status of courses from optional to compulsory and forcing even more students to increase their political knowledge.

Quebec²²³

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	*	K-4	approx. 95,488 per grade	Compulsory
Social Studies	*	5	approx. 99,050	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	6	approx. 96,558	Compulsory
Geography	*	7	High School approx. 110,133	Compulsory
World History	*	8	approx. 97,212	Compulsory
Geography of Quebec and Canada	*	9	approx. 91,023	Compulsory
History of Quebec and Canada	**	10	approx. 79,632	Compulsory
Economics	**	11	approx. 71,962	Optional

The political education program in Quebec was designed to begin in kindergarten and continue through to the end of high school. Students are first introduced to politics at the local and municipal levels in kindergarten through to grade 4.²²⁴ In grade 5 this is expanded to include provincial politics, while in grade 6 a more intense study of the Canadian federal system of government is presented.²²⁵ This building process continues in high school where all political studies courses from grade 7 through to 10 are compulsory. As well, there is a fine

balance between first learning the geography of the region before learning its history at the next grade. This is the case for grade 7 Geography and grade 8 World History, as well as grade 9 Geography of Quebec and Canada and grade 10 History of Quebec and Canada. Ministry officials feel that only at these higher grades are students able to handle more intense political content. Therefore, the grade 10 History course offers an intense political analysis of the government systems of Canada and Quebec, while the grade 11 Economics course covers a section on political economy.

The Quebec Ministry of Education has determined that in order to graduate from high school, a student must pass all compulsory courses as well as province wide exams at the grade 9 and 10 levels.²²⁶ By the Ministry making the more politically intense grade 10 History of Quebec and Canada course subject to province-wide examination, it ensures that all students will have some political knowledge before they complete high school.

After high school the student may choose to study for two more years at a CEGEP. "At the College de L'Outaouais in Hull for example, the student enrollment is 800, while the total enrollment across Quebec is 154,290".²²⁷ Political science courses at this CEGEP are joined together with Economics under the social studies curriculum. The focus of the political science courses "center around conflict and power in human society, the mechanisms through

which conflict is handled and decisions made on the societal level; as well as the values, power and authority relations underlying the human community".²²⁸ In August of 1991 there were four courses to choose from:

"1)introduction to politics; 2)modern political ideologies; 3)politics in Quebec and Canada and 4)international politics".²²⁹

One of the most outstanding features of the CEGEP program is its analysis of conflictual topics. In most countries including Canada, Ministry officials try to stay away from such topics for fear of indoctrinating their students. At the College de L'Outaouais the curriculum dismisses these fears and encourages the students to discuss conflict and power in the political process.

The political education program designed by the Ministry of Education for Quebec has ensured that all social studies courses up to and including grade 10 are compulsory. The merits of this design are overshadowed by the mere one star 'passing reference' type political content courses that dominate the curriculum. In order for the Ministry to change its status to one of the leaders in political education development it must ensure that its compulsory courses have a more intense political content component.

Ontario²³⁰

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	*	7	126,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	8	123,918	Compulsory
History	**	9 or 10	approx. 150,000	Compulsory
American History	*	11 or 12	gr. 11 1,980 gr. 12 7,339	Optional
Law	**	11 or 12	gr. 11 6,118 gr. 12 7,484	Optional
Civilizations in History	*	11 or 12	gr. 11 22,723 gr. 12 1,718	Optional
Twentieth Century World History	**	11 or 12	gr. 11 1,031 gr. 12 6,683.	Optional
Politics	***	11 or 12	gr. 11 1,502 gr. 12 1,972	Optional
History-Modern Western Civilization	**	OAC	approx. 77,034	Optional
History-Canada: North American Perspective	**	OAC	approx. 13,583	Optional
Law	**	OAC	6,908	Optional
Politics	***	OAC	4,249	Optional

In Ontario political education at the elementary level is referred to in the curriculum guidelines with philosophical generalized statements.²³¹ Therefore, there is no specific political content in the social studies program, other than a fifteen minute discussion of current

events daily. At the intermediate level social studies at the grade 7 level is entitled 'Emerging Canadian Community'; this is an "investigation into how communities have governed themselves and developed their institutions".²³² This is built upon at the grade 8 level with 'Building the Canadian Nation', in which "the social history from the nineteenth and twentieth century, is considered in light of the economic development and political evolution of the nation".²³³ The curriculum becomes much more specialized and diverse at the secondary school level. The History course 'Contemporary Canada: Life in the Twentieth Century' is a compulsory course at the grade 9 or 10 level. The most notable feature of this course "is the fact that over 15% of the time is spent on a unit entitled 'Citizenship: Government and Law'. In this course the students develop their knowledge of government and law in Canada and become aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of Canada and the World".²³⁴

At the grade 11 and 12 level there are five courses to choose from: 1) American History in which "the political and social structures of colonial settlements are presented as well as the basic structures of American government as established by the constitution of 1789".²³⁵ 2) The Law course "provides students with knowledge as to their present and future rights and responsibilities under the law; the various roles they will play as citizens of a

local, regional, national and global community; as well as the powers of different levels of government to make laws and the procedures involved".²³⁶ 3)The "Civilizations in History course simply compares the powers of the government of Canada with governments of early modern Europe on the basis of power held and methods of law enforcement".²³⁷

4)The "Twentieth Century World History course compares such themes as: the differences between people in Western industrialized democracies, communist countries and third world countries; as well as the impact of Multinational corporations on the world's economy and politics; and the impact of political activism on world politics".²³⁸

Lastly, the Politics course presents "the elements of the political process, among them political life as leadership, decision making, citizenship, ideologies and international relations. These are explored in both theory and application in order to provide students with information about politics at the local, national and international sphere".²³⁹

The four courses at the OAC level build on the grade 11 and 12 courses. 1)Modern Western Civilization covers "the main developments in knowledge, philosophy, politics, society and the arts over the last two centuries. More specifically it develops knowledge of the main social and political institutions and intellectual currents in the West since the French revolution".²⁴⁰ 2)Canada: North

American Perspective examines "the rise of democracy and development of political parties as well as the process of constitution making and nation building".²⁴¹ 3) The Law course presents "the political processes involved in making and administering laws, as well as the importance of law as a method of exercising and controlling political power".²⁴² Finally, the OAC Politics course "is developed to help students understand the operation of political institutions and systems, and the ways in which individuals and groups translate political knowledge, skills and attitudes into a wide range of action. This includes such topics as:

1) political culture and socialization, 2) political processes and groups, 3) political institutions, 4) the territorial dimension of politics and 5) policy issues".²⁴³

The number of political content courses designed by the Ontario Ministry of Education is outstanding, especially the inclusion of two Political Science courses. However, one problem that has been discovered is that beyond the province-wide compulsory grade 9 or 10 course the school boards may decide to offer a limited number of optional political content courses. Statistically this fact has been confirmed since the numbers are excellent for the history course at grade 9 or 10, but not as notable for the law and politics courses at grades 11 or 12. More specifically, most of the optional political education courses offered had less than 5% of the students across the

province enrolled in them. Therefore, if the Ministry needed a reason to revise its political education program it need not look further than these statistics.

Manitoba²⁴⁴

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	**	9	approx. 16,354	Compulsory
Canadian History	**	11	approx. 15,770	Compulsory
World Issues	**	12	approx. 3,000	Optional
Western Civilization	**	12	approx. 1,200	Optional

The province of Manitoba's political education program is limited strictly to the secondary level and offers the fewest choices of political content courses in Canada. The Social Studies course at grade 9 uses the textbook by Prentice-Hall entitled Canada Today; it presents such topics as: Canada's political, economic and legal aspects; its role in the world community; and an analysis of such themes as citizenship, immigration and developing a Canadian identity.²⁴⁵ The Canadian History course at grade 11 presents one major unit on government and politics, and focuses specifically on the rights and responsibilities of the individual in the political system.²⁴⁶ The World Issues course at grade 12 has an

enrollment of 16% of students province wide and includes an examination of Canada's political role in the world; issues like human rights, nationalism, and internationalism; and an analysis of modern economic and political organizations and their corresponding ideologies.²⁴⁷ Finally, the Western Civilization course has only 6% of students in the province studying the 'new' power structure of the world and its corresponding political ideologies.²⁴⁸

It is apparent that this province needs major restructuring, beginning with an introduction of political content material at the elementary and intermediate levels, as well as some enhancement and choice at the secondary level.

Saskatchewan²⁴⁹

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	**	7	approx. 15,993	Compulsory
Social Studies	*	8	approx. 15,502	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	9	approx. 15,251	Compulsory
World Issues	**	11	approx. 6,000	Optional
Canadian History	**	12	approx. 10,400	Optional
Canadian Studies	**	12	approx. 4,200	Optional

In Saskatchewan political content is introduced under the social studies label for grades 7 through to grade 9. In grade 7 there is a comparative analysis between Canada, the US and Mexico's political systems, as well as a presentation of such topics as decision-making, power, authority and citizenship.²⁵⁰ In grade 8 the focus switches to a unit on civics, and the students' responsibilities as citizens of Canada. In grade 9 there is more of a historical perspective, where students examine the British North America Act and the establishment and function of the Canadian government.²⁵¹ Saskatchewan plans to introduce a new course entitled 'Social Organizations of Democratic Societies' in September of 1993. This will ensure that students who opt to never take a political content course after grade 9, will now be required to do so.²⁵² Unlike the other provinces Saskatchewan used to have a Political Science course at grade 12, but has chosen to rename it Canadian Studies with its emphasis on current political events from around the world.²⁵³ The other grade 12 course, Canadian History, covers the political system at confederation up to and including the constitutional negotiations of today.²⁵⁴ Statistically, 70% of the students are enrolled in Canadian History, while only 35% of the grade 12 students are enrolled in Canadian Studies.²⁵⁵

Saskatchewan is very similar to Manitoba with little choice of political content courses at the secondary level, as well as little ambition to change the curriculum towards an even more intense political content program.

Alberta²⁵⁶

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	**	6	33,707	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	7	34,077	Compulsory
History and Geography of the Western Hemisphere	**	8	33,432	Compulsory
Economic Growth	*	9	32,372	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	10	25,453	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	11	22,771	Compulsory
Political Thinking	***	11	10	Optional
Comparative Government	***	11	36	Optional
International Relations	*	12	30	Optional
Social Studies	***	12	20,986	Compulsory

Alberta offers one of the most sophisticated political education programs in Canada, with three purely political

courses, as well as a progressive building process from grades 6 through to 12. The majority of these courses appear under the social studies umbrella and several are compulsory. The program begins in grade 6 with an analysis of two topics: local government and ancient civilizations. The intent of topic A, Local Government, "is to develop an understanding of how individuals and societal needs are met by local, provincial and federal governments, as well as to become aware of an individual's role as a responsible citizen. It uses such textbooks as Politics and You and The Structure of Government".²⁵⁷ Topic B provides students with an analysis of "ancient systems of government as well as the ideas behind democracy".²⁵⁸ The grade 7 social studies course includes two topics: Topic A: "People and their Culture, which is an analysis of government institutions, laws, customs and traditions; and topic C: Canada: A Multicultural and Bilingual Country, which analyzes government policies towards multiculturalism and bilingualism, as well as the decision making process".²⁵⁹ The grade 8 History and Geography of the Western Hemisphere course uses the book entitled Canada's Political Heritage: Conflict and Change. It spends one-third of the year on the topic Canada: History of the Twentieth Century, which includes "an analysis of colonization with the objective being an appreciation of British and French interaction in shaping political developments, from the proclamation act

1763 to Confederation."²⁶⁰ The Economic Growth course is offered at the grade 9 level with one section "devoted to 'Canada: Responding to Change' which deals with ways governments can influence technological change and economic growth, as well as the role of business in conjunction with labour, government and consumers".²⁶¹ Social Studies at the grade 10 level entitled 'Canada in the Modern World' presents two topics: First, 'Canada in the Twentieth Century', in which such topics as "the achievement and maintenance of Canada's government; effects of regionalism; and the development of a national identity are discussed".²⁶² The second topic: 'Citizenship in Canada' requires "an understanding of the structure and function of government as well as willingness to exercise the rights and duties of citizenship in a changing society. Topics of analysis include: decision-making organizations, democracy, federalism, constitutionalism, representative democracy, responsible government and division of powers".²⁶³ The grade 11 social studies course entitled 'The Growth of the Global Perspective' has two topics with political content. First, 'Development and Interaction of Nations: Nineteenth Century Europe' covers "the modern world as it has been influenced by major ideas and forces that have emerged from the nineteenth century experience, for example; nationalism, industrialism, imperialism and international rivalries".²⁶⁴ The second topic 'Interdependence in the

Global Environment', "presents global diversity with regard to economic development and interdependence and international organizations; ie. UN, international law, trade agreements, worldwide conferences and non-governmental organizations".²⁶⁵ There is a very poor showing for the three optional courses: Political thinking, comparative government and international relations, all of which have been offered in a limited number of schools and therefore have less than 1% of the students province-wide enrolled in them. The last course that is offered at the grade 12 level which is compulsory and intensely political is entitled 'The Contemporary World: Political and Economic Systems'. It first "presents political and economic systems in theory, in which the ideology contained in beliefs and ideas about human nature is presented to justify and help explain political economic systems. For example, liberalism, conservatism, socialism, capitalism, fascism, communism, individualism and collectivism".²⁶⁶ Secondly, "political and economic systems in practice are presented through the study of the role of government in Canada, its monetary and fiscal policy as well as its law, rules and regulations".²⁶⁷

From this analysis, it is evident that Alberta shares the lead in political education development with Newfoundland and Ontario. It has one of the most solid building processes in its curriculum with all social

studies courses from grades 6 through to 12 being compulsory. The only problem is that many of the political 'optional' courses are greatly undersubscribed due to there already being a compulsory political content course in grade 12. Therefore, the Ministry may have overloaded the system by offering courses that are redundant.

British Columbia²⁶⁸

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	*	6	approx. 40,000	Compulsory
History	*	9	approx. 40,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	*	10	approx. 40,000	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	11	approx. 35,000	Optional
Law	**	12	approx. 3,000	Optional
History	*	12	approx. 7,000	Optional
Economics	**	12	approx. 6,000	Optional

In British Columbia the political education program devised by the Ministry of Education has limited political content and value. It begins with the grade 6 social studies course, where there is a standard unit on civics. Students are not presented with political content again until grade 9, when they study 'Nation-building and Social Order', which briefly analyzes the government systems of

18th and 19th century Europe.²⁶⁹ The grade 10 social studies course has been determined by the Ministry of Education to be a compulsory prerequisite for all further courses, yet it simply deals with early forms of colonial government.²⁷⁰ This means that at the end of a student's compulsory education he or she has only experienced political content in 'passing' reference. It is interesting to note that when a more 'intense' up-to-date political content course is offered students respond by enrolling in large numbers. This is exemplified with the grade 11 social studies optional course which is attended by approximately 88% of students, who study the government systems of the 19th and 20th centuries from around the world.²⁷¹ The three optional courses at grade 12; Law, History, and Economics, are chosen by 7% and 18% of the students province wide. The law course covers political and social issues as well as the legislative and decision-making processes of governments; while the economics course provides a standard unit on political economy.²⁷²

The British Columbia Ministry of Education has proposed a framework for revision of the kindergarten to grade 12 social studies program. The final report is due in 1993, yet no changes towards increasing political education are imminent. The ministry still feels that politics is adequately covered in the 'current events' discussion in the elementary and intermediate social studies classes, and

that the subject shouldn't be introduced until the secondary level of education.

Yukon²⁷³

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	**	5	455	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	9	310	Compulsory
History	**	10	306	Compulsory
History of Canada	**	11	318	Compulsory
History	**	12	261	Optional
Geography	*	12	261	Optional
Western Civilization	*	12	261	Optional
Law	**	12	261	Optional

The political education program in the Yukon is unique in that it combines some of the curriculum from the BC course system with some discussion of the Yukon political culture in order to adapt to the different educational needs of its students.²⁷⁴ The Ministry has determined that 20% of classroom time from grades 4 through to 9 should be set aside to discuss current events.²⁷⁵ They feel this is adequate coverage of political content along with their grade 5 social studies course devoted mainly to studying the territorial, provincial and federal government systems.²⁷⁶ Political content is not offered

again until grade 9 where there is an examination of land claims and first nations issues, as well as industrialization and its social effects.²⁷⁷ It is this type of analysis that makes Yukon's political education very similar to the East's since they both have designed a program that guarantees the perpetuation of their cultural traditions. This emphasis continues in the History of Canada course at the grade 10 level, which covers material from 1812-1896, including special emphasis on the issue of confederation and the development and political evolution of the North.²⁷⁸ The grade 11 course continues the study from 1896-1992, with 30% of its time spent discussing: Canadian political systems, constitutional issues, English-French relations, and the electoral process.²⁷⁹ The courses at the grade 12 level are all optional and exams are provided for them by the British Columbia Ministry of Education.

Although this territory has very limited resources because of its size and number of students, it does offer extra-curricular political activities that many of the larger provinces cannot match. In the Yukon they have set up a model Parliament from grades 9 through to 12, where every student is a Member of Parliament. This was established in the mid-1980s and has been very successful in supplementing their political education program.²⁸⁰

North West Territories²⁸¹

<u>Course</u>	<u>No. of Stars</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Optional/ Compulsory</u>
Social Studies	*	1-6	7,757	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	7	1,183	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	8	783	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	9	710	Compulsory
Northern Studies	**	10	657	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	10	657	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	11	434	Compulsory
Social Studies	**	12	348	Compulsory

In the North West Territories 20 hours of the year during each of the elementary grades is spent on civics.²⁸² This continues during grades 7 to 9 when the social studies curriculum analyzes Canada's federal and provincial governments and compares them to different countries from around the world.²⁸³ The Northern studies course at grade 10 is specifically designed to discuss northern issues, land claims, self-government and aboriginal rights.²⁸⁴ In the Baffin Island region this course is presented at the grade 11 level and is locally developed separate from the territories.²⁸⁵ The social studies curriculum continues

from grades 10 through to 12 and takes on more of a global perspective with an analysis of international systems and ideologies, for example nationalism and imperialism.²⁸⁶ The most prominent aspect about the territories is the fact the Ministry has made social studies compulsory at each grade and has designated 125 hours per year towards this study. As with the Yukon's extracurricular activities, the territories try to provide the same opportunities. One program they have designed is a leadership program in which students are chosen from their school to gather at Fort Smith and learn leadership qualities.²⁸⁷ The other program is a territorial council in which each school meets once a month and makes decisions based on the parliamentary process.²⁸⁸ As with the Yukon these activities have helped to enhance their political education program.

The overall Canadian picture by province is presented in Appendix A. The most significant conclusions from the spreadsheet reveal a very progressive political education program across Canada, with political content included in 78 secondary school courses. This means on average each province offers approximately 6.5 courses, though most, 45 of 78, come from the Eastern and Central provinces. In comparing all the grades the greatest choice of political content courses increases as the grade level increases. For example in grade 9 students have a choice of 11 or 12 courses, in grade 10: 12 or 13; in grade 11: 18 to 23; and

finally in grade 12: 25 to 30. This gives further credence to the fact that the Ministries of Education still believe that political education should only be studied by more mature students. In general these numbers are a considerable improvement from the situation in the 1980s, and also help to show that the provincial curricula have begun to give adequate attention to the teaching of politics.

In analyzing the compulsory/optional category, out of the possible 78 courses, 27 or 35% were deemed compulsory, while 51 or 65% were optional. Traditionally this has always been a problem in implementing political education into the curriculum. The Ministries of Education are less likely to make courses with extensive political content compulsory. There are three outstanding exceptions to this rule: the North West Territories offers five compulsory courses, while, Quebec and Alberta offer four. An important way of increasing political knowledge and the quality of political education is to first offer more political content courses, and secondly to make them compulsory. It is evident that some provinces have started to follow this formula.

In analyzing the type of political content according to the 'one to three star' ranking system, the majority, 51 out of 78 or 65%, were at the two star level. Each province offered approximately four two star level courses.

The surprise came in analyzing the three star level courses; there were 10 courses offered in six provinces: three in Alberta, two in Prince Edward Island and Ontario, and one in New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. This means 6 out of 12 provinces and territories have started to offer 'full-fledged' political science courses.

The Ministry of Education in most provinces has been reluctant to make full-fledged political science courses compulsory; only Alberta has a course in this category. The most significant results are the number of three star courses offered by grade. In grade 11 there are 4 courses offered; one in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and two in Alberta. At the grade twelve level there are five provinces each offering one course: Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Alberta and Ontario. The only province that offers grade 13 is Ontario who titles its courses as Ontario Academic Courses (OAC). Under this category Ontario offers four political content OAC courses, one of which is a three star course.

In analyzing the elementary level, eight provinces provide political content programs. Of these, five have at least one unit with a two star political content concentration: Quebec, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Alberta and the Yukon. Of the provinces that don't offer any political content, their Ministries feel that either it is adequately covered in their 15 minute discussion of current

events or that students are too immature to learn such a complex and abstract subject. Two jurisdictions that have overcome these problems and built significant elementary programs are Quebec and the North West Territories; both have provided a progressive building of political knowledge that is exemplary for the other provinces to follow.

The encouraging results from the elementary level continue into the intermediate level where 8 provinces offer political content at both grades 7 and 8. The majority of political content is at the two star level, where Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Alberta and the North West Territories all offer 2 courses, while Ontario and Saskatchewan only offer 1 course. The significance of offering an intermediate political education program is that it aids in laying the necessary ground work for high school.

The courses in this study were selected because of their political content, whether it was Canadian, American or international. Of all the courses analyzed, those that were labelled 'All-Canadian' numbered 54 out of all 78, or 69%. The most offered were in Ontario and the Yukon with six each, while Newfoundland, Alberta, British Columbia, North West Territories and Quebec all offered five. Of the 54, 32 were optional courses while the remaining 22 were compulsory courses. This is very significant, in that

students have an even greater choice in learning specifically about the Canadian political system.

In order to see how the provinces ranked against each other five variables were used: 1)the number of political content courses the province offered at the secondary level: 2)the number of two star level courses offered; 3)the number of three star level courses offered; 4)the number of two star level courses that were compulsory and 5)the number of three star level courses that were compulsory. The point system was determined by the point value of the ranking, (ie. first place, one point); therefore the provinces were ranked by the fewest points granted.

First place: Ontario 10 pts.

Second place: Prince Edward Island 12 pts.

Newfoundland 12 pts.

Third place: Alberta 13 pts.

Yukon 13 pts.

Fourth place: New Brunswick 14 pts.

North West Territories 14 pts.

Fifth place: Nova Scotia 15 pts.

Sixth place: Manitoba 18 pts.

Seventh place: British Columbia 19 pts.

Saskatchewan 19 pts.

Eighth place: Quebec 20 pts.

From these results its evident that as of 1992 the Eastern, Central and the Territorial provinces are far superior in their political education programs than those in the West. As well, the smaller provinces of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were able to match the impressive political education programs of the wealthy provinces of Ontario and Alberta. From these results, Ministries of Education can no longer claim that a lack of resources is the reason for inadequate political education in the curriculum.

In conclusion, the establishment of political education in Canada has been inherently more difficult than other countries because of the adversities it had to overcome during the early period of education. Canada lacked a clear national identity or a sense of national awareness because it had deal with the influx of political beliefs from nineteenth century school reformers, the division of powers under the British North American Act which gave the provinces control over education, the presence of a powerful neighbour to the South, and finally, the presence of two major linguistic groups within the country. All of these factors inhibited the teaching of a clear Canadian political ideology and the production of Canadian teaching materials.

The turning point for Canada came in 1968, with the work of A.B. Hodgetts in What Culture? What Heritage?. It

was this book that marked the beginning of the modern era to education in Canada, and subsequently political education. In it he encouraged other academics to develop their approaches towards the teaching of political studies in the Canadian school system. This began with the Canadian Studies Foundation producing Canadian teaching materials, and continued with Mel Hurtig, Joseph Jabbra and Ronald Landes, Marshall Wm. Conley, Ken Osborne and finally, the conference in 1987 and book Political Education in Canada in 1988. Each academic answered the call of the last and pushed political education development forward.

In analyzing Canada's political education program according to the three points of change necessary for the development of an effective program that were provided by the United States and Britain, Canada has presently accomplished one of the three, a collaborative effort among academics. As stated above this collaboration grew from the 1960s into the 1980s with the development of different approaches to political education. This is considered to be quite an achievement since political education in this country is still considered to be in its infancy. However, in terms of the formation of a group devoted to establishing political education in the school system, like that of the Politics Association in Britain, it may take Canada a number of years before this can be organized. The

last point of change called for the education hierarchy to have the initiative to experiment and implement the most effective programs developed. In Canada a change in philosophy by the Ministries of Education must first be formed in order for there to be an increase in experimentation of programs and implementation of more political science courses in the Canadian education system.

Chapter Three:

How Political Education Can Be Best Accomplished.

In designing a political education program one must take into account the research on political socialization. It is defined as the process "whereby we acquire our political values, attitudes and opinions".²⁸⁹ This process is considered to be continuous and life-long; however some stages are noted as more important than others. Particular attention is paid to childhood experiences and how and when the 'political self' is acquired.²⁹⁰ It is this time period that is of particular importance to educators since what is or isn't acquired may directly affect learning into the adolescent and adult years. It is only with the knowledge that political socialization research provides that educators will be able to structure a school system with political learning beginning at the elementary level. This in turn will aid in producing an effective school learning environment that emphasizes political education.

Political socialization researchers have analyzed the age at which children begin to acquire political attitudes and information. An early assumption (and one still held by many adults today) was that political things are far too complex for young children to understand, and political orientations can only develop rather late in adolescence. This belief has been completely shattered by such researchers as Fred Greenstein, David Easton, Robert Hess,

Jack Dennis and Judith Torney, all of whom have concluded that the first awareness of politics comes at a young age. Easton and Hess believe political awareness begins to take form during the first few years in Western societies, before formal schooling begins.²⁹¹ On the basis of their analysis of American elementary school children "every piece of evidence indicated that the child's political world begins to take shape well before he even enters elementary school and that it undergoes the most rapid change during those years".²⁹² In other words "the truly formative years are between the ages of three and thirteen".²⁹³

Researchers have found that among the very earliest subjects of political learning is an attachment to the political community.²⁹⁴ This basic orientation appears to be acquired by age five or six. "This attachment to the political community and its symbols is initially emotional. It is without much cognitive or informational content".²⁹⁵ Political leaders and symbols are regarded "almost unanimously in friendly and personal ways. The child tends to ascribe benevolent attributes and functions to these authority figures".²⁹⁶ Easton and Hess liken these earliest orientations to religious feelings. The child first develops an emotional identification with the nation, the tribe, or some other basic political unit.²⁹⁷

In addition to these basic orientations other fundamental attachments that significantly affect the structure and development of the political self begin during the preschool years. In American society children identify with a political party at this initial stage. In both the New Haven and the Easton and Hess studies it was found that the majority of elementary school children were able to assert a party identification by the earliest school years investigated, (grade four for Greenstein and grade two for Easton and Hess).²⁹⁸ Like attachments to the political community and political authorities, the initial political party identification lacks informational content.

This lack of informational content changes between the ages of seven and thirteen, as children increasingly understand and relate to more abstract political symbols. As well, "they develop the capacity to see political leaders more critically, and their factual knowledge increases; they gain a better understanding of their political system and its leaders".²⁹⁹ It is this time period in which the child is able to have 'construction of political order'. Robert W. Connell describes this as "the task pool being more rigorously and accurately drawn, concrete details about politics are mastered, and there appears a sense of the web of relationships in the political realm. Also, for the first time, politics as a sphere of conflict and choice becomes part of a child's

conception of the political. Issue positions are now taken and preferences established".³⁰⁰ The children also tend to have a sense of political efficacy. Easton and Dennis found that "83% of their sample of youngsters felt politically efficacious by the eighth grade".³⁰¹ To a great extent they also wanted to be active politically and play a role in the decision-making process. Greenstein found that "98% of nine-year olds said they intended to vote when they reached the age of eighteen".³⁰²

Between the ages of twelve and sixteen Connell found children "become capable of thinking ideologically. More abstract terms are used in political arguments, and societies and polities can now be seen as 'wholes'. Alternative actions in the political sphere are considered and sometimes undertaken".³⁰³ In correlation to this, studies of the political outlooks of teenagers consistently demonstrate that the teen years show increased frequencies of political interest, following political events, identification with political parties, and participation in political groups.³⁰⁴

This political participation and the development of political orientations continues into adulthood, but it is less likely that changes in basic loyalties and identifications will occur. Adults may alter their opinions towards specific government policies and develop evaluations of new national roles in world affairs, but

they are less likely to change national or group loyalties, broad ideological goals or their conception of the legitimate means of selecting political rulers.³⁰⁵ As researchers have shown, these beliefs have been firmly entrenched in the early stages of development.

Political socialization research in Canada has revealed that developmentally Canadian children are capable of learning about politics at the same stages as their American counterparts. However, there a number of unique Canadian aspects that must be acknowledged in order for political education to be effectively taught in the Canadian education system.

In Canada the acquisition of political information begins early in the elementary school years and is focused primarily on political leaders rather than on political institutions.³⁰⁶ A majority of students can correctly name the Prime Minister by the time they reach the fifth grade, with more than 90% able to make a correct identification by grade eight. However, other political leaders rank considerably lower in the child's developmental perceptions of the political system: provincial premiers and mayors are less well recognized.³⁰⁷ It is only when researchers considered more complicated aspects of political understanding, such as the child's perception of roles, rather than simply the ability to name political leaders, they found that the level of knowledge was minimal. For

example Jon Pammett's study found that while 74% of the Kingston, Ontario students could correctly name the Prime Minister by grade eight only 13% had a reasonably accurate understanding of his role in the Canadian political system.³⁰⁸ Jabbra and Landes' study of Nova Scotia adolescents found the same pattern in their ability to name and not describe the role or function of various political leaders.³⁰⁹

Even though levels of political information are low, children and adolescents still develop an emotional tie to political leaders and the political system. The typical pattern is for the child to personalize the political system and to develop supportive attitudes and positive feelings toward the polity and its leaders and institutions.³¹⁰ For example, a comparative study of English-Canadian and American schoolchildren in grades four through eight found that the Canadian child's affective response to government's benevolence, dependability and leadership was greater than that of his American counterpart.³¹¹ Similarly, Zureik found a 'benign outlook' toward politics among children in British Columbia, while Nova Scotian adolescents manifested a marked predilection to evaluate political leaders favourably.³¹²

Political socialization research has also found that the major themes of Canada's political culture are reflected in the political learning process. For example

regional identifications begin early in the learning process³¹³ and by the adolescent years strong patterns of regional loyalty are evident.³¹⁴ Canadian youth in Quebec³¹⁵, Alberta³¹⁶, and Cape Breton³¹⁷ appear to identify more with the provincial, and even local politics, than with federal institutions.³¹⁸ Other studies such as Jon Pammett's Ontario study³¹⁹, and Jabbra and Landes' research on Nova Scotia youth³²⁰ show greater familiarity with the federal than the provincial levels of government.

Moreover, numerous studies have shown that English-Canadian and French-Canadian youth are taught different political values in the political socialization process.³²¹ For example, one study of English and French-Canadian history textbooks found that almost totally contradictory pictures of historical figures and events were presented.³²² As a result "children overwhelmingly identified with historical figures of their own culture and francophone and anglophone children identified with different eras of Canadian history".³²³ Such findings lead to the conclusion that "political socialization in Canada, then seems to be for young French and English-Canadians a process of socialization into discord".³²⁴

The American impact on the learning of political values in Canada has also become known as the concept of continental political socialization.³²⁵ One researcher claims that "the American domination of the mass media has

meant that many children have been socialized to American rather than Canadian political values".³²⁶ Other research such as Jon Pammett's study of a Kingston, Ontario sample³²⁷ as well as Donald Higgins study³²⁸ both revealed a greater level of familiarity with American than with Canadian political leaders. In relation to these results it has been suggested that "the impact of all three cultural themes: regionalism, dualism and continentalism inhibits the development of a Canadian national identity".³²⁹

In the political socialization research which analyzed the interest in politics and a feeling of a sense of efficacy among Canadian youth. Studies by Skogstad³³⁰, Cohen³³¹, and Jabbra and Landes³³² have shown these feelings are very low. According to Jabbra and Landes', "slightly fewer than one-fifth of the new members entering the political system feel that they can have any influence on government legislation".³³³

The most recent studies from the 1980s and 1990s reveal that "only a minority of young people (15-24) indicate an interest in politics".³³⁴ Most feel that "political parties and politicians are among the individuals and institutions they least trust".³³⁵ Finally, "actual involvement in politics remains at the planning stage for a vast majority of young people only to be acted on later".³³⁶

The results from these political socialization studies in Canada reveal that the average adolescent as well as typical voter has a low level of political knowledge and by and large is not very confident of his or her ability to understand and affect the political process.³³⁷ The only way a significant change in political attitudes and knowledge can be achieved is in the initial political socialization of the young. This must come in the form of an increase in political information provided during the elementary years of education in order to first, spark the students' interest in politics and second, give them the knowledge and confidence to be more active members of society. This in turn puts greater pressure on educators to develop an effective political education program beginning at the elementary level that is sensitive to this prescription.

One project that responded to this need was the Political Education Project, established at the University of Manitoba in 1981. The Project was funded primarily by the Canadian Studies Foundation and the Canadian Studies Program of the Department of the Secretary of State of the Government of Canada, with much support being provided by the Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba Department of Education and provincial school boards and teachers' associations. The Project was a result of a call for proposals issued by the Canadian Studies Foundation,

which was interested in pursuing the recommendations contained in Teaching Canada for the '80s, a book which placed a strong emphasis upon improving the quality of Canadian political education.³³⁸

In broad terms the Project proposed "to produce classroom materials, both for students and for teachers, at both elementary and secondary school levels, which would be intended to introduce students to political realities in ways that they could understand and find interesting and which would encourage in them the development of a sense of political efficacy and a disposition to participate in the political process".³³⁹ More specifically, the Project recognized the importance of beginning political learning at the elementary level by designing teaching materials such as stories and case-studies that would capture the imagination of young students.

As part of this general emphasis on penetrating the classroom, the Project created two writing teams, one at the elementary and one at the secondary level, composed predominantly of active teachers. They first agreed that the starting point to the teaching of politics had to be organized within some sort of framework. Project members agreed that in the past traditional teaching of civics left much to be desired. In short, the Project accused traditional civics of some serious weaknesses.

First, in its concentration upon the structure and institutions of government, civics ignored the dynamics and processes of politics. Second, it concentrated on the ideal rather than the reality, on what was supposed to happen, rather than what actually did happen. Third, it ignored the role of conflict in politics or, when it did not ignore it, condemned it as harmful and undesirable. Fourth, it encouraged spectatorism by seeing the informed voter as the only model of citizenship and ignoring other forms of political involvement and participation. Fifth, it avoided political controversy and debate and tried to keep current issues out of the classroom. Sixth, it made little or no attempt to connect the world of politics with the world of children, thereby ignoring the opportunity to make politics meaningful and interesting to students. Seventh, it ignored the fact that classrooms and schools themselves were political milieus for children, who would therefore learn about politics from how they were taught as well as from what they were taught.³⁴⁰

These criticisms are, of course, not new, and they can be found time and again in recent discussions of political education. The Project members decided to follow the directions taken by political education in recent years. The newer approaches which emphasized issues, concepts and political participation all offered worthwhile and interesting alternatives to traditional civics. At the same time, the Project saw some weaknesses in them and sought an approach that would in some way combine their strengths while avoiding their defects. The search for such an approach led the Project to formulate a set of criteria against which to measure the materials it sought

to develop. In its view, a satisfactory approach to political education should meet these conditions:

- 1) It should give students a view of the political process as a whole, rather than only some particular slice of it.
- 2) It should give students knowledge and skills which would be transferable and generalizable. ie. useful in the future.
- 3) Political education should be organized around a few key concepts. ie. conflict, power, decision-making and political action.
- 4) Political education should encompass issues.
- 5) Any approach to political education must be understandable to students.
- 6) Any approach to political education must be interesting to students. ie. using the approach of the politics of everyday life.
- 7) Any approach to political education must take heed of the fact that students learn powerful messages from how they are taught as well as from what they are taught. ie. hidden curriculum.
- 8) Political education should encourage the disposition to become involved and active in the political process and should teach the appropriate skills.
- 9) Political education must be manageable in the classroom.³⁴¹

Subsequently, it was these nine criteria that governed the Project's work and which largely persuaded it to adopt David Easton's systems approach³⁴² to political analysis as a useful organizing device.

The primary purpose of the model was to serve as something that could be used to understand the political process, that would provide a problem-solving, or at least problem-analyzing method. For this purpose, the model was converted into a checklist of questions, (see Appendix B)³⁴³ which it was thought that teachers could easily work with and that students should be able to handle reasonably

easily and which they could use, not so much to solve political problems, but to analyze them.³⁴⁴

It is from this checklist that the main outlines of Easton's model were explicitly taught to students. Project members felt that, "if adults learned to think in these terms, to ask these questions, they would be able to analyze any political issue and, in the process, would learn a good deal about political institutions and structures, about such concepts as power, action, decision-making and conflict, and would almost automatically be involved in a process of active, participative learning".³⁴⁵

The task of writing student materials that embodied the criteria and list of questions was the aim of the project's team. The elementary team, which was made up of two upper elementary teachers, a junior high school principal, and two faculty members, concentrated on the development of stories based on political problems. "The stories were seen as vehicles for encouraging those understandings judged most important to an introductory study of politics".³⁴⁶ In particular, they were written to emphasize the following five points:

- politics is a normal part of everyday life;
- politics is a process that people engage in as they attempt to influence public decisions;
- disagreement and conflict are normal and potentially productive aspects of politics; and
- political issues are complex, multifaceted problems to which there are often no widely

agreed upon answers. Finally, it was intended that the stories would, through their cumulative impact, encourage informal insights and understandings that could serve as the basis for the later introduction of a transferable or generalizable model for analyzing political problems that it addressed explicitly in the project's secondary materials.³⁴⁷

In keeping with these five guidelines, the members of the Project set about writing student materials that would be effective in promoting participatory citizenship. The results included Politics and You, a book consisting of three case studies written as stories for grades 5 and 6 and a teacher's guide into conducting open discussion of the cases.³⁴⁸ Two of the stories have also been written as plays to provide an additional avenue for exploring politics.

In order to test the Project's effectiveness two studies were carried out to assess the team's political stories and activities. The first study consisted of piloting an initial form of the materials in 8 upper elementary classrooms and having teachers and students complete questionnaires after the trial.³⁴⁹ The initial piloting indicated a high level of teacher satisfaction with the material and provided insights into students' perceptions of how their understanding of politics had changed.³⁵⁰

The second study focused on the effect of using the materials on students' political attitudes and was more extensive and carefully controlled. Given the accumulated

evidence indicating that little or no increase in democratic orientations occurs under typical classroom conditions,³⁵¹ the study was designed to assess the effects of the materials on students' political attitudes under conditions that were as favorable as possible.

The study, "which employed a quasi-experimental design, was carried out using twenty-seven grade 6 classrooms in several southern Manitoba communities and one small city in northern Alberta. Of the 755 students that participated in the study, 449 used Politics and You as the basis of their social studies program for a four to five week period while the 306 students in the control group pursued their regular social studies program".³⁵²

Students' attitudes were assessed both before and after the treatment period using a thirty-seven item Likert-format questionnaire. Pretest and post-test responses indicated that the attitudes of the students who studied the stories in Politics and You became significantly more democratic.³⁵³ "Their responses were significantly more efficacious and less cynical. In addition, they indicated greater awareness of and acceptance of political conflict. Similarly, they became more approving of moderate political actions, but there was no change in their attitude toward more activist options like demonstrating. The magnitudes of these changes were such that on average there were 19% more positive changes

in each attitudinal area among the treatment group students than among those in the control group".³⁵⁴

Only long term research will show whether this approach to political education influences adult behaviour. Obviously, "a one-time intervention in Grade 6 can have only limited impact, but if the approach is reinforced and extended in subsequent grades, and if the general message of critical participation and involvement is reflected in everything that is done in school, then there is every reason to believe that political education will be politically effective".³⁵⁵

Since the Project was a great success at the elementary level it sought to develop material at the intermediate and high school level. One of the books, Politics is Simply a Public Affair has been used in grades 9 and 11. The Project fastened on two issues, and taught the students how to work through them. One was presented in the form of a simulation, encompassing the Project's chosen concepts of conflict, action, power and decision-making; in the other students were introduced to Easton's model and shown how it could be applied to the two case-studies.³⁵⁶

The Project has also produced high school materials that can be used in geography courses, focusing upon the issues of 'the politics of water' between Canada and the United States. The Politics of Water deals with water-related political issues that have arisen between Canada

and the US. It includes "a series of case studies dealing with industrial water pollution, acid rain, oil spills and existing as well as potential water diversions".³⁵⁷ Each case study provides specific background and examines how each issue has become a political conflict between Canada and the United States. It was written from a geographical, environmental and political perspective and may appeal most to science and geography students.³⁵⁸ The main context of the book is directly related to several topics outlined in the Manitoba grade 10 North American geography course.³⁵⁹

The Project members' efforts have been on-going, developing a series of teacher oriented papers and books, explaining the Project's philosophy and giving suggestions about teaching strategies. They are producing a videotape for teacher education and in-service use.³⁶⁰

In reviewing the work of the Political Education Project, two major criticisms have come to the forefront. First in analyzing the secondary materials, it is evident that they are not sensitive to political socialization research findings. The material doesn't reflect the fact that students at this age are capable of a high level of abstract thought and therefore require an intellectual sophistication in their curriculum. In particular it doesn't give them the means to challenge or re-assess already existing judgements or solidify the new political orientations that are in the process of formation. If the

Project ever hopes to be implemented in the high school curriculum it will have to: first, become more sensitive to political socialization research and provide students with a challenge to their learning and second, provide a more extensively detailed program with directions to educators of how and where the material can be included in the high school curriculum.

The second criticism is the choice of David Easton's systems approach. Ken Osborne's reasons behind this choice were based on its attempts to simply and clarify the fundamental ideas of political science in order than they could be adopted for school curricula. The underlying supposition was that if students learn to analyze one political system they will know how to analyze others, therefore reducing and simplifying the complexities of politics.³⁶¹

However, in the choice of this contested framework of political science, he has presented an approach that is embedded in the traditional pluralist approach to politics, that is known to be unduly American and presenting a status quo bias. By definition

the essence of the pluralist approach is the assumption that power is widely dispersed in society. Since in its extreme forms pluralism does not admit to the existence of structural inequalities within society, all individuals and groups are seen as having approximately equal access to the policy-making process. Therefore, they all have potentially equal influences on public policy outputs as long

as they organize themselves and play by the rules of the game- that is, as long as they abide by the underlying consensus on political values and procedures.³⁶²

The critiques of this approach abound especially in the Canadian policy-making context. First, it is argued that some groups never get a fair hearing for their interests because obstacles exist to placing certain issues on the agenda of political debate.³⁶³ For example Robert Jackson, Doreen Jackson and Nicolas Baxter-Moore argued "that the federalist organization of Canadian political life is more conducive to the expression of linguistic and regional issues than to the mobilization of redistributional issues based on social class. Since many class based issues such as labour legislation and welfare politics fall under provincial jurisdiction, it is more difficult to mobilize these interests across provincial boundaries. Thus, they are partially organized out of federal politics, while cultural and regional issues are organized in".³⁶⁴ In any case it is harder for the poor and the working class to become politically organized than for the rich or for business interests. The latter groups have more political and economic resources to bring to bear and their relatively small numbers facilitate mobilization.³⁶⁵ Therefore its easy to see that various groups do not have equal political resources or enjoy equal access to the policy-making process.

From this information it is obvious that Ken Osborne's use of this analysis doesn't give students an accurate presentation to the policy-making system in Canada. In turn it makes adopting this project into the curriculum difficult for education specialists who will have to account for this problem. However, we must not overlook the merits of the project in providing a general framework for political education development. It is the first political education program developed exclusively for the Canadian education system beginning at the elementary level.

In light of this Project's problems many other necessary didactics have been advanced in order for a more effective political education project to be developed. Willem Langeveld in Political Education for teenagers; aims, content and methods defines didactics as a "theory of planning the educational process. This includes the theory of teaching situations and teaching aids which are best suited to help a student reach an educational goal in the most efficient way".³⁶⁶ This means an analysis of the educational inputs that incorporate the didactics of political education is required in order to build an effective program. These inputs include: first, the 'climate' of the school; second, the attitudes and values of teachers as well as their style of teaching and teaching materials; and lastly, the attitudes of the education

hierarchy. It is only through the analysis of each didactic and the problems associated with them that a truly effective political education program can be constructed.

Didactic #1: The 'Climate' of the School.

Some political socialization researchers have claimed that the school is the leading agent of political socialization, overshadowing the family and other primary groups.³⁶⁷ They base this on the fact that it is through the school "that the child's emotional attachment to his country is developed as well as the norms of a citizen obedience, conformity and his right to participate are developed".³⁶⁸ In other words many of the lessons of democratic citizenship are learned in this institution.

In Canada an important civic aim of the education system "is to strengthen the cooperative social conscience that underlies the concept of democracy".³⁶⁹ But there seems to be no agreement on how this goal is to be achieved. Some have doubted whether schoolchildren can learn concepts such as democracy, freedom, and equality from schools which enforce constraint, hierarchy and inequality. According to one theory, the undemocratic nature of schools provides a 'hidden curriculum' which undermines the values the schools profess to teach.³⁷⁰ In other words "what is learned in school...depends far less on what is taught than on what one actually experiences in the place".³⁷¹ The hidden curriculum

arises out of the school's organizational imperative that there be order, hierarchical control, efficiency, and organized competition among students. Due to their concern with order, schools tend to organize tight time schedules, teach students submission to their teachers' control in classrooms, group students according to 'ability', and closely supervise all school activity. Teachers are advised to reinforce the school's order and control constantly, by placing primary concern on discipline and orderly movement as well as by avoiding explosive topics of discussion or learning.³⁷²

Therefore the presence of a hidden curriculum in high schools is severely disruptive to the political education of future democrats. "Not only does the authoritarian atmosphere of order and discipline promote attitudes of passivity, unhealthy dependency, submission, competition, and inequality that may be transferred to the polity, but it also prevents the actual teaching of values essential to democratic political behaviour".³⁷³ Richard Merelman summarizes the argument about the hidden curriculum by saying that "students cannot learn democracy in the school because the school is not a democratic place".³⁷⁴

One researcher in Canada has gone so far to say that "the organization of the schools in Canada, together with the formal curriculum in civics and government, combine to create a situation where democratic theory has been so divorced from practice that students are skeptical of both and are unable to develop an understanding of the skills necessary for meaningful participation in the practical life of the democratic society".³⁷⁵ American researchers

concluded in a recent investigation of civics education in ten different countries that perhaps a hierarchical organization such as the school is not the best setting for inculcating democratic values.³⁷⁶

Although these arguments are not without their merits it seems premature to abandon the school as a setting for teaching about democracy. For an effective political education program to counteract a hidden curriculum the climate of the classroom must change to possess such characteristics as: fair treatment, shared decision-making, a degree of student control over the environment, open discussion of controversial issues, and respect for student ideas. These characteristics will offer the best prospects for encouraging democratic attitudes and predispositions. Ideally the curriculum must also ensure that there is an open school environment that allows for maximum participation. "When a strong participatory component is included as an integral part of citizen education, both in and out of the classroom, students will learn important lessons in direct political decision-making, and can overcome most dangerous effects of the hidden curriculum more easily".³⁷⁷ This in turn will redefine the role of the student and will give them the feeling that they are involved in the actual formulation of school and classroom policies. Ideally, they will develop a predisposition to

participate actively and democratically in the political process.

Therefore one of the most important areas that must be changed is the shape and organization of schooling so that schools themselves embody and practice the values of democracy and participation that the curricula espouse. In conjunction with this there must be a change in the attitudes and values of teachers as well as their style of teaching.

Didactic #2: Teachers and Style of Teaching.

There are generally four ingredients for successful teaching: expertise in one's subject, pedagogical skill, innovative teaching materials and personal conviction. In terms of expertise in one's subject, most high school teachers in Canada have no formal training in political science.³⁷⁸ In a recent study by Marshall Wm. Conley of political science high school teachers in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick "it was discovered that only 18% had a university degree with a minor in Political Science, while 41% had only taken one Political Science course at university. Finally, 12% of the teachers of political science had never taken a Political Science course in university. Not a single teacher responding to the questionnaire indicated that they had ever taken a teaching methods course in Political Science".³⁷⁹ There is only one province that does recommend that teachers teaching political science have a background in the discipline, this being Nova Scotia.³⁸⁰

Marshall Wm. Conley's survey also revealed that since teachers lack this expertise they still possess traditional attitudes towards political skills. When asked what political skills teachers considered students should acquire in a political science course, "the majority answered that they wanted the students to be aware of who the important people were in public affairs; to distinguish

between the various levels and branches of government; and a vague feeling that students should be able to participate in the political system".³⁸¹

These observations are not surprising in light of the pedagogical skills noted by political researchers. British and American researchers, for example, "have found that what can be loosely described as traditional pedagogy prevails in most classrooms, where the teacher dominates the instructional process, the students are largely confined to routine assignments and worksheets, and learning remains largely at the level of following instructions and memorizing".³⁸² Another researcher, L. Cuban, speaks of a 'persistent instruction' which he describes as "a durable core of teacher practices, consisting largely of lecturing, large-group instruction, reliance on a textbook and chalkboard, seatwork assignments, recitation, discussion and the use of teacher-made quizzes and tests".³⁸³

In Canada there is abundant evidence to indicate this kind of pattern also exists. In 1968, for example, Hodgetts reported that "86% of classes observed stuck closely to the textbook and could only be described as deskbound and bored listeners".³⁸⁴ A 1977 assessment of social studies in B.C. found that only a small minority of teachers wanted the right to choose their own textbooks, preferring that such decisions be made at a higher level. This study also found

class-discussion and audio-visual presentations to be the most reported methods of teaching, although as the report notes, both methods are frequently characterized by a high degree of student passivity.³⁸⁵ Similar evidence can be found in the 1975 social studies assessment done in Alberta. At that time the social studies curriculum recommended three instructional modes: 1) the designative (what is); 2) the appraisive (what should be); and 3) the prescriptive (what should be done); and found that only the designative was thoroughly taught. The report found an 80% emphasis on the designative, 20% on the appraisive and no orientation whatsoever to the prescriptive.³⁸⁶ Indeed, 40% of the teachers rejected the whole open-inquiry, no textbook approach- a finding supported recently in Quebec where it was found that a majority of history and social studies teachers chose not to deal with political issues in their classrooms, and indeed declared themselves opposed to such discussion.³⁸⁷

Even as recently as 1984 when Manitoba assessed its social studies program and students reported that most of their time was spent sitting at their desks, listening or taking notes-although, interestingly enough, teachers reported that much of their time was spent in discussion.³⁸⁸ The terms are confusing, but it seems that what teachers see as discussion, with all its overtones of

participation and activity, students see as lectures or worse.

From all this, it seems reasonable to conclude that teaching continues to be predominantly didactic, expository and authoritarian. It socializes students rather than helping their development.

A further problem for teachers today especially in the Canadian school system is the teaching materials are outdated and rooted in past techniques. In Webking's analysis of political curriculum materials he found that much of the material conveys a naive and unrealistic image of political life that confuses the ideals of democracy and the realities of politics.³⁸⁹ It fails to convey sufficient knowledge about political behaviour and processes and ignores, or poorly treats, such traditionally important political science concepts as freedom, sovereignty, consensus, authority, class, compromise and power. The same is true for some newer concepts such as roles, socialization, culture and decision-making. He also found that the curriculum material is "deficient in developing within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways, or to acquaint them with the process of social science scientific inquiry, or to provide them with the capacity to analyze political decisions and values".³⁹⁰ Finally and most importantly, the material fails to develop within

students an understanding of the capacities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in politics.³⁹¹

In Osborne's analysis he also found that traditional approaches to the teaching of politics had become outmoded in the education curriculum.

First, they concentrate on institutions at the national level- to the exclusion of more local concerns. Second, they present an idealized and therefore unrealistic view of politics; they talk about the world as it is supposed to be, not as it is. The result is to make youngsters unduly cynical when they come to see the difference between what they are taught and what in fact exists. Third, they deal with institutions rather than with processes and, in particular they deal not so much with politics as with government. Fourth, and most damaging, they have not worked, as suggested by the consistent research findings of the low level of political participation by most people.³⁹²

It is evident from this analysis that many new and innovative teaching methods and materials are needed in order to build an effective political education program. The solution lies in recent approaches to the teaching of politics, which give much more explicit and systematic attention to the goals of increased participation, efficacy and competence.³⁹³ In particular, they are characterized by these features:

- 1)The traditional legal-historical-institutional approach has been largely abandoned in favour of conceptual models derived from the discipline of political science.
- 2)The organizing principles of curriculum are either issues or concepts rather than factual descriptions of events or institutions.

- 3) Case-studies are a popular teaching device for introducing students to issues and problems.
- 4) Discovery/inquiry strategies are favoured so that students learn how to handle problems and formulate personal opinions and so that classrooms themselves exemplify participation and involvement.
- 5) Politics is broadly defined to include political systems and/or political behaviour. Politics is seen as broader in scope than government and in some cases includes the politics of everyday life.
- 6) Politics is seen as based on conflict (of ideas and interests) and the attempt to contain and manage it, rather than a consensus.
- 7) Care is taken to make learning as concrete and experiential as possible through simulation, role-playing and similar techniques.
- 8) Political action and participation are being increasingly emphasized.
- 9) There is a serious concern for politically relevant attitudes and values, ie. tolerance, rationality, competence, efficacy.
- 10) An important goal is that students learn life-long skills and attitudes, so that their political learning does not end when they leave school.³⁹⁴

All this describes the considerations one has to keep in mind when organizing a program at the macro level of the program. It says little about more immediate questions of teaching strategies and classroom organization on a micro level.³⁹⁵

At the micro level the teachers should assume a more active role in the classroom as problem posers and challengers of students critical thinking capacities. "Teachers who behave like Socrates' challenge students about what they know and believe will be encouraging intellectual debate and growth as well as an active attitude toward the world around them, all of which are

important to good citizenship".³⁹⁶ Beyond this, teachers should stimulate discussion of controversial issues in such a way as to assure students they are free to express divergent viewpoints. "The classroom climate should foster student decision-making and influence on how the classroom operates, so that students believe that they share responsibility with the teacher".³⁹⁷

With this existence of an open climate and the frequent use of discussion methods people will be more politically effective. In short, this participation in school is conducive to participation outside it. As Almond and Verba have found:

...if in most social situations the individual finds himself subservient to some authority figure, it is likely that he will expect such an authority relationship in the political sphere. On the other hand, if outside the political sphere he has opportunities to participate in a wide range of social decisions, he will probably expect to be able to participate in political decisions as well. Furthermore, participation in non-political decision-making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation.³⁹⁸

In order to increase this participation with a certain sense of confidence, more information is necessary in the education process. This has traditionally been difficult since the subject matter of politics is often abstract in nature and far removed from the concerns of youngsters, who even in high school, think mostly in concrete terms.³⁹⁹ One solution was to see politics beyond mere government and

institutions but as Hodgetts and Gallagher describe as part of the politics of everyday life.

...a third approach to the acquisition of initial familiarity with and competency in the tasks of citizenship is to capitalize on the everyday situations encountered by the children themselves which involve their own group decisions and choices. At home they encounter rules about their own conduct and at least sometimes share in the decisions made; at school and in the neighbourhood they encounter other rules determined in different ways... The informed analysis of such political situations are child-related opportunities to develop understandings and senses of group responsibility and social obligation, of far more benefit than memorization of legalistic descriptions of government practices or abstract political concepts...⁴⁰⁰

It is from such approaches as the 'politics of everyday life' that researchers have developed four techniques that have proven to be effective and innovative teaching methods. These include: 1) the discussion method; 2) case studies; 3) simulation and role-playing and 4) action programs.

The first technique is the discussion method which has proven to be especially appropriate in the teaching of politics for three reasons: First, political questions can rarely be satisfactorily resolved by sanction, at least not in a democracy. They are precisely matters for investigation and discussions. Second, in everyday life, when people consider politics at all, they usually do so via discussion and conversation. Third, "there is some evidence that the use of discussion techniques in the

classroom can enhance political efficacy, or, to put it more cautiously, can increase the sense of personal competence which in turn bears upon the sense of political efficacy".⁴⁰¹

In order to get the optimal results from this technique certain elements are necessary. First, there has to be an open climate. "Students are unlikely to offer serious arguments and opinions unless they see some point in what they are doing and know that their ideas will be taken seriously".⁴⁰² The second component is the stage setting within the classroom. One of the findings of the research upon teaching is that it is most effective when students know what to expect. "Therefore it is best to begin with a specific and real incident, preferably something recent and in the news, so that discussion can begin with personal reactions to and opinions about a concrete episode which, at the same time raises general questions".⁴⁰³

Thirdly, successful discussion presupposes that participants possess the necessary skills. For example the Harvard Social Studies Project booklet Taking A Stand, summarizes these skills and rules as "a) developing a sensitivity to what others are saying; b) stating the issue(s) over which disagreement occurs; c) pursuing issues systematically and with continuity; d) making explicit any changes or transitions in the discussion; and e) weighing

the relevance of statements".⁴⁰⁴ Having isolated these required skills, the best way to teach them to students is a combination of explanation, practice-sessions, and the analysis of discussion scripts or tapes.⁴⁰⁵

A slightly different approach to the discussion method is based upon assigned readings. It is here that researchers have developed the 'Group Cognitive Map'⁴⁰⁶ to guide the discussion. It consists of nine steps which if followed can take a group very effectively through a topic. The steps are:

- 1) definition of terms and concepts; 2) general statement of an author's message;
- 3) identification of themes and sub-topics;
- 4) allocation of time for discussion of the various themes and sub-topics; 5) discussion of the themes and sub-topics; 6) integration of the material with other knowledge; 7) application of the material; 8) evaluation of author's arguments;
- 9) evaluation of the effectiveness of the discussion.⁴⁰⁷

Another useful aid to discussion is a technique which has been widely used in moral education called the 'dilemma'. B.K. Beyer defines these as "stories which present a central character in a problematic situation for which there are several possible responses and in which a number of moral issues come in conflict".⁴⁰⁸ The importance of a dilemma is that it "must raise a problem to which there is a range of possible solutions and these solutions must involve conflicting values or rights. Therefore, this technique may help both to make students

more competent by teaching them useful skills and more efficacious by enhancing their self-concept".⁴⁰⁹

One of the advantages of discussion strategies, and especially of dilemmas, is that they can help to make the often abstract issues and concepts of politics more tangible to youngsters. The second technique, case studies, has the same advantage. As noted earlier, the recent projects in political education have made wide use of case-studies. A case study is a story that "focuses upon an incident or an issue, either historical or contemporary, in order to make a point or raise a question".⁴¹⁰ They act as a vehicle for making the general, particular; or the abstract, concrete. They reduce a large topic to manageable proportions. "It is therefore important that they are simple enough for students to deal with but, at the same time, contain enough information for them to appreciate the complexities involved. It is also important that they focus on specific issues, but at the same time raise general concerns".⁴¹¹

The merits of the case study technique are many since they can make use of current as well as past information and at the same time make teaching methods up-to-date.

The third technique encompasses role-playing and simulation games. The pedagogical advantages of these techniques are easily described.

First, they give students much more responsibility for their own learning. Second, they arouse involvement and participation often in a personal way and so bring about a sense of commitment to what is happening in the classroom. Third, they are able to make abstract issues more concrete and hence more comprehensive by providing for personal experience of the issues or topics under study. Fourth, they can often break the ice in the formal atmosphere of a classroom both by bringing students together in a non-threatening setting and by altering the quality of teacher student relationships. Fifth, they allow different students to do well. Those students who excel with more formal teaching are not necessarily the ones who will stand out in a simulation-game. In short, simulation and role-playing have considerable potential for changing the rules of the hidden curriculum.⁴¹²

Perhaps the main advantage of simulation games is their ability to make learning experiential, thereby providing for student involvement and for making the abstract, concrete.⁴¹³ In T.F. Carney's words, "it's active rather than passive- the student doesn't just sit there while you fill him/her up with facts. Gaming requires that the student actively take a role; that he/she should sympathize with others and participate widely in peer group discussion, fact-finding and problem-solving".⁴¹⁴ Also, the success of a simulation game isn't dependent on the skill of the instructor as a leader, the students can judge for themselves how effective the exercise has been.

The other technique, role-playing, is for students themselves to assume characters and portray some episode

either via a script they have prepared or via improvisation. This of course, is the approach underlying model parliaments and mock elections.⁴¹⁵

All these techniques do more than base learning upon personal experience. All help to bring the world of politics into a closer fit with the world of the student. "If, as Entwistle argues, from a child's viewpoint politics is inevitably in the future- it is something for which students prepare but cannot actually enter then these techniques help to put the child, at least vicariously, into various political contexts".⁴¹⁶

The fourth technique, action programs, require the student to move outside of the classroom into a wider political arena. In short, student action programs can occur in at least five forms: "1) voluntary service with social agencies; 2) community projects; 3) political action with political parties or interest groups; 4) community study and surveys; and 5) internships in a community organization".⁴¹⁷ Advocates of action programs insist that such activities are not extracurricular but rather are part of the curriculum, integrated where possible with more conventional courses and offered for credit.⁴¹⁸

The merits of action programs consist of more than just going into the community and doing something. "They involve choices and priorities as to what should be done, they involve considerable research into issues and

problems, they involve confronting and dealing with political realities, they involve learning the art of negotiation, persuasion and influence. They aim at developing a particular kind of citizenship as well as immersing the student in the political realities of everyday life".⁴¹⁹

Harold Entwistle developed this theme of action programs and advocates "the merit of active participation in voluntary school groups in that this reflects the concept of associational democracy- a notion embodying much more realistically the concrete forms of participation available to the ordinary citizen".⁴²⁰

The advantages of these new and innovative teaching methods are numerous. First, they bring the outmoded traditional practices up-to-date and therefore, change the course of teaching in the education curriculum. Secondly, they enhance student's feelings of competence and efficacy, and finally, give them a feel for the real world of politics.

Beyond the specifics of teaching, when asking teachers of their own personal convictions of the merits of political education, elementary teachers predominantly feel "that politics doesn't deserve a very important place in the curricular and pedagogical priorities. In many cases they see the topic as too abstract and complex to be effectively taught to young children. In others they feel

that the subject matter is simply inappropriate".⁴²¹ As well their teacher training institutions have argued that since politics is not formally a subject in the elementary curricula, there is neither the time nor place for it in their professional program.⁴²²

At the high school level some teachers have argued against political education based on the fact that:

schools could become the arena of party politics; political indoctrination will lie in wait at the threshold of every classroom; children are too young to understand politics anyway, especially the darker side of it; politics should be left to the parents, there is no time to do it well, and in this field half-knowledge is worse than no knowledge, so schools had better stay away from it. Apart from the enormous amount of energy that would have to be invested in a change of curriculum-- a change that would also have consequence for the teaching hours spend on other subjects.⁴²³

The only hope for improvement and change in a teacher's personal conviction, as well as expertise in the subject and pedagogical skill is the development of a speciality training facility. In 1988, the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto sought to rectify this situation with a newly created certification of intermediate and senior political science teachers. It was the first institution in Canada that offered this opportunity to train and certify political science teachers for secondary schools. The faculty required that teachers possess a Bachelor of Education with two teaching subjects including politics. The extent of their background in

political science was the minimum requirement of two university courses in the subject. Within the faculty there was no set number of seats reserved for political science students; it was more a matter of demand. In the first year there were 30 students, while in 1989 there were only 15. Although the numbers were low, the objectives of the course were very advanced and used the most up-to-date political science teaching methods. For example:

1) concepts and issues are used in teaching politics in secondary school; 2) there is an emphasis on student centered activities; 3) an emphasis on political current events; 4) teaching politics based on elections; 5) using community resources for teaching; and 6) integration and interactive learning are emphasized.⁴²⁴

This is a very encouraging advance towards increased political science training in the school system. First, it provides the teachers with new and innovative pedagogical skills. Secondly and most importantly, the certification corrects the problem of teachers teaching without expertise in their field and may also force the boards of education to require certified political science teachers instead of merely accepting history or social studies teachers teaching political science as an alternative or supplement to their main discipline. Finally, it will provide teachers with the personal conviction that this is a much needed subject in the education curriculum.

Didactic #3: The Education Hierarchy.

The Education Hierarchy is the third and final didactic in an effective political education program. As with the other didactics there are three problems that must be acknowledged: the first problem to overcome is the fact that the Ministries of Education have not formally implemented political science at the kindergarten to grade 6 level. If we take the information revealed from political socialization research in which values and attitudes develop rapidly during the ages of 5 and 12, and if the school is to discharge its obligations in political education, then certainly the fundamentals of political science must be stressed more in the elementary grades than they presently are.

As stated earlier, children at this level are developing politically relevant attitudes, as well as notions about political efficacy, political trust and tolerance of political conflict. This early development of political attitudes alone constitutes a sound argument for teaching about politics at this age. The case is further strengthened by the often negative nature and inadequate understanding of politics that accompany the development of attitudes. For example in a study of political attitudes of over 700 grade 6 students in Southern Manitoba and Northern Alberta it was found that "60% held negative views of politicians and the political process. A similar

majority viewed political disagreements as being undesirable and a waste of time".⁴²⁵ Other studies in Canada have shown that most children describe basic political institutions and processes less adequately than they do their physical and social worlds.⁴²⁶ This combination of ignorance and negativism suggests that if we ignore the serious teaching of politics in elementary schools, we miss an important and possibly critical opportunity for the development of civic competence and political participation.

The second problem is associated with the lack of coordination between the provincial Ministries of Education and the Boards of Education. In the education system in Canada the Ministries of Education are responsible for providing the curriculum directives to their Boards of Education. It is then up to the various individual school boards to decide whether to implement these course guidelines in their curriculum. In the case of political studies, some boards believe in the necessity of them in the curriculum while others don't. A prime example is comparing the two school boards in the Ottawa area. In an interview with Mr. Paul Caron of the programming department of the Carleton Board of Education, he sees no need to implement politics into the curriculum because it is briefly covered in their general history course. The only way that this policy would be changed is if a pressure

group like the Parents of Gifted Children's Association demanded it be imposed, or if a teacher designed a politics course based on the civics method. The Carleton Board of Education is not prepared to make political education a board-wide policy.

In comparison, in an interview with Mr. Shapiro, the programmer for the Ottawa Board of Education, he stated that the Board had just recently approved the implementation of an OAC Politics course. This began when a social science programmer proposed this course to him and also found a qualified teacher who was able to design a program meeting the Ministry's guidelines. This was the first time in the Ottawa area that a political science course had been offered at the secondary level. It began as a pilot project in January of 1989 and proved to be extremely successful with 42 in the class and 20 on the waiting list. It was then approved in June of 1989 and Sept of 1989 to be a full credit course. This information illustrates the fact that there is no consistent opportunity for political education in the Ottawa area, with only one school board offering political studies. This has also proven to be the case between provinces and throughout the nation. Within the whole of Canada there is a lack of coordination and subsequently a breakdown in a consistent political education for all students based on the judgments of the Boards of Education.

The last problem in the Education Hierarchy is the burden it places on teachers. In both cases the school boards in the Ottawa area mentioned that if a politics course was to be implemented it would be up to a teacher to design the course. This is due to the fact that the Ministry simply provides curriculum guidelines which are usually limiting in that they are statements of broad objectives rather than specific content. This means teachers are given full responsibility to design and implement their own politics courses. "This decentralization of curriculum design and development to the level of the individual teacher, accompanied by the elimination of the provincially prescribed textbook or learning materials, has meant that although teachers have largely been given the opportunity to do what they want, most have been given neither a framework or learning materials to do very much effectively".⁴²⁷

In many cases teachers feel insecure when asked to consider programs that demand initiative and creative ability. This is especially the case with politics, this being such a new subject in teaching. It is a burden on teachers who cannot bear major revision and creativity without hierarchical support.

Canadian studies teachers encountered the same problems back in the 1960's. Their solution was the creation of an outside organization; the Canadian Studies

Foundation. "It was necessary in light of the fact that older educational structures found it difficult to effect a revamping of the curriculum to accommodate modern theories. It was this process of change that affected professional groups, educational authorities, and research and training institutions".⁴²⁸

Today we see the response to political science teachers' needs in a limited number of proposals. The most prevalent project was the Political Education Project, established at the University of Manitoba in 1981. One of its goals was to make political education manageable in the classroom for teachers. Since many of the members of the Project were active teachers, they were all aware that "curriculum innovations often placed unrealistic demands upon already hard pressed teachers, who have neither the time, the training nor the resources to implement innovations effectively".⁴²⁹ In questionnaires distributed to teachers after the initial use of the Project materials there was a high level of satisfaction with the materials produced.

Since the publishing of Osborne's project many other committees and associations have come forward to address the problem of the lack of teaching materials for teachers, and more specifically how to approach teaching current political issues that will affect the future of students. This was particularly the case with the constitutional

reforms proposed in 1992, after Gallup polls revealed that "71% of Canadians knew little or nothing about the federal government's proposed constitutional reforms".⁴³⁰ Efforts turned to how students may be better equipped to make decisions about Canada's future. The National Association of Educators felt the only solution was to bring the constitutional debates into the classroom. "After an informal survey showed most Canadian teachers didn't know how to approach the sensitive subject of national unity, or didn't have the time to research it, the association decided it was time to stir discussion about Canada's future in classrooms".⁴³¹ Dick Dodds, president of the Toronto-based Canadian Education Association, established a 12 member committee, including two francophones and a native Canadian, to come up with the education plan it called 'Connecting Canada'.⁴³² In September 1992, the committee made available guidelines and research tools to teachers from grade 6 to post-secondary colleges.⁴³³ The only problem encountered was that each province decided independently what was passed on to local school boards and subsequently what was taught in the classroom. All in all, this was a very encouraging effort to make current political material more viable for the classroom. Hopefully, in the future more material will be requested and produced by similar associations, as well as provincial Ministries of Education, in order to supplement political education in Canada.

Conclusion:

In analyzing how a political education program can be successfully accomplished in the Canadian education system the formula is both clear and detailed however the will to do it is not. Unlike the movement that established political education throughout the whole school system in Britain, Canada's will for this same goal has consisted of merely isolated efforts and changes.

The first efforts came in response to political socialization research which revealed that in order to avoid the apparent low interest in politics and sense of efficacy in adolescents, political education must begin during the elementary school years. The Political Education Project in Manitoba was the first to respond to this by developing a general framework and classroom materials for political studies at the elementary grades. Although there were inherent problems in its choice of theoretical analysis, it was effective in its development of materials to make students more efficacious, less cynical and significantly more democratic.

With the development of the Project came a general framework for establishing political education however, three other necessary and specific didactics in producing an effective political education program became apparent. In reviewing Canada's progress as of 1993 only one area has shown the will to change to meet the required components.

This came in the development of a speciality training facility at the University of Toronto. It provided teachers with new and innovative pedagogical skills, certification for expertise in their field, training in the use of innovative teaching materials and the personal conviction that political science was a much needed subject in the education curriculum. It was this facility that brought outmoded traditional practices and thoughts up-to-date and therefore changed the course of teaching in the education curriculum.

The will to change has not been apparent in the remaining two necessary didactics of a political education program. First, many of the schools in Canada still don't provide an open school environment fostering maximum participation by all students in order to counteract the hidden curriculum that may be part of the climate of the school. Secondly, a change in the philosophy of the Education Hierarchy at its Ministerial level has not changed in terms of: 1) its programming of political studies to begin at the elementary level, 2) its co-ordination of courses between school boards in order for all students to have the opportunity to study political science, 3) its responsibility to teachers by making current political material more viable for the classroom and finally, opening its doors to new experimental projects.

It is the combination of these three didactics as well as the general framework provided by the Political Education Project that have produced guidelines for the development of an effective political education program in the education system in Canada, however it may take a decade or more to find the willpower to implement the changes needed to accomplish this goal.

The material compiled in Appendix A is based on information and statistics as revealed through interviews with the Social Studies Coordinators of the Provincial and Territorial Ministries of Education from the school year 1991-1992.

Appendix A:

Political Education Chart by Province.		Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.E.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Totals across Canada
Elementary Course Plan.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8 Yes
Intermediate Course Plan.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	8 Yes
Number of Intermediate Courses considered Political content.	2	1	2	2	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	15
Number of Secondary Courses considered Political content.	6	6	6	6	6	6	10	4	4	7	6	7	5	78
Number of courses at grade nine.	1	1	1	1	1	1	10 or 1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11 or 12
Number of courses at grade ten.	2	1	1	2	1	1	0 or 1	0	0	1	1	1	2	12 or 13
Number of courses at grade eleven.	2	5	1	1	1	1	0 to 5	1	1	3	1	1	1	18 to 23
Number of courses at grade twelve.	3	1	3	4	4	-	0 to 5	2	2	2	3	4	1	25 to 30
Number of one year (*) courses.	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	0	0	2	3	2	0	17
Number of two year (**) courses.	6	5	4	5	2	2	6	4	4	2	3	5	5	51
Number of three year (***) courses.	1	2	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	10
Number of compulsory courses.	1	1	2	1	1	4	1	2	1	4	2	3	5	27
Number of optional courses.	7	7	4	7	1	1	9	2	3	3	4	4	0	51
Number of one year (*) courses that are optional.	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	10
Number of one year (*) courses that are compulsory.	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	7
Number of two year (**) courses that are optional.	5	4	2	5	1	1	5	2	3	0	2	2	0	32
Number of two year (**) courses that are compulsory.	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	3	5	19
Number of three year (***) courses that are compulsory.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Number of three year (***) courses that are optional.	1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	9
Number of one year (*) courses at grade nine.	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4
Number of one year (*) courses at grade ten.	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4

Appendix B.

Checklist of Questions:

I. CONFLICT OR ISSUE.

- A. What is the conflict or issue?

II. THE ENVIRONMENT.

- A. Why is the subject an issue at all?

1. Who is demanding what?
2. Why do people (and how many) become interested and concerned?
3. Is there an incident or event which acts as a spark?
4. Do the media draw attention to the subject?
5. What groups and/or individuals become involved?
6. Do these groups or individuals act through:
 - i. letters to the editor?
 - ii. open line shows?
 - iii. meetings?
 - iv. demonstrations?
 - v. petitions?
 - vi. advertising campaigns?
 - vii. other forms of publicity?
 - viii. contacting elected representatives?
 - ix. other?

- B. What stands are taken on the issue?

1. What viewpoints are expressed and by whom?
2. Do 'important' people (ie. celebrities or big names) become involved?
3. What groups/organizations take a stand?
4. Does the issue divide people according to:
 - i. region?
 - ii. language or culture?
 - iii. religion?
 - iv. social class?
 - v. age?
 - vi. occupation?
 - vii. political beliefs?
 - viii. other?

III. INPUTS (Demands and Supports).

- A. How does the issue enter into politics?

1. Does the involvement of groups/organizations make a difference?
2. If so, which groups?
 - i. churches?
 - ii. labour organizations?
 - iii. business organizations?
 - iv. political parties?
 - v. cultural groups?
 - vi. single-issue groups, especially formed for

- the purpose?
 - vii. other?
 - 3. What part do the media play?
 - 1. how much and what kind of publicity?
 - ii. factual reporting?
 - iii. interpretation and comment.
 - 4. Do elected representatives take a stand?
 - 5. If so, who and why?
- B. What happens once the issue has entered politics?
 - 1. What actions are taken by 1) supporters and 2) opponents of the demand(s)? Specifically.
 - do they use the media?
 - do they try to influence people?
 - do they hold meetings or demonstrations?
 - do they organize petitions?
 - other?
- C. How do people feel about politics?
 - 1. Do they support or oppose the political system generally?
 - 2. Do they support or oppose the particular government which is in power?
 - 3. How does this support or opposition affect their actions?

IV. GATEKEEPERS

- 1. Which people, group or organization give support to the subject at issue?
- 2. What makes them influential?

V. DECISION-MAKING AND POWER (the conversion of inputs to outputs).

- A. How do the people in power respond to the demand(s)?
 - 1. Ignore it.
 - 2. Completely oppose it:
 - take action against leaders
 - make threats
 - present arguments against it
 - other
 - 3. Divert attention away from it.
 - 4. Look for a compromise solution.
 - 5. Accept it.
 - 6. Other.
- B. Who makes the decisions?
 - 1. What part is played by elected representatives?
 - 2. What part is played by civil servants and advisers?
 - 3. Do some people or groups have more influence than others over the decision?

C. What influences the decision-makers?

1. What is their background?
 - education
 - social class
 - previous jobs
 - political beliefs
 - religion
 - ethnic origin
 - other
2. How do they get their information?
 - from private sources
 - from the media
 - from opinion polls
 - other
3. What factors do the decision-makers have to consider?
 - finances and economy
 - public opinion
 - foreign reaction
 - personal conscience
 - opinions of colleagues
 - other

D. What are the procedures for making a decision?

1. What constitutional rules must be observed?
2. What steps must be taken to see that everyone is consulted?
3. What laws must be taken into account?

VI. WHAT DECISION IS MADE? (Output)

1. What do the people in power decide to do?

VII. FEEDBACK (Impact of the decision)

1. Who supports the decision?
2. Who opposes it?
3. What do they do about it?
4. Do other people or groups become involved?
5. If so, how?
6. Are new demands created?
7. Is support strengthened or weakened for:
 - a) the political system generally?
 - b) the government in power in particular?

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