

REFLECTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION  
IN MANITOBA CIVICS TEXTBOOKS, 1911 – 2007:  
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

By

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Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
The University of Manitoba  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Faculty of Education  
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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of  
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree**

**Of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

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## Abstract

Civics and social studies textbooks have always played a critical role in the delivery of the state's understanding of citizenship and citizenship education. However, in Manitoba, the approved and recommended civics textbooks for this purpose have not been previously examined in any depth for the notions of citizenship and citizenship education they reflect. This study addresses this knowledge gap by investigating the notions of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba civics/social studies textbooks from 1911 to 2007. The theoretical framework of the study drew on critical social theory, while the conceptual framework was derived from a model of citizenship in contemporary liberal democracies. Two qualitative research methods – content analysis and historical inquiry – were utilized, accompanied by thematic analysis, to determine the citizenship and citizenship education themes. Ninety Manitoba civics/social studies textbooks, used over three eras, were analysed.

Findings suggest that, despite overlaps among the eras in citizenship themes, the textbooks used in each era depict a predominant civics theme. The Assimilation Era, 1911-1920, was dominated by British norms and values, and the attempt to assimilate minorities into these notions. The Community Life and Service Era, 1921-1960, was characterized by an expectation that students would understand the importance of community life, how democratic governments and service organizations operated and provided assistance at the local, provincial, national, and international levels, and the expectation that it was incumbent on students to give back to their community. The Multiculturalism Era, 1961-2007, was characterized by

ethno-cultural diversity, belonging, human rights and equality for all, critical thinking and active citizen participation. Global education and sustainable development were new themes that emerged in Manitoba textbooks during the early 2000s.

Notions of citizenship and citizenship education in civics textbooks, across these three eras, ranged from a strongly republican conception in the 1910s to a strongly liberal notion in the late 1990s, with neo-liberal orientations in the 2000s. Limitations of each of these notions for more inclusive citizenship education are identified. Proposals are made for reconceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education that would further address inclusivity and belonging and that better reflects current demographic changes taking place in Manitoba's society and schools. Intimate citizenship, cultural citizenship, the social equality dimension of multicultural citizenship, and transnational citizenship are presented as emerging notions of citizenship and citizenship education worthy of exploration in future Manitoba civics and citizenship curricula and textbooks.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation examines and analyses approved and recommended civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools between 1911 and 2007 in order to describe their notions/meanings of citizenship and citizenship education.

In this introductory chapter, I provide the background to the study, the purpose of the study, the research questions, and the theoretical framework utilized in the study, the significance of the study, the delimitations of the study, definitions of terms, and the organization of the study.

### *Background*

#### *The Global Upsurge of Interest in Citizenship and Citizenship Education*

Recently, there has been an upsurge of interest in the topic of citizenship and citizenship education. This is evidenced by government reports, graduate theses and dissertations, academic books and articles, curricula and policy statements, and publications by professional associations.

A broad range of factors account for this global upsurge in attention to citizenship and citizenship education. These factors include globalization and neoliberalism, the increase in human migration and the formation of transnational communities, increasing diversity within the nation-states and the demands to limit assimilationist and exclusionary policies, and the move towards multiculturalism. All of these global trends are interacting and impacting on schools in their understanding and teaching of citizenship and citizenship education, and the role teachers and civics textbooks play in addressing diversity, inclusion, critical

thinking, participation, identity formation, belonging, equalization of opportunities, and addressing the profoundly negative impacts of globalization.

According to Dale (2000), globalization is “constructed through three related sets of activities: economic, political and cultural. These may be characterized as hyper-liberalism, governance without government, and commodification and consumerism” (p. 436). Beginning in the 1990s and through the international “globalizing agencies” of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Bank, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the European Commission, globalization has changed the role of the state both nationally and internationally, and, particularly, the role of the public institution of education. Scholars (Osborne, 2001; Bruno-Jofre & Henley, 2002) have argued that the three functions of education – citizenship and participation, development of individual abilities, and training for the world of work – have struggled for dominance in schools over time, but the impact of globalization has tilted the scales substantially in favour of the latter function, training for the world of work.

Bruno-Jofre and Henley (2001) described this reconceptualization of citizenship education: “Citizenship education has not so much disappeared from the schools as its understanding has been increasingly related to a market democracy based on the promotion of self-interest with little emphasis on the promotion of the public good” (p. 51). Schellenberg (2004) described this shift from the educating of the citizen for the public good and participation in society, to that of customers and entrepreneurs operating in an international market. This globalism is supported by neoliberalism – a political-economic philosophy according to which state policies

are driven by the global marketplace. Neoliberalism is promoted through large international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to which Canada belongs, and by developed nations such as the United States and organizations such as the European Union. Neoliberalism seeks to encourage the marketization of institutions and services to the near exclusion of public service delivery. The needs of the market must be assured and, in so doing, the traditional conception of the “public good” undergoes fundamental change. Since citizenship for the public good is one of the core purposes of schooling, scholarly interest in the philosophy of neoliberalism is strong. Thus, the impact of the economic priorities of globalization and neoliberalism on education is a growing concern among scholars interested in citizenship and citizenship education.

As with globalization and neoliberalism, international migration and transnational communities have further challenged our notions of citizenship and citizenship education. Increasingly since the 1960s and 1970s, immigration-oriented nations have been faced with the issue of the inclusion of millions of immigrants and their descendents into a reconceptualized citizenship, one based far less on the concept of nation state and more on multiple and transnational citizenship in a global community. The main national approaches to immigration and citizenship, including assimilation which requires immigrants to take on the language and cultural life of the dominant society, and differentiated exclusion which welcomes workers but not settlers, no longer seem to be working. Immigrant destination nations have found it increasingly difficult to prevent workers from becoming settlers, deporting workers, or to denying their social rights. Consequently,

multicultural citizenship appears an acceptable response to accommodate diversity, resulting in more inclusionary and less exclusionary practices. However, as Castles (2004) has pointed out, while multiculturalism “means abandoning the myth of homogeneous and monocultural nation-states, it can still be seen as a way of controlling difference within the nation-state frameworks, because it does not question the territorial principle” (p. 27).

On the other hand, transnational communities, where individuals flow regularly between various nation states, question the very boundaries of national states. Corporations and individuals are highly mobile, travel is inexpensive and easy, and many jobs are temporary, facilitated by high-speed communications through the Internet. As Castles (2004) states: “The increasing importance of cross-border flows and networks undermines the principle of the nation-state as the predominant site for organizing economic, political, cultural, and social life” (p. 18). Individuals now have multiple identities and different belongings. Worldwide globalization, immigration, diversity, and transnationalism have all heightened the interest in, and concern for citizenship and citizenship education in schools.

*The Rising Interest in Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Canada*

In Canada, Sears, Clarke and Hughes (1998, 1999) have explained the proliferation of academic writing on citizenship and citizenship education. They cite a national concern related to the future of Quebec as part of the Canadian federation, brought on by the Quebec separatist movement and the federal Bloc Quebecois, both dedicated to an independent Quebec. Sears, Clarke and Hughes further argue that basic Canadian institutions, structures and political power

arrangements are under scrutiny; provinces are demanding the redistribution of federal power to create a more decentralized federation; the Senate needs to be reformed from an appointed body to an elective one; and Aboriginal groups are demanding recognition as a founding people and as nations with self-government.

All of these factors, argue Sears, Clarke and Hughes (1998, 1999), are having a profound impact on the very fabric of the nation and its notions of citizenship and citizenship education. These scholars contend that citizenship for English Canadians, unlike French Canadians, has focussed on a national identity based on the institutions of the federal state. Many of these institutions, such as the Senate, are now under increased scrutiny. Thus, the very institutions that form the basis of English Canadians' national identity are changing, and, with this, the essence of their national identity. For citizenship education, Sears, Clarke and Hughes argue that in schooling, there has been a shift from bicultural education to multicultural education and contend that there has been a move from passive citizen participation to active involvement.

The interest in citizenship and citizenship education in Canada has also been attributed to the historical and contemporary role of public schooling. Sears (1995, 2004), for example, contends that, explicitly or implicitly, education for citizenship was the role of schools in North America during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Osborne (1998) argues that, as a result of the industrial revolution, nationalism, and state-driven educational expansion during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Canada, citizenship became a goal of education, and the public schools became an agency of the state for that function. According to Osborne, one of the means by which

citizenship education was implemented in the school was through school curricula, and, in particular, through the teaching of history and civics and, later, through social studies.

Mass public schooling in Canada began in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. During this formative period of Canada's education systems, changes were evidenced by the centralization of educational power and control in the hands of governments, and the establishment of the infrastructure of common schools, as well as by the tremendous growth in the number of students attending schools. The building of the education state in the colonies, according to Axelrod (1997), began when colonial politicians and the emerging middle class hailed public schooling as the best means to combat radical politics, rebellion and economic chaos. In the public school, students would learn "citizenship, loyalty, respect for property, and deference to authority" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 25). The four founding colonial governments saw mass public schooling as having many purposes, but the most important was the creation of good citizens who, through citizenship education, would learn to support and contribute to the wellbeing of the state. When other provinces joined Confederation, including Manitoba and the North-West Territories in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, and Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905, the new political identities modeled their education systems on existing provincial systems, refashioning a Canadian version of citizenship education to suit local sensibilities.

According to Kanu (2002), the common school was the state's vehicle for ideological assimilation and homogenization. Kanu writes, "a recognizable theme in the discourse of the nation as a continuous narrative of national harmony and progress and the production of 'unifying' national cultures is the school's role as 'ideological state apparatus'" (2002, p. 4). McLeod (1989), who studied citizenship education from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-1980s in modern nation states, concluded that it was the role of the school to "maintain or create the cultural uniformity and conformity – symbolically, attitudinally, and institutionally or behaviourally" (p. 6). Richardson (2002), upon examining national identity and schooling in Canada, contends that the nation state, at the end of the nineteenth century, embraced the philosophy of modernism. He (2002) defines modernism in education as a set of beliefs including those about continuous progress in education, maintenance of the status quo and a corresponding lack of critical examination of its direction and operation, the unwavering acceptance of capitalism, and schooling as a means of training students for work in industry. In terms of national identity, Richardson contends that the school created both a binary construct (them-us) of a singular ideal, good Canadian citizen (critical to the survival of the Canadian state) and its opposite, what has come to be known as the negative "other," referring to ethnic and racial minorities with a different view of identity. School inspectors, approved curricula, authorized textbooks, licensed teachers, and legislative and financial controls were some of the mechanisms that facilitate the school's role in the delivery of citizenship and citizenship education. As concerns grow about the future of the nation and its institutions, schools are increasingly expected to provide

students with one or more ‘appropriate’ notions of citizenship and citizenship education that supports the continuation of the nation state.

*History and Civics/Social Studies Textbooks and Citizenship Education in English Canada*

The school subjects known as history and civics, and, later as social studies, and the accompanying textbooks have played the most critical role in the delivery of the state’s understanding of citizenship and citizenship education. Historical studies on citizenship and curriculum in Canada have consistently singled out social studies (history, geography and civics) as the school subject used for teaching citizenship education and learning good citizenship. Sears (1994), for example, in his review of post-1968 research literature on social studies as citizenship education in English Canada, found that social studies – in the past and the present – has been the primary vehicle for the delivery of citizenship education. Sears concluded that “citizenship has been a central concept for social studies educators in North America for most of this century and social studies is most often defined as being fundamentally concerned with preparing students for participation in civic life” (1994, p. 6). This conclusion is reinforced in more recent work by Sears on the role of the social studies in citizenship education (Sears, 2004). Marker and Mehlinger (1992), in their assessment of the nature of social studies, write that citizenship education in American schools has been declared a purpose of social studies during much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In her Ph. D. dissertation examining Canadian identity in British Columbia social studies textbooks, Clark (1995) identifies three distinct chronological eras of

state-imposed identity from 1925 to 1989. For the period 1925 through 1939, Clark asserts that Canadian identity in British Columbia had an ever-increasing independence from Great Britain and the Empire. In the social studies textbooks of the time, good citizenship required student loyalty both to Canada and to the Empire. Immigrants were expected to work the land and, through this occupation, they would be assimilated into British society. Aboriginal peoples and Asians could not be assimilated. According to Clark, the era from 1960 through 1975 witnessed Canada's final separation from Great Britain. Textbook authors focussed attention on welcoming "new Canadians," Canada's relationship with the United States and the world, a strong concern about the overwhelming American economic, cultural and political domination, the partial inclusion of women via the workforce, and the continued exclusion of Aboriginal peoples and Asian immigrants. A further promotion of things Canadian and the inclusion of all peoples characterized the Canadian Studies era from 1970 to 1989. Clark points out, however, that, at the same time as textbooks incorporated inclusion, they tended to show less optimism and pride in Canada.

Social studies textbooks have, therefore, played a major role in citizenship education. In Canadian schools, historically, the textbook is ubiquitous, illustrating the close association between formal schooling and the use of textbooks. In his history of the Canadian curriculum, Tomkins (1986) writes that the authorized textbook was and continues to be "the norm and the major determinant of the curriculum" (p. 409). A. B. Hodgetts (1968), in his national study of the teaching of civic education in Canadian schools, stated that, of the 850 lessons in history and

civics which were examined in his national study, the greatest number were “trapped within the pages of a single textbook” (p. 116). Similarly, early Manitoba provincial school inspectors often complained of the over-reliance by teachers on the textbook as well as the regurgitation of textbook facts and endless note-taking by students. For example, school inspector Fallis of the Minnedosa area comments in his annual report of 1922 that, “in history and geography, the tendency is for the teacher to stick too closely to the textbook” (Manitoba, *Report of the Department of Education, 1921-1922*, p. 31). Almost sixty years later, L. R. Hill, a Canadian education academic, facetiously declared the textbook omnipotent: “There were never any mistakes in these airless texts because God wrote them; or if He didn’t, He most certainly knew the authors” (1980, p. 21).

Scholars have identified the key role played by approved knowledge in the form of state-authorized textbooks. Michael Apple, for example, focussed his work in the 1980s and early part of the 1990s on the inequalities in schooling associated with issues of knowledge and power. Apple (1990) argues that educational knowledge that finds its way into schools is neither neutral in nature nor randomly chosen. Rather,

[i]t is selected and organized around sets of principles and values that come from somewhere, that represent particular views of normality and deviance, of good and bad, and of what “good people act like.” Thus, if we are to understand why the knowledge of only certain groups has been primarily represented in schools, we need to see the social interests which often guided curriculum selection and organization. (p. 63)

Apple (1986) and Apple and Christian-Smith (1991b) report on the overt curriculum and the special form of school knowledge represented by textbooks that embodies the legitimate knowledge for teachers to teach and for students to learn. Their concern for existing textbook studies is that these studies focus on “[w]hat knowledge is of most worth?” (1991b, p. 1) and note that only in recent times have there been studies that examine the more important societal question of “[w]hose knowledge is of most worth?” (1991b, p. 1). They contend that little scholarly attention has been paid to “that one artifact that plays such a major role in defining whose culture is taught - *the textbook*” (1991b, p. 1).

The textbook is, hence, a cultural artifact that defines what and whose culture would be legitimated and taught in schools. Not simply an effective vehicle for delivering authorized information, textbooks represent “the results of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with interests” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991b, pp. 1-2). As authorized knowledge, textbooks reflect the relation between education and power, including those associated with class, gender, race, and religion. Each textbook presents someone's or some group's view of what knowledge should be, privileging its cultural capital and discrediting others. “All too often,” argue Apple and Christian-Smith (1991b), “legitimate knowledge does not include the historical experiences and cultural expressions of labor, women, people of color, and others who have been denied power” (pp. 6-7). Apple and Christian-Smith point out that, even when the dominant culture allows for the

inclusion of this subjugated knowledge, the less powerful in society are merely mentioned rather than fully integrated into the curriculum.

### *The Research Problem*

In 1911, a new school subject, civics, was introduced into the Manitoba curriculum and was taught as part of the existing subjects of Canadian history or British history. By 1940, history, civics and geography were combined to create the school subject known as social studies for kindergarten through grade 9. It was not until the early part of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that history, geography and civics were melded into social studies covering all grades. Social studies would now deliver citizenship education; however, within that new structure, history, geography and civics continued to exist as entities within social studies.

The critical role of social studies textbooks for citizenship education, particularly textbooks in history, has been explored largely in terms of the delivery of national identity, nation building and belonging. However, no thorough investigation of civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools has been undertaken with the purpose of identifying and understanding the notions of citizenship and citizenship education contained or reflected in them. This dissertation addresses the knowledge gap currently existing in this aspect of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba.

### *Purpose of the Study*

The purpose of this study was to identify, describe and analyze the notions of citizenship and citizenship education reflected in approved and recommended elementary and secondary civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools from 1911 to

2007. As a contribution to the scholarship on citizenship and citizenship education, this study explored the role of civics and civics textbooks as primary purveyors of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba.

### *Research Questions*

The overarching research question investigated in this study was: What notions or understandings of citizenship and citizenship education are represented in civics textbooks approved or recommended for use in Manitoba schools between 1911 and 2007?

The following six sub-questions were explored in the investigation of this overarching question:

- 1) What civics textbooks have been used in Manitoba schools from 1911 to 2007 for the teaching and learning of citizenship and citizenship education?
- 2) What notions or meanings of citizenship and citizenship education are reflected in approved and recommended Manitoba civics textbooks from 1911 to 2007?
- 3) What notions or meanings of citizenship and citizenship education are reflected in the official discourse of the Manitoba Department of Education and how did these endorse/deviate from those found in approved or recommended civics textbooks?
- 4) How have the meanings of citizenship and citizenship education evolved over the period under study? What social, political and economic influences account for this evolution?

- 5) What are the limitations on the notions of citizenship and citizenship education in the civics textbooks?
- 6) How can a reconceptualized understanding of citizenship and citizenship education more effectively respond to the demographic changes occurring in Manitoba society?

### *Theoretical Framework*

#### *Critical Social Theory*

Critical social theory as expounded by the Frankfurt School of Thought provided the theoretical framework for this study. From the standpoint of education, critical theory is a social theory based on the process of critique, that is, the ongoing critique of theories to expose the world as portrayed and the world as it actually exists. Through the use of dialectical thinking or critical analysis, critical social theory seeks to uncover underlying assumptions and social relations, thereby unearthing the difference between what is and what should be. Critical theory identifies systemic problems such as social inequalities in society related to issues of power and authority and facilitates the struggle for self-emancipation and social change (Giroux & McLaren, 1989). As Leonardo (2004) states: “A critical social theory-based movement in education highlights the relationship between social systems and people, how they produce each other, and ultimately how critical social theory can contribute to the emancipation of both” (p. 11).

Founded by a group of scholars, philosophers and social scientists – notably Adorno, Marcuse, Horkheimer, and later Habermas – critical theory emerged in opposition to the prevailing belief in positivism where instrumental rationality was

thought to reduce all problems to technical issues. According to the objective reality of positivism, the individual could not control or change his/her life or events. The origins of positivism can be traced to Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626), English statesman, philosopher and essayist, who is credited with departing from the medieval scholastic method based on traditional authority and revelation, with laying down a new classification of the natural sciences and with creating the inductive method of reasoning based on observation and experimentation. Bacon's new theory of scientific knowledge postulated that truth was outside of history, culture, superstition and prejudice, and that it was associated with the logic and reason of experimentation and experience.

Positivism is a complex theory and movement that grew from the period of the Enlightenment postulating that the only objective way of knowing was through a process that was both scientific and rational. Through the separation of the subject and his/her values, it was possible to create value-free scientific knowledge. Carr and Kemmis (1986) state that "an overriding concern of the Frankfurt School... was to articulate a view of theory that had the central task of emancipating people from the positivist 'domination of thought' through their own understandings and actions" (p. 130). Early founding members of the Frankfurt School, including Horkheimer, Marcuse and Adorno, were concerned with the growth of positivism in the natural sciences and with its growing application to the human sciences where scientific technique had replaced human reasoning. Habermas (1971), one of the leading critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, argued that inquiry produced three forms of valid knowledge: technical, practical and emancipatory. Technical

knowledge referred to objective, positivistic encounters with the physical world while practical knowledge was social and interpretivistic in nature. The focus of Habermas' critical theory was with emancipatory knowledge which, through self-reflection and self-critique, inquired into how social relationships were distorted and manipulated by relations of power and authority, and what actions were necessary to overcome dominance and oppression. Of emancipatory inquiry, Habermas states "this interest can only develop to the degree to which repressive force, in the form of normative exercise of power, presents itself permanently in structures of distorted communication – that is, to the extent the domination is institutionalized" (as cited in McCarthy, 1984, p. 93).

Fay (1987) outlines a number of major elements of critical theory relevant to this study. These are: a clear theoretical basis; the social construction of knowledge, culture and power, dominant culture and hegemony/counter-hegemony, and ideology.

As a theoretical basis, critical social theorists maintain that "men and women are essentially unfree and inhabit a world rife with contradictions and asymmetries of power and authority" (Fay, 1987, p. 166). Critical social theorists support theories that acknowledge that problems in society are not individual, unique events, but rather are a part of interactions between the individual and society. Social analysis must, therefore, examine equally the individual who helps to create society, and society that helps to mold the individual, in order to uncover social contradictions. It is this dialectical thinking in critical theory that permits the

researcher to see both the empowering and liberating role of schooling, as well as its role in the reproduction of the dominant cultural values and interests.

A second element enunciated by Fay (1987) is the social construction of knowledge. Here critical theorists argue that all school knowledge is historically and socially based, and is “interest bound.” Thus, all school knowledge is subjective and is inclusive of some knowledge and exclusive of others. Fay argues that critical social theorists look for the how and why of the construction of knowledge.

Michael Apple (1991b), a leading critical social theorist who has extensively examined this concept, argues that even more important is whose knowledge is being promulgated since certain forms of knowledge are included or excluded based on social class, gender, race, and disability.

Fay’s third element is culture and power. Culture, according to Fay (1987), refers to “the particular ways in which a social group lives out and makes sense of its ‘given’ circumstances and conditions of life” (p. 171), including the ideologies, practices and values upon which the group draws to understand its sense of the world. The ability of a group to express its culture is determined by the power it has in the social order. Critical social theorists have identified a number of relationships between culture and power. Firstly, culture is intimately connected to social relations through gender, class and race structures that create forms of dependency and oppression; secondly, culture is a mechanism by which groups are either dominant or subordinate depending on their share of power; and, thirdly, culture, as expressed in forms of knowledge, is a highly contested area.

Directly related to Fay's notions of culture and power is his fourth element, dominant culture and hegemony. Fay states: "Dominant culture refers to social practices and representations that affirm the central values, interests, and concerns of the social class in control of the material and symbolic wealth of society" (1987, p. 172). Subordinate cultures are those that live outside the dominant culture and "hegemony" is the term given to the process of control or domination of the dominant culture over the subordinate culture. Through the use of social structures such as the state and the school, the dominant group wins control over subordinate groups not through force but rather "by winning the consent of those who are oppressed, with the oppressed unknowingly participating in their own oppression" (Fay, 1987, p. 173). But hegemonic dominance is never total; people do resist and this resistance, or counter-hegemonic activity, is the site of struggles and confrontations often witnessed in schooling.

The fifth element discussed by Fay (1987) is ideology. He defines ideology as "the production and representation of ideas, values, and beliefs and the manner in which they are expressed and lived out by both individuals and groups" (p. 176). In other words, it is through our ideological beliefs that we create sense and meaning in the world. Ideology is, therefore, necessary and positive because it allows us to see the world; however, it is also negative because it is selective and exclusive of certain forms of knowledge.

One of the main criticisms of critical social theory relates to the limitations of rational change. For example, Fay (1987) points out that critical social theory enables people, using reason, to see through illusion to view reality and, using

reflection, can generate the power to determine improvement in their identities and social structure. However, there are limitations of rational analysis and reflection to bring about change. Four of these limitations are: epistemological limits, therapeutic limits, ethical limits, and power limits (Fay, 1987, p. 143).

Epistemological limits are factors that prevent rational analysis from yielding the necessary information. Therapeutic limits refer to those barriers that prevent rational thinking or behaviour from being able to bring about change. For example, embedded traditions are very strong and limit the degree to which people can view or understand their domineering traditions. Ethical limits identify factors that make the resulting transformation of people less than what was enjoyed before the transformation. In describing this ethical element, Fay (1987) states: "The idea of an ethical limit is meant to indicate that there is a point beyond which the rational reconstruction of society is likely to produce chaos rather than a re-ordered and revived social life" (p. 145). Power limits relate to those factors of force which negate the possibility of human transformation.

These limitations notwithstanding, an understanding of the manipulative power that produces and maintains social contradictions, dominant culture, knowledge, hegemonic dominance, and ideologies, offered insights into prevalent notions of citizenship and citizenship education in social studies textbooks in Manitoba. For this reason, the five preceding elements of critical social theory informed my study of Manitoba civics textbooks as I analyzed issues of citizenship inclusion/exclusion based on race, gender, class, culture, religion, age, language and disability. For example, in my analysis of early twentieth century civics textbooks,

one prevalent theme that emerged was that there was an elite class of English Canadians who were, by training or birth, ordained to govern the country. In an Anglo-dominant context of Manitoba of the time, this rule by the elite excluded many subordinate individuals and groups, including women, Aboriginals, labour, minorities, and Franco-Manitobans, from enjoying full citizenship. These exclusions are examined through the lens of Fay's (1987) constructs of culture and power, ideology and hegemony. In the case of Aboriginal peoples, for example, the exclusion from the business of ruling was based on race. Aboriginals were colonized by the federal government to be converted into good British citizens. Until the transformation was complete from "savage" or "uncivilized" state to Christian, English-speaking, virtuous and entrepreneurially-spirited people, they were excluded from full citizenship, could not vote and, therefore, could not run the reserves where they were living, let alone take part in the civic affairs of the country.

#### *Significance of the Study*

To date, only limited scholarly attention has been directed towards civics textbooks and their role in citizenship education. This study is significant because it offers the first in-depth analysis of the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education reflected in civics textbooks authorized for use in Manitoba elementary and secondary schools from 1911 to 2007. It, therefore, contributes to the ongoing scholarship on citizenship and citizenship education in Canada.

### *Delimitations of the Study*

The geography curriculum and geography textbooks, an important component of social studies in Manitoba, have not been examined in this study. Only civics textbooks were examined. Economics, an on-again, off-again component of social studies, was also not studied. The study of French language civics textbooks was also left to be addressed by future researchers. Only English language textbooks were examined.

In the classroom, both teachers and students mediate the teaching/learning process where the textbook is used. The teachers of social studies bring prior teacher training and teaching experience as well as knowledge of the content of social studies. Students may or may not bring prior understandings regarding social studies. The in-classroom use of textbooks, while representing an important area of investigation, was not the focus of this study.

### *Definition of Terms*

The following general definitions of citizenship, citizenship education, and civics were used in this study.

**Citizenship:** The terms citizenship and citizenship education mean different things to different people. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen Gagnon and Page's (1999) broad definition of citizenship that includes characteristics related to national identity; social, cultural and supranational belonging; an effective system of rights; and political and social participation. Gagnon and Page, acknowledging the impact of globalization on citizenship, also address the concepts of multiple and transnational citizenship.

Citizenship education: Citizenship education in schools takes place through a variety of mechanisms, including school rituals, curricula, and textbooks. This study examines the social studies as a vehicle for purveying citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba schools.

Civics: For the purpose of this study, the meaning of civics evolved from a formal school subject largely attached to British, Canadian and/or world history, to a component of the social studies curriculum. As the province's history and later social studies curricula changed, so did the grade level(s) where civics was taught.

The role of civics education changed substantially over the 96-years under study. For example, when civics was introduced as a subject in 1911, it focussed only on the study of Canadian political institutions. Today, civics not only addresses Canadian institutions, but also examines other forms of government and international systems of government. More importantly, present day civics education addresses the important, active role of the citizen not only in government, but also in the community at large.

#### *Organization of the Study*

The investigation and findings of this textbook study are reported in the following order in this dissertation. Chapter One introduces the study by providing the background to the study, describing the rising interest in citizenship and citizenship education in Canada, and outlining the important role of history and civics/social studies textbooks in citizenship education. The research problem, the theoretical framework, and the purpose and significance of the study are also presented in this chapter. Chapter Two presents a review of the literature on

citizenship and citizenship education, textbooks and formal schooling, and history and social studies textbook studies. Chapter Three describes the methodological frameworks and the research procedures used in the study.

The notions of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba civics textbooks over three historical eras are analyzed and presented in the form of themes in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The social, political, economic and educational contexts of each era are described.

Chapter Seven summarizes the findings from the study and presents a reconceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba.

## Chapter Two - Literature Review

The review of the literature for this study examines extant literature in three interrelated areas of relevance to the study: citizenship and citizenship education, textbooks and formal schooling, and history and social studies textbook studies.

### *Citizenship and Citizenship Education*

Citizenship and hence citizenship education are not static concepts. Osborne (1995), for example, in his study of citizenship, history and schooling in Canada from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-1990s, addresses the ever-changing meanings to state-imposed citizenship and citizenship education. It follows, then, that, in order to understand citizenship and citizenship education in Canada today, one must study the meanings of citizenship and citizenship education found in the past.

Heater (1990) contends that for the past 2,500 years “[c]itizenship has been a persistent human social need” (p. 161). Heater’s historical study of citizenship and its continuous development identifies five distinct periods: the Greek city-state, the Roman Republic and Empire, the Medieval and Renaissance city, the modern nation-state, and world citizenship.

Heater’s (1990) first period of citizenship occurred during the time of the Greek city-state with the emancipation of free males from the private sphere of the household (*oikos*) to the public sphere of political life (*polis*). According to Pocock (1998) who examines early conceptualizations of citizenship, there is a struggle for freedom for its own sake: “Citizenship is not just a means to being free; it is the way of being free itself” (p. 32). The Greek city-state limited the privilege of citizenship to free males. Slaves, women, and rural peasantry who were tied to the private sphere of the household, farm and animals, and to the management of slaves were excluded from citizenship. According

to Heater (1990), Greek citizenship education was only for the citizen class who would become soldiers, politicians, administrators, judges and jurors. Rigorous training for youth, who eventually became soldiers and full citizens, was state-controlled and mandated. Citizenship education could also include schooling in the laws of Solon, author of the Athenian constitution; attendance at law courts and other political events for practical political education; attendance at an *ephebic* school for a year of national service for training in civic affairs, sports and social graces, or the political art of rhetoric.

According to Heater (1990), the second period of citizenship began during the time of the Roman Republic and Empire, when the emperor granted citizenship to individuals and groups as a means of ensuring loyalty, and in return, Roman citizenship conferred a legal status that provided protection and the right to own slaves. In the Roman concept of citizenship, Pocock (1998) contends that the term "citizen" meant a member of a country governed by law, and, therefore, there were as many definitions of citizenship as there were types of law. None of the Greek city-state concepts of freedom to participate in political life was present during Roman times. Roman education for citizenship included the education of boys by their fathers in the qualities of dignity, justice and courage, as well as oratory for public and private purposes. To Romanize conquered provinces, Roman schools were established with a curriculum dominated by spoken and written rhetoric.

With the collapse of the Roman Empire in the west, medieval cities and towns began to legislate their own law, courts and administrative operations, beginning Heater's (1990) third period of citizenship. The citizens, mainly guild members, though only a small portion of the population, elected officials. The subsistence medieval town that

came to be protected by feudal lords and their military technology changed over time to be driven by economics and capital. These towns or small municipal communities were called “bourgs” by the French and the protection afforded by municipal law, one's “bourgeoisie.” Pocock (1998) extrapolates: “as 'bourgeois' and 'bourgeoisie' came to dominate membership in a municipal – rather than imperial or political – community” (p. 37), ‘bourgeois’ and ‘citizen’ become inter-changeable. Medieval and Renaissance urban citizenship, according to Heater (1990), “was founded on the twin principles of freedom and fraternity” (p. 21), but the exercise of this citizenship differed throughout Europe based on the presence or lack of a consolidated nation-state or monarchy. Education for citizenship remained in the doldrums during this period.

According to Heater (1990), the fourth period of citizenship began during the Renaissance in Europe when the modern state began to emerge through the centralization of political power. Citizenship changed from the local or town level, to a national focus. The Industrial Revolution, the growth of towns into cities, the rise of the modern nation state and nationalism created the need for state-supported education, citizenship and citizenship education. The modern nation states of Europe and North America were faced with the dilemma of trying to ensure the ongoing support of citizens and loyalty to liberal democratic governments for political survival.

British sociologist T. H. Marshall (1950), writing in the post-World War II period, outlines the development of citizenship as rights and the increasing inclusion of people covered by these rights. He contends that, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, citizenship basically implied civic rights that guaranteed equal protection under the law. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, citizenship rights came to include political rights as witnessed by the citizenry,

the right to vote, and the right to run for political office. According to Marshall, in addition to civic and political rights, citizenship in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also included the social rights of health care, education, old-age pension and unemployment insurance. Increasing civil, political and social rights were applicable to increasing numbers of people – including all classes and all groups of people.

Heater's (1990) fifth conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education, entitled world citizenship, takes citizenship beyond the nation-state. Aside from identifying the artificiality of dividing the human race into distinctive political units, Heater indicates that this elusive concept of world citizenship has become increasingly promoted as a means to address global concerns related to ending the use of war to solve differences, observance of universal human rights and international law, and the preservation of all forms of life on earth. For example, in his history of the development of world citizenship, Heater describes the attempt by the League of Nations to reduce the nationalistic tendencies of school history textbooks with the passage of the League's 1925 Casares Resolution which called on member states "to delete or modify passages in school textbooks of a nature to convey to the young wrong impressions leading to an essential misunderstanding of other countries" (p. 150). Pike and Selby (1988) argue that one must delineate five characteristics of education for global citizenship. They believe that students need to acquire a world-based systems understanding; a perspective consciousness in that others will have differing values; a planetary awareness and understanding related to justice, human rights and responsibilities; an involvement consciousness so as to be effective participants on the local and global scene; and a process-mindedness where students must recognize that learning is a life-long process with no fixed end.

Supporting Heater's fifth notion of global rather than national citizenship, scholars (e.g. Hall, 1992; Popkewitz, 2000) argue that the nation-state creates an imaginary construct of collective experience in the minds of citizens of the nation. On the concept of national communities, Popkewitz (2000) states that writers have found no "natural" communities or identities; rather, national discourses "form individuals into the seam of a collective narrative" and "...embody how people are to know, understand, and experience themselves as members of a community and as citizens of a nation" (p. 168). Hall (1992), in his study of modernity as a Western way of thinking and acting, views such national communities as imagined and mythical, but describes the strength of these myths where national cultures create national identities "by producing meanings about the 'nation' with which we can identify" (p. 293).

Citizenship and citizenship education are a concern of scholars on the international stage. Ichilov (1998), in studying trends in citizenship and education for citizenship trends in Western democracies worldwide, identifies the impact of post-modernism, the nation-state, the welfare state, technology, nationalism and globalization on the meanings of citizenship and moulds the attitudes and behavior of citizens. These factors are further impacted by the social, political, legal and cultural components of citizenship and by elements related to rights and responsibilities, identity and social belonging. According to Ichilov (1998a), "citizenship is a complex and multidimensional concept" (p. 11) with no single definition. In fact, there are many versions of citizenship based on different contexts and traditions.

Ichilov, therefore, develops a multidimensional model of citizenship in modern democracies to facilitate its conceptualization and clarity. Ten foundational elements for citizenship are developed by Ichilov (1990a) more completely in an earlier publication:

theoretical versus practical (verbal adherence to principle and actual behavior); attitudinal orientation (affective cognitive and evaluative); motivational orientation (external/obligatory and internal/voluntary); action orientation (inactive, passive and active); means/ends orientation (instrumental and diffuse); value orientation (particularistic and universalistic); participatory objective (expression of consent and expressive of dissent); participatory means (conventional and unconventional); domains of citizenship (political and civic/social); and arenas of citizenship (national and transnational). (p. 19)

Ichilov (1998b) clarifies that citizenship education in Western democracies tends to be the study of the political and structural nature of government, ignores controversial or global issues, and stresses compliance and consensus. She argues that not only should citizenship education provide students with public space that is physical, social and action oriented, but also

should promote global awareness, and the realization that circumstances that affect our immediate moral and physical well-being are located on the transnational arena as well. Many objectives which should affect the quality of life of each citizen on the planet cannot be accomplished without global awareness and cooperation. (p. 272)

Cogan (1998), who is Project Director of the Citizenship Education Policy Study in Minneapolis with citizenship education researchers located worldwide, also theorizes an

international perspective on the demands of citizenship education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century countries in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim. He indicates that the contemporary study of education for citizenship in schools which focuses on learning about government, the rights and responsibilities of citizens in relation to the state and to society, and the development of national identity, is now inadequate. In the face of globalization, deterioration of the environment of the world, immigration, the technologically rich and poor nations, and loss of a focus on the common good, there is a call for a new conceptualization of citizenship education in schools and a partnership with the communities served by schools.

Kubow, Grossman and Ninomiya (1998), part of the research team in the Citizenship Education Policy Study, conceptualize a holistic model of citizenship and citizenship education as “multidimensional citizenship” involving the four dimensions of personal, social, spatial and temporal. The personal dimension would involve all citizens having a strong civic ethic of critical thinking, understanding of cultural differences, utilizing non-violent conflict resolution and problem-solving, and taking an active part in civic life, defending human rights and protecting the global environment. The researchers contend that this civic ethic cannot simply be given to civics or other classes to teach; rather, they argue, there must be a social climate in the school that makes the personal dimension an ongoing priority. The researchers describe the social dimension that would include a civil society and “involves people living and working together for civic purposes” (p. 120). Citizens must be able to take part in public debate, participate in public life, and deal respectfully with people whose beliefs are different from their own. Kubow, Grossman and Ninomiya (1998) also stress that while citizen participation in

government is important, so too is the often-neglected involvement with non-government organizations.

The third dimension would have a spatial component where citizens are part of four intertwined communities of local, regional, national and multinational. Kubow, Grossman and Ninomiya point out the need for multiple identities of traditional and modern co-existing, and the celebration of diversity. They state that “the concept of education for international understanding and cooperation should be developed and expanded so that students view themselves as members of several overlapping communities” (1998, p. 123). The final dimension of citizenship would include a temporal sphere where the researchers contend that citizenship must be concerned with the richness of the past, the challenges of the present and concern for the future. This temporal dimension of citizenship education “means that students are encouraged to think about the future and the past in relation to the contemporary issues being taught and discussed” (1998, p. 124).

Braungart and Braungart (1998) studied citizenship and citizenship education in the United States during the 1990s. They point out that, unlike many Western democracies, the United States “has no national citizenship goals, curriculum, standards, examinations, or ways to evaluate citizen education” (pp. 117-118). Rather, elementary and secondary students attend a decentralized school system with over 15,000 school districts each determining its own citizenship education for grades 1 to 12. Braungart and Braungart contend that citizenship education in American schools focuses on the structure of the US government, important historical events, and problems associated with American democracy. These researchers indicate that criticism of this model of citizenship

education – by experts, students, teachers and parents – is rampant. Citizenship education courses are described as boring and tedious and that teachers normally present a safe, non-controversial account rather than a stimulating but controversial approach. Braungart and Braungart (1998) argue that redesigning citizenship education in American schools will be difficult owing to the controversies inherent in American democracy. They describe American civics textbooks as

denounced for being so impartial that they are lifeless, so controversial that advocacy groups demand they be banned, or so cluttered with disparate details and discussions of various perspectives that the subject matter does not cohere. (p. 229)

Braungart and Braungart recommend changes to American citizenship education, including “active personal responsibility and self–restraint, ...the acquisition of accurate knowledge, ... and information about how citizens can make politics more civilized and solution-oriented” (p. 126). Unfortunately, no mention is made of the existence of and need for global education or global citizenship in US citizenship education.

Rowe (1995) examines and critiques citizenship education conceptual models in the European community where the democratic state supports pluralism as well as freedom of expression and belief. He contends that the utilization of these models results in a tension in the teaching of citizenship education, stating:

whilst there is a need for teachers to encourage independence of thought (the basis of social criticism by which the democratic state constantly reconstructs itself), this is moderated by the obligation to encourage a commitment to shared values and community well being. (p. 46)

Rowe presents six pedagogical models. The consensus model of citizenship education focuses on civic virtue and social cohesion, and relegates pluralism to a non-teachable topic as it is viewed as a source of confusion for students. This model avoids controversy and addresses non-controversial topics including the description of public institutions and political decision making. Rowe claims that this model is boring, not relevant to the lives of students and very passive. On the other hand, he maintains that this model is easy to teach and is less likely to bring the school in conflict with parents or government.

Rowe's (1995) second approach is the parental model in which parents believe that the school should act as an agent of cultural transmission of their values and beliefs. While this model does maintain minority cultures, the tension is seen with the role of the school as an agent of socialization. Rowe contends that in this model the school is often identified as the culturally "contaminating" site and not society. Rather, he believes that it is the mass media of society as a whole that brings students into the cultural plurality of life. The weakness of this model, then, is that it limits students' access to the plurality of citizenship education and to the understanding and tolerance of difference.

The patriotic model is Rowe's (1995) third pedagogical approach. This model sees the role of the school as imbuing students with the understanding that loyalty to the state and community is the focus of citizenship. Rowe maintains that the main element of this citizenship education model is social regulation that results in a very civic, patriotic, and non-critical look at democratic institutions and society. The weakness of the patriotic model is that it fails to address political dissent and inter-cultural understanding.

The fourth approach is the religious model. Rowe (1995) states that in this approach to citizenship education there is an implied relationship between civic virtues

and religious teaching. Dating back to the Middle Ages, this model developed as a result of the close association between church and state. Rowe contends that the greatest weakness of citizenship education taught through religious instruction occurs in multicultural societies with many faiths, and in societies with no religious orientation whatsoever. The result is racial and religious intolerance and the failure to create a civic ethic founded on freedom of expression and citizen equality.

Rowe's fifth approach – the school ethos model – focuses on the school as the personification of the good society and the good citizen. This ethos model requires teachers to walk the walk of democracy, justice and human rights, creating a tension with the traditional role of the teacher in curriculum implementation and classroom disciplinarian. Rowe points out that one of the main values not taught in this environment is the key element of critical scrutiny of political institutions and political actions. Rowe (1995) states: "Schools in which pupils are not encouraged to engage in constructive criticism fail in their duty adequately to prepare pupils for membership of democratic pluralistic societies" (p. 53).

Rowe's (1995) final approach to citizenship education is the value conflict model that stresses the importance of commitment to the public good over the uncritical transmission of the good citizen. Utilizing the inherent conflict of values and interests found in the pluralistic societies of Europe, this model of citizenship education assists students in the development of their value systems and conflict resolution skills. As Rowe (1995) states, "This model is vital to the development of a stable Europe, in which the states are largely no longer identified with ethnic or value purity" (p. 54).

Noddings (2005) speaks to the need for global citizenship in the context of the world, and, particularly, with the United States. The results of the 2003 Global Attitudes Survey undertaken by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, showed that all countries believe that their culture is better than any others and that, in the United States, there is the strongest belief that they are culturally superior to all other nations. According to Noddings (2005), the role of global citizenship is to address this situation through the promotion of social, political and human rights; the eradication of poverty, child labor and disease; the preservation of the Earth and its air, land, water and diversity of life; the understanding and support of social and cultural diversity and pluralism, including the celebration of religious, ethnic and racial differences; critical thinking; the inclusion of peace education, and the elimination of oppression against minorities and women. The role of education for global citizenship, according to Noddings, is to ensure that students have the required skills and knowledge to undertake these new directions in global citizenship.

A number of writers address global education and citizenship in the Canadian context. Pike and Selby (1988, 2000), for example, examine global education and global citizenship, focusing on the preparation of students to address global issues with the world in mind. The motto “think globally, act locally” is supported through a focus on action, particularly political action, in the students’ local and international communities. Pike and Selby examine attitudinal and behavioural goals in global education, emphasizing the need for positive attitudes towards people who are different, whether these people live locally or internationally. This includes an attitude of care and concern for others, the development of perspectives, and an understanding of the diverse opinions of other

people. Community interests are put before self-interest resulting in behaviours such as community participation, law abiding, neighbourliness and political action. Thus, Pike and Selby (1988, 2000) argue for a pedagogy of worldmindedness and child-centeredness, a subject matter of global citizenship with a focus on global issues, global perspectives and a global consciousness, and for a citizenship education in schools that prepares students for participation and action.

In Canada, the state has long been involved with the construction of citizenship and its implementation through citizenship education. Scholars have analyzed the Canadian state's and other conceptualizations of citizenship and citizenship education in historical and contemporary contexts.

Sears (1995), a leading Canadian academic on citizenship and citizenship education, writes that the conceptualization of citizenship normally involves the elements of knowledge, values, skills and participation. However, it is the relative importance assigned by writers to each of the elements that leads to different concepts of citizenship and citizenship education. On this matter, Kaplan (1993) states that citizenship "means something different to everyone, and to some people it means nothing at all" (p. 260). Sears (1995) also points out that citizenship is a contested subject, past and present, and although Canadians generally regard themselves as tolerant, there is much evidence to suggest the contrary, indicating that there is "persistent political and economic dominance of those of British ancestry in English Canada ... as well as of the essentially exclusionary nature of that dominance" (p. 11).

Sears (1995) developed a typology or model of four modern types of citizenship – republican, liberal, global and activist – and their corresponding ideal types of citizenship

education along a continuum from elitist to populist. Through citizenship education in schools, and largely through the subject of social studies, students learn to be good citizens. Depending on which of the four ideal types of citizenship education are being taught in the classroom, students learn different understandings related to the nature of the knowledge, values, skills and participation.

In the first ideal type of citizenship which Sears calls republican, the average citizen is viewed as having a very limited role in public affairs, often nothing more than voting. Resnick (1990) points out that this elitist concept of citizenship “is one that assumes that there is a small group of people that, by reason of birth or training, is especially fit for the business of rule” (p. 14). In the republican concept of citizenship, Sears (1995) contends that sovereignty is with parliament; an elite group runs government; and citizens are loyal to the state and its institutions, have a set of common traditions and culture, are law abiding and vote. He further indicates that republican citizenship education is that which is most often taught in schools in a manner that Osborne (1991) describes as citizenship transmission, “a one way sending of a message from expert to novice in which the receiver’s job is to take in the message as accurately as possible, without distortion or alteration” (p. 26). History and civics teachers not only deliver citizenship content and skills, but also provide the appropriate interpretation of the facts.

Kymlicka (1992) states that this form of student learning “makes no attempt to promote active or responsible political citizenship” (p. 10). The purpose of the textbook in republican citizenship education is to provide content and maintain the status quo. Students are taught a common body of knowledge about history and national political structures, and of political institutions operating in an uncontested, lock step manner.

Students learn a specific set of national values and norms, and the required information-gathering skills to facilitate educated voting.

According to Sears (1995), this highly elitist form of citizenship and citizenship education results in the exclusion of the voices of many individuals and groups in schools, including women, cultural minorities and Aboriginal peoples. The singular voice heard and read is that of the elitist cultural white male. Sears (1996) sums up republican citizenship and citizenship education:

Consistent with a passive, conservative understanding of citizenship, an elitist model of citizenship education seeks to homogenize, to make all citizens the same by ensuring they have not only the same body of knowledge, but also get the same message from that knowledge. If schools can accomplish this the country will be preserved and society will be stable. (p. 8)

Sears' (1995) second ideal type of citizenship is liberal. This conceptualization has three main components: the autonomous individual is free to pursue happiness without state interference; free citizens are given rights which can be used in courts to redress the violation of individual rights; and, as rational individuals, citizens are capable of informed decision making to benefit all of society. In the liberal concept of citizenship, sovereignty is with individuals; individuals elected from the people run government; and citizens are actively involved in community and national affairs, and use rationality to understand and resolve public issues. Sears indicates that although republican citizenship education has dominated the classroom, liberal citizenship education has been most prevalent in curriculum documents. He states: "This approach to citizenship education is rooted in liberal democratic...beliefs and finds its focus in the student centred study of

contemporary social issues and problems, particularly ones of direct interest to students” (p. 30). Jenness (cited in Sears, 1995) argues that the subject of social studies arose from the 1916 report of an American organization, the National Education Association Committee on Social Studies that had a large membership of Canadian educators. The National Education Association believed that the study of public issues was basic to citizenship education. Thus, for liberal citizenship education, Sears articulates the following: students must learn knowledge to participate in public issues and must also learn that although, in theory, our institutions and structures are the best form of social organization, in practice they are flawed. Students should explore values, particularly as they relate to social issues, and must develop skills to permit active participation in public affairs and to become critically reflective. The liberal version of citizenship education is inclusive, attempting to bring to life the issues and perspectives of once-excluded individuals and groups.

Global citizenship and citizenship education represent Sears’ (1995) third ideal type. Many scholars now see the republican and liberal notions of the individual’s relationship with the national state as far too narrow; citizenship must be viewed from a more global perspective. Rather than citizenship in purely nationalistic terms, world citizenship is “centred on the need to prepare young people for citizenship in a world that is increasingly characterized by pluralism, interdependence, and rapid change” (Kniep, as cited in Sears, 1995, p. 38). Sears indicates that the global education movement has had an impact on once highly ethnocentric North American classrooms. He points out, however, that global citizenship “is not opposed to Canadian citizenship but is an essential part of it” (Sears, 1995, p. 39). In his conceptualization of global citizenship, Sears (1995)

indicates that sovereignty belongs to the people of the world; governments are prepared to work with other governments and organizations to address global issues; and citizens, well-informed on global issues, act to solve global problems to improve all lives within a context of environmental protection. Sears sees global citizenship education as striving to provide students with knowledge of the earth's economic, political and environmental systems and issues, with values to make students critically reflective and able to work with peoples of different cultures, and skills related to environmental protection, pluralism, anti-racism and social justice.

Sears' fourth ideal type is activist citizenship and citizenship education located at the opposite end to republicanism on the elitist to populist continuum. Critical social theorists argue that schools – representing the social, economic and cultural interests of the elite in society resulting in dominance and oppression – are sites of systemic barriers related to gender, social status, ethnicity and disability. Knowledge presented in schools represents an elitist construct, dominant ideology, and capitalist modes of thinking. Scholars argue that school subjects such as social studies, historically and presently, are mechanisms for cultural dominance and not for the critique of social interests or structures.

Activist citizenship advocates empowered students to identify and change systemic barriers in existing societal structures. More specifically, in the activist concept of citizenship, Sears (1996) states that sovereignty is with the people; government is composed of citizens who are free and equal, and actively participate in government well beyond voting; citizens are open to discourse where all voices are heard; citizens challenge oppressive power structures and oppressive institutions, and are open to

multiple understandings regarding the meaning of citizenship. In terms of translating this conceptualization of a very democratic citizenship into citizenship education, Sears (1996) contends that students must be taught to uncover oppressive social organizations and discriminatory institutions, including schools; to value equal involvement in society and to take action against inequality. In terms of skills and participation, students must learn problem-solving abilities to uncover oppression and participate in cross-cultural activities, all of which will make the world a better place.

Kymlicka (1992) analyzes post-World War II citizenship conceptualizations, often based in response to the perceived limitations of the rights-based approach by British sociologist T. H. Marshall (1950). Kymlicka organizes these current theoretical criticisms around two main themes: passive versus active citizenship virtues, and a new citizenship identity based on existing and expanding social and cultural pluralism that advances a greater sense of community membership and participation.

For this latter theme of identity, Kymlicka (1992) examines political theorists identified as liberal individualists who focus on the importance of individual rights and national unity versus cultural pluralists who emphasize socio-cultural diversity. Liberal individualists argue that rather than creating new classes of citizenship based on special rights and legal status to preserve an excluded group's identity, the proper course of action is to address the racism and discrimination that cause exclusion. The role of the state is to eliminate discriminatory features so that all citizens can share the same rights and duties. National loyalty and national identity cannot be created based on "differentiated citizenship," where each group has specific rights and a specific status.

Cultural pluralists acknowledge the concerns of the liberal individualists but continue to support the notion of the politics of identity and the need for differentiated citizenship to support group difference. Kymlicka (1992) summarizes the cultural pluralists' argument, stating that

we can only overcome a history of cultural exclusion by adopting a more heterogeneous and differentiated notion of citizenship. Eliminating group-based exclusion requires both certain universal rights of citizenship and various special rights to overcome historical disadvantages and meet distinctive needs. (p. 29)

Liberal individualists object to differentiated citizenship based on specific groups and rights, and question how a common sense of unity and purpose would be maintained.

Kymlicka (1992) examines six different theoretical approaches to citizenship based on the need for a balance between the more passive entitlement of citizen rights and the more active vision of citizen responsibilities, duties and virtues. These approaches include the new right, the new left, civil society theorists, feminists, liberal virtue theorists and civic republicans. Theorists of the new right attack Marshall's (1950) premise that the social rights characteristic of the welfare state facilitate the movement of the poor into mainstream society. The new right promotes the virtues of self-sufficiency and voluntary service rather than a passive poor, dependent on government. The weakness of the new right approach, according to Kymlicka, is that it ignores the important citizenship component of political participation.

The new left theorists, on the other hand, refocus on the importance of rights, particularly those related to individual freedoms and political participation. The weakness of this concept, states Kymlicka, is that it makes little mention of citizen responsibilities.

Civil society theorists, according to Kymlicka (1992), are a stream of the new left and contend that citizenship must involve responsibilities primarily expressed in collective obligations found in voluntary groups such as ethnic organizations, churches, neighbourhood groups, and charities. Walzer (as cited in Kymlicka, 1992) states of the civil society: "The civility that makes democratic politics possible can only be learned in the associational networks" (p. 14). The role of the state for the civil society theorists includes the funding of multicultural education and the protection of unions. But, as Kymlicka points out, even if these voluntary groups show self-restraint in support of good citizenship and commitment to the welfare of the whole community, they alone cannot teach the responsibilities of citizenship.

Kymlicka (1992) identifies feminist citizenship theorists as focussing on structural issues that limit the full involvement of women as citizens (for example, limited time due to household responsibilities and limited resources due to poorer paying jobs). Feminists argue that the only opportunity for the full participation of women as citizens is through the provision of social rights including day care. Feminism strives to refocus the long-standing historical concept of citizenship based on the dominance of men in politics and the economy, and the relegation of women to the home and family, to citizenship where family and public responsibilities can be more fairly arranged. But, as Kymlicka points out, there is no clear feminist theory of citizenship, indicating that while "the family is where children are taught personal responsibility, self-restraint and care, ....citizenship also requires tolerance, equality and a common identity" (p. 19).

Kymlicka's fifth grouping, liberal virtue theory, focuses on two special virtues associated with the political sphere itself that are not part of other citizenship theories.

These two citizenship virtues are questioning authority, that is, of the need for citizens to question our elected representatives as they govern on our behalf, and engaging in political dialogue where the decisions of democratic government need to be made in a public forum. It is the role of citizenship education in the school to teach these political virtues such that, as Gutmann (as cited in Kymlicka, 1992) states, “[c]hildren must learn not just to behave in accordance with authority but to think critically about authority if they are to live up to the democratic ideal of sharing political sovereignty as citizens” (p. 21). There is skepticism whether schools could or should teach political virtues that could very well undermine the values of private life (Kymlicka, 1992).

Kymlicka’s last grouping of citizenship virtues is civic republicanism, wherein he identifies two strands. One group of theorists stresses the active and virtuous citizen in democratic life. The second takes on a narrower concept concentrating on the intrinsic value of citizen participation in political life. Kymlicka states that this second group of theorists attempts to return to a tradition of classical Greek republicanism where “politics was the realm of honour and freedom; family and economy were the realms of routine and necessity. Hence politics was the good life, the highest life, the only truly human life” (p. 23). But, as Kymlicka points out, today’s citizens, although they need to be involved in civic life, also have valued personal and work lives.

Beiner (1995) offers a different approach to citizenship by identifying three theoretical perspectives: liberal, communitarian, and republican. The liberal conceptualization focuses on the individual, individual rights and entitlements, individual identity, and the individual’s ability to transcend any collective, civic or fixed identity. Beiner’s second conceptualization is communitarian, where citizenship is seen as

emphasizing collective identity, be it cultural or ethnic, through the sharing of tradition or history, a nationalism diametrically different from the atomization of liberalism. Beiner opposes the concept of citizenship as either liberalism or as communitarianism in terms of their equal destructiveness of a civic community, and points to a possible third conceptualization that he names republican. Republican citizenship would focus on civic bonds or a civic identity, would see active citizen involvement and commitment, and, as a political community, would not be reduced to liberalism's individuals or to communalist ethnic or cultural groups. Beiner acknowledges the difficult position of republicanism that lies between the polarized camps of liberalism and nationalism. He does not develop or expand republican citizenship into a version of citizenship education but others do (e.g. Sears, 1995, 1996).

Magsino (2002) examines competing conceptualizations of citizenship in Canada, identifying four main theoretical perspectives: liberalism, communitarianism, civic republicanism, and critical theory. Magsino contends, as do many other citizenship theorists, that none of these conceptualizations has been completely successful; that is, each framework has weaknesses. Magsino does, however, identify three citizenship elements common to the four conceptualizations: pluralism; the need for a common good; and civic virtues. These three elements, he argues, create an eclectic theory of citizenship. Magsino contends that educators need to take a similar eclectic approach to citizenship education, that is, to determine "curricular content, teaching methods and strategies, supporting co-curricular activities, and environmental conditions, including interpersonal relationships" (p. 76) to teach citizenship.

Magsino's approach to the conceptualization of citizenship is not without weaknesses. For example, he focuses only on the present day nation-based conceptualizations of citizenship, and completely fails to address a more holistic approach that is found in global citizenship. Further, as Gagnon and Page's (1999) model of citizenship demonstrates, there is a myriad of citizenship concepts associated with rights and responsibilities, and national identity and belonging, not just the three that Magsino has identified in his eclectic citizenship theory.

Callan (1994) is critical of a liberal concept of citizenship and citizenship education in liberal democracies that views civic education as essentially an emotional or sentimental attachment to fundamental political institutions and critical inquiry as the antithesis of that allegiance. For Callan, a liberal democracy must be able to entertain the virtues both of sentimental engagement and social criticism. In an application of this theoretical concept to the study of American history, Callan points out that a first reading of the Declaration of Independence establishes an emotional connection where "its affirmation of equal rights is embraced both as a source of continued moral inspiration in the present and legitimate pride in the past" (p. 211). However, a second and more critical reading, results in a view that the Jefferson written subtext portion of the Declaration is not only exclusive of slaves, but also of women (Callan, p. 211).

Theorist William Galston represents the pessimistic view for a disengaged citizenry where the only palatable position for civic education is to suspend reason in order to create "a more noble, moralizing history: a pantheon of heroes who confer legitimacy on central institutions and constitute worthy objects of emulation" (as cited in Callan, 1994, p. 192). Believing that this sentimental civic education is morally bankrupt,

Callan identifies its three major liabilities: first, the historical imagination must be constricted or suspended through historical fabrication or failure to address missed opportunities; second, an ultra conservatism must be ever present to assure adherence to what must be perfect political institutions; and, lastly, complex political situations must be strained through appropriate fictions of moral purity. According to Callan, these liabilities negatively impact the study of civic education not only in the past, but also in the present. He argues that the virtue of critical reason can counter the liabilities of sentimental civic education, stating that we must learn ways of “using critical reason in politics, and ways of teaching future citizens to use it, that can be both civically engaged and uplifting while remaining genuinely critical” (p. 205).

Past and present education in Manitoba has always included the subject of civics as part of the subject of history, which, along with geography, forms the social studies curriculum. In Manitoba, scholars have studied citizenship to provide historical and contemporary frameworks for understanding citizenship education. Writing extensively on the history of citizenship education and social studies both in Manitoba and in Canada, Osborne (1996) outlines four historical periods of citizenship education locally and nationally, based on a variety of original sources including provincial education departments’ annual reports; studies conducted by associations, foundations and organizations; proceedings from conferences; documents from labour councils; the *Western School Journal* (a periodical published for teachers from 1906 to 1938); and several English and French history textbooks.

During the first period, the 1890s to the 1920s, there was a focus on compulsory state education and the assimilation of immigrant children as part of Canada’s nation-

making process. Osborne (1998-1999), writing on the assimilation of immigrants into British cultural values prior to the Great War, states that the purpose was “to turn them (immigrants) into good citizens, speaking English, politically literate and imbued with British and Canadian patriotism” (p. 10). Strange and Loo (1997) argue that the period 1867 to 1939 was marked by the shaping of Canadian identity, one that included character-building based on the ideals of purity, self-discipline and a strong work ethic. Morality was enforced by national state institutions, including North-West Mounted Police, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Indian Affairs, and locally by schools, courts and the police. Making good citizens was the cornerstone for Canada’s nation-building program. Axelrod (1999), examining the building of the educational state in Canada between 1800 and 1914, contends that school promoters, through legislation, were empowered to build and regulate schools, teachers and students. Axelrod writes: “Education was assigned a principal role in advancing the progress, righteousness, morality, patriotism, unity, security, and prosperity of Canadian society” (p. 123).

The 1920s to the 1950s continued with a nation-building focus but also emphasized the preparation for democratic life, including community service, emulating the sacrifice and service of the nation’s soldiers during the Great War, and character building that strongly associated good citizenship with good people. Osborne (1996) quotes the Minister of Education for Manitoba who stated in 1920 that “citizenship means service that we must do for the community – something over and above what one does for oneself” (p. 42). Osborne argues that citizenship became de-politicized as one could now become a good citizen by volunteering through the church or charity. Richardson (2002) writes that building national identity was still the role of the school during the period 1918

to 1945. This identity was still British, but increasingly under siege from American economic and cultural influence as well as growing Canadian nationalism.

According to Osborne (1996), from the 1960s to the 1980s the notion of assimilation was largely replaced by multiculturalism, a new focus on things Canadian, and Canadian studies in schools. Fearing that Canadian children knew little of Canada, there followed pan-Canadian initiatives, including the Canada Studies Foundation, that promoted things Canadian in the classroom. French immersion courses, student exchange programmes and Canadian studies courses appeared. Osborne also draws attention to a strong international focus where citizenship was seen in more global terms, relative to Canada's role in providing foreign aid, social development and environmental protection. Richardson (2002) views this period of time as one of an identity crisis with continuing British ties and institutions, growing Canadian nationalism, and strong American presence.

During the last period beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Osborne (1996) sees citizenship and citizenship education being abandoned as one of the mandates of schooling and replaced by an economic focus preparing the student to be a consumer and an entrepreneur in a global economy. Osborne's extensive writings on citizenship education and schooling have a common theme throughout, namely the critical and changing role played by the subject of history in the social studies curricula in teaching the state's version of good citizenship.

Bruno-Jofre (1998-1999) writes on citizenship and schooling in Manitoba using primarily programmes of study, proceedings from conferences, the *Western School Journal*, education reports, interviews with long time teachers Sybil Shack, Betty Gibson

and Emma Thompson, and some authorized readers. Bruno-Jofre argues that Anglo-conformity was the central organizing feature of citizenship from 1910 to 1945, with the inculcation of British values in citizens to make them proper members of the Canadian nation state. In a later article, Bruno-Jofre (1999) argues that the period 1945 - 1971 witnessed both a diminishing of Anglo-conformity and an increasing multicultural challenge to the federal policies of biculturalism and bilingualism. This was mainly the result of the 1960 Canadian Bill of Rights and the large numbers of immigrants from non-traditional sources such as Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

In a history thesis dealing with citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba from 1916 to 1927, Rempel (2000) draws on primary documents such as the province's programmes of study for grades one through eight, *Empire Day* booklets, the *Western School Journal*, and approved elementary history and geography textbooks. Rempel contends that the province's curriculum provided a similar perception of good citizenship, and that the Department of Education, to ensure the assimilation of current and future citizens, presented the desirable cultural and racial characteristics of British society in Canada.

Rogalsky's (2000) history thesis investigated informal citizenship education of immigrants through the Citizenship Council of Manitoba that was operated by individuals from Winnipeg's social agencies and volunteers. Rogalsky writes that, during the period 1948 to 1975, the Council's understanding of good Canadian citizenship paralleled trends in citizenship education in formal schooling which had evolved from a singular, paternalistic, white, Christian and middle-class identity to one of pluralism with ethnic, religious, racial and economic diversity. The primary research materials for Rogalsky's

citizenship education study consisted of the minutes and documents of the Council of Social Agencies, interviews and the *Winnipeg Tribune*.

The work of Gagnon and Page (1999) in contemporary liberal democracies draws on the citizenship literature in English and French Canada for their model of citizenship. Gagnon and Page's conceptual model is complex, revolving around four macro-components: national identity; cultural, social and supra-national belonging; an effective system of rights; and political and civic participation. Concepts such as allegiance and patriotism, heritage, and sub-concepts, like history and cultures, are also factors in Gagnon and Page's model, thereby expanding the scope of citizenship. Gagnon and Page argue that it is the very complexity of citizenship that leads scholars away from an analysis of the whole to studies of the parts. They state:

the discourses produced on citizenship frequently deal with only one specific aspect of the subject, chosen on the basis of the author's preoccupations or the specific set of problems that interest him based on the discipline with which she is affiliated, or the organization or association whose point of view he wishes to represent. (p. 5)

From their literature review, Gagnon and Page (1999) have developed a schematic model to illustrate the citizenship discourses and the inter-relationship of these discourses. In their introduction, they emphasize that they are not promoting any citizenship theory or theoretical approach; rather, their model gathers from their analysis of the literature citizenship macro-concepts, specific concepts and sub-concepts to present a conceptual framework for citizenship as a system. Gagnon and Page have

organized specific citizenship concepts into four groupings that help to give meaning to their four macro-components.

The conceptual framework has national identity at the top of the vertical axis. National identity, according to Gagnon and Page (1999), “includes a set of characteristics that all citizens are invited or encouraged to share....” and “refers to the collective identity of a political community” (p. 8). There are four specific concepts that give meaning to the macro-concept of national identity: civic culture, societal culture, heritage, and allegiance and patriotism. Civic culture as a component of national identity “is centred primarily on normative elements and is defined essentially by the legal and political principles embodied in a tradition peculiar to each society” (Gagnon & Page, 1999, p. 9). In Canada, this includes the Canadian Constitution and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Societal culture is a second component of national identity, referring “to everything that characterizes the public lifestyle of individuals in this society” (p. 9). Societal culture has three sub-components: institutional standards, official language(s), and the media. Official languages, for example, refers to the languages used in government offices and spoken in public as a means of communication. Heritage is another component of national identity and is composed of three sub-components: nature; history; and cultures, heritage languages and cultural products. The specific citizenship concept of history has two main features: national symbols and founding myths. The last specific component of national identity is allegiance and patriotism. Allegiance, for example, refers to a citizen’s loyalty and obedience to the nation’s political institutions.

At the other end of Gagnon and Page’s (1999) vertical axis is the macro-concept of social, cultural and supranational belonging. Poles of belonging is a specific concept with

sub-concepts of national minorities, cultural and linguistic minorities, religious minorities, sociological minorities (e.g. the elderly, the young, women), regional belonging, transnational belonging, and double nationality. National minorities, for example, are different from other minorities in that their “inclusion in the society, unlike that of immigrant minorities, is often involuntary in that it results from conquest or a decolonization process” (p. 10).

Along the horizontal axis is the macro-concept of an effective system of rights that examines both the rights of citizens – fundamental, political, social and cultural – as well as programs and measures designed to promote anti-discrimination, equal access, equity and identity recognition. Gagnon and Page (1999) indicate that an example of identity recognition includes the adaptation of history textbooks to include diversity. At the other end of the horizontal axis of the conceptual framework is the macro-concept of political and civic participation. Three concepts give meaning to this fourth macro-concept, namely, areas of participation, requisite skills, and duties and responsibilities. Areas of participation, for example, are divided into two sub-concepts of political life and civil society. Civic participation refers to the citizen’s voluntary involvement in organizations or associations that are non-governmental and that carry out activities at the determination of its members.

Under these macro-concepts fall recently-emerging notions of citizenship that are fundamental to belonging and participating in Canadian society. These notions include intimate citizenship and cultural citizenship. Faulks (2006) contends that contemporary theories of citizenship, for example, “intimate citizenship” has much to offer our understanding of citizenship beyond rationality to explain a citizen’s exercising of rights

and responsibilities. He claims that there must be underpinning values of human "emotions, such as trust, confidence and security" (p.130) for citizen engagement with voting or participation to be meaningful. On the other hand, if there were only "negative emotions of fear, envy and shame" (p. 130) associated with the exercise of a citizen's rights and responsibilities, then this lack of intimate citizenship will greatly diminish the likelihood of successful engagement. While rational understanding remains important, Faulks (2006) believes that "emotional intelligence and self-awareness are essential resources for citizenship" (p. 130).

Not only does intimate citizenship represent a new notion of citizenship, but so too does cultural citizenship – one that brings together culture and citizenship as a variety of belonging. According to Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006), discourses in cultural citizenship are critical of the two main citizenship discourses of contemporary society, namely civic republicanism and liberalism. Rosaldo and Flores (1997) define cultural citizenship as "the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes" (p. 57). Cultural citizenship is anti-assimilationist, claims cultural rights and identity, and theorizes a social space for cultural, ethnic or minority language groups.

Gagnon and Page's (1999) model, updated with more contemporary theory, provide a far more expansive framework of citizenship. Therefore, various elements of this framework are utilized as analytical lenses in my study of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba civics textbooks.

### *Textbooks and Formal Schooling*

Textbooks have been an omnipresent feature of education from the beginning of formal schooling in ancient times to the present. As such, textbooks represent not only the knowledge and social interests deemed to be of most worth, but also the knowledge or social interests that are not being promulgated.

The origin of the word “textbook” dates to 1779 in England where it came to have two meanings: “a book used as a standard work for the study of a particular subject” and “a manual of instruction in a subject of study” (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1964, p. 2160). Although the origin of the word textbook is relatively recent, its existence in teaching and learning in formal education, whether religious or secular, goes back to ancient Greece, Rome, China, Egypt, Sumer and India where formats such as clay tablets, scrolls, papyrus or parchment were utilized. In ancient times, the *Laws of the Twelve Tables* was in use as a Roman textbook circa 450 BC as was Ptolemy’s *Mechanism of the Heavens (Syntaxis)* in ancient Greece in 138 AD. During the medieval period, religious textbooks abounded, including Isidore, Bishop of Seville’s (570-636) *Etymologies or Origines: Encyclopedia of Ancient Learning* and, later, Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologia*, circa 1271 (Farrell, 2003; Thompson, 1951). With the invention of the printing press circa 1455, German printer Gutenberg, set off what would become the mass printing of school textbooks. In colonial United States, for example, the religiously focused *New England Reader* (1690) was used for over 125 years as a school textbook. Following independence from Great Britain, the US began the production of locally-written and locally-published secular textbooks, which today is a multi-million dollar textbook publishing industry.

American research studies have concluded that textbooks are directly tied to classroom instruction. Writing in 1988, Down states succinctly the immense power of the textbook:

Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned, in most subjects. For many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and to reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary.

And teachers rely on them to organize lessons and structure subject matter. (p. vii)

Ten years later, in another study of the problems of textbooks in public education in the United States, Chambliss (1998) states:

Estimates show that textbooks determine 75-90 per cent of instructional content and activities in schools throughout the nation. The textbook is both the subject-matter authority and the heart of the instructional program. Whatever shared vision we have about what should be taught and how it should be presented currently depends on textbooks. (p. 1)

Seixas (1994), undertaking research on student assessment of textual information given to them, writes that students do not question these materials. As one student described the textbook: "You can't disagree with it...it's what you are supposed to learn" (pp. 93-94). Seixas' (2001) review of social studies for the American Educational Research Association notes that the social studies epistemologic malaise described by Shaver, Davis and Helburn (1980) is equally applicable today: social studies teaching involves students' having information that is regurgitated in class and on tests; and teachers rely on the textbook as authoritative and therefore stifle student inquiry. As

Seixas (2001) states: “The textbook, the source of ‘knowledge,’ is viewed as a compendium of unquestioned facts” (p. 558).

According to critical theorist Apple, not all knowledge makes its way into schools; only certain knowledge, representing the ideological and political beliefs of certain groups in society, does. Apple (1990) views the school and the textbook as the prime mechanisms by which the ruling classes control the preservation, production and distribution of their knowledge. Those in power, through institutions such as schools, “help produce the type of knowledge (as a kind of commodity) that is needed to maintain the dominant economic, political and cultural arrangements that now exist” (Apple, 1990, p. x) and that have existed in the past. Apple documents the resulting inequalities of power imbedded in the school system, especially those relating to class, gender, race and religion. He states: “We must rigorously scrutinize the form and content of the curriculum, the social relations within the classroom, and the ways we currently conceptualize these things, as ultimate expressions of particular groups in particular institutions at particular times” (p. x).

Apple’s theory – that social interests help to determine the nature of knowledge that makes its way into the school’s textbooks – has as its underpinning three concepts: ideology, hegemony, and selective tradition. Ideology, according to Apple (1990), is not easily defined, but there is agreement that it includes some sort of ‘system’ of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality” (p. 20). The dominant in society, that is, particular groups, political programs or social movements, and world-views or outlooks, not only justify and legitimate their ideological control over the less dominant, but also ideological control often takes the “form of false consciousness which distorts one’s picture of social reality and serves the interests of the dominant classes in a

society” (Apple, 1990, p. 20). Apple contends that ideology and schooling must be examined both in the overt curriculum, particularly with textbooks, and in the hidden curriculum, with learning obedience in the classroom. In Canada, for example, with state-controlled textbooks, the state’s ideology of capitalism is portrayed as not only the best but also the only economic system available.

A second factor by which social interests are incorporated into education, according to Apple, is through hegemony which occurs where the dominant components of a culture dominate to such a degree that this culture becomes society’s very consciousness. Hegemony takes place when the dominant culture saturates the dominated with institutions such as compulsory public school, with “intellectuals” such as teachers who make dominance seem neutral and natural, and with forms of knowledge, including textbooks which personify officially-sanctioned knowledge. For example, federally controlled residential schools in Canada’s past provided education for Aboriginal students. Coupled with compulsory attendance, the hegemonic activities of the state presented to students an ideology of capitalism, Christianity and British culture and language to such a degree that students were colonized, losing contact and understanding of their traditional Aboriginal culture and way of life.

In terms of Apple’s third component, the selective tradition, he argues that teachers and textbook authors are examples of individuals who help to preserve and to retransmit knowledge forms selectively. Schools become a primary mode of incorporation or transmission of the social and cultural elements of the dominant culture. Williams (as cited in Apple, 1990) states that

at the philosophical level, at the true level of theory and at a level of the history

of various practices, there is a process that I call the selective tradition: that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as 'the tradition,' the significant past. (pp. 5-6)

From the selective tradition, the knowledge that is taught in schools is that which is deemed socially legitimate; that is, as a result of the economic, social and political power of the elite, a certain type of knowledge is made available or is not made available to students (Apple, 1990). Apple writes: "The very fact that certain traditions and normative 'content' are construed as school knowledge is prima facie evidence of their perceived legitimacy" (p. 45). The study of school knowledge, which is often contained in textbooks, needs to be seen as an investigation into the legitimated knowledge of particular groups, in particular institutions, and in particular historical times. The social control in schools is not only of people, but also of meaning. Since the school preserves and distributes only certain knowledge, it confers legitimization upon that knowledge which we all must have and, in turn, legitimizes the groups whose knowledge it presents (Apple, 1990). For example, with the passage of the first Education Act in Manitoba in 1871, the state sanctioned its role to authorize textbooks and, thereby, to prescribe official course content. If textbook authors wanted to have their titles considered for the state-run textbook selection process for authorization and sale throughout the province, they had to provide textbook content which met the selective tradition, satisfied the social interests and contexts of the day, and was defined by the Protestant Board of Education.

#### *History and Social Studies Textbook Studies*

Uribe and Aaron (1975) identify a list of 180 American dissertations, books and journal articles published primarily in the 1960s and early 1970s that have undertaken

content analyses of elementary and secondary schoolbooks and textbooks for ethnic, racial and sexist content. One of the articles listed proved particularly helpful for this dissertation. Krug's (1960) research examined three civic textbooks each published during the 1950s and used in American schools to teach citizenship as part of social studies. He found that the three textbooks focussed on the teaching of the American government as near perfection in terms of a democracy, presenting no discussion of controversial issues or of a need to improve its form of democratic government. Krug also determined that these civics textbooks failed to provide students with any form of critical thinking as part of the curriculum. Further, skills for problem solving civics issues in schools, and later as required of citizens of a democracy, were also absent. These civics textbooks, complete with serious problems in the teaching of citizenship, were found to be comparable to civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools. The Manitoba textbooks also failed to address the need for improvements in Canadian democratic governments (sentimental civics) and of critical thinking/problem-solving skills necessary for citizens to function properly in their political and civic involvement.

Woodward, Elliott and Nagel (1988), in a study of American school textbooks, determine that, throughout the content areas of social studies, language arts, mathematics, reading and science, the common theme portrayed is different than either the writing of scholars, or the real world seen by students. The researchers state that, for social studies textbooks, the content "is highly selective, sanitized, pre-packaged, and often distorted" (p. 15). They also determine that the forty-eight annotated social studies textbook content studies receive far greater treatment compared to other subject area studies. Woodward, Elliott and Nagel's analysis of these annotated entries reveals that textbook studies

concentrate on history, geography and social studies. Notable and relevant for my study is the omission of civics textbooks from these analyses.

Marker and Mehlinger (1992), in a review of American social studies textbook studies, determine that these studies focus on social issues of the time, including heroes and heroines, terrorism, and the Vietnam War. In addition, the reviewers determine social studies textbooks to be bland, uncontroversial, superficial and simplistic.

Clark (1995), in her study of the visions of Canadian identity in British Columbia social studies textbooks, identifies 38 existing Canadian social studies textbook studies. This is significant for my dissertation because none of these studies has focussed specifically on civics textbook analysis. Clark examined 169 social studies textbooks used in British Columbia schools. History textbooks predominate, with only 5 civics texts briefly analysed for the period from 1925 to 1989. One of her findings was that there were three major “educational turning points” in British Columbia, including the release in 1925 of the Putman-Weir Report, the Chant Report in 1960, and, in 1970, the creation of the Canada Studies Foundation. She groups social studies textbooks into each of these three periods. As shown in my dissertation, no such educational “turning points” were determined for history and social studies textbooks used in Manitoba schools. Another of Clark’s findings was that, during the Chant era from 1960 to 1975, textbook authors were concerned with Canadian relations with the United States, determining that there was “a thriving anti-Americanism as an important part of what made Canadians Canadian” (p. ii). No such anti-Americanism was found in the national identity reflected in Manitoba’s civics textbooks for the period 1911 to 2007.

One of the earliest published textbook studies in Canada was conducted by the

National Council of Education, a Winnipeg-based educational organization born of a recommendation emanating from the October 1919 National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, held in Winnipeg. The National Council, operated by 50 elected or appointed individuals across the country, was mandated to conduct research on educational issues important to the organization, but had as a focus the moulding of student character to make good citizens. The historical backdrop for this large convention focussing on student character, and the creation of a national education body, was the recently-ended Great War and the tremendous sacrifice in the lives of Canadian soldiers who fought to preserve Canadian democracy. Further, the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, beginning on May 15, witnessed some 30,000 private and public workers on strike and was opposed by employers and the government. The charge by the Royal North-West Mounted Police into strikers on June 17 caused many casualties and was followed by the arrest of six labour leaders, effectively bringing the strike to an end on June 25. Nevertheless, the notion that worker unrest was an emerging social, political and educational issue was certainly on the minds of the National Council of Education when it met that October in Winnipeg.

Thirty speakers from Canada, Britain and the United States addressed the question of character building, young Canadians and citizenship. Dr. H. P. Whidden, MP for Brandon, indicated that the local school must serve the nation and build national character, although he was unable to define the meaning of national character. Dr. J. W. Robertson, Dominion Commissioner, Boy Scouts Association, had a far clearer picture of scouting and its character-building role for boys focussing on loyalty, discipline and service. To obey the Boy Scout Law meant that the scout was “loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous,

kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty and clean....These are the qualities that make a very perfect citizen, and a very perfect gentleman” (*Report*, 1919, p. 41). Saskatchewan Premier W. M. Martin, who also served as that province’s Minister of Education, spoke of the role of the school in providing better education for citizenship, including good health so as to be good citizens, moral and religious training, as well as instruction in patriotism and an appreciation for Canadian institutions. Mrs. L. C. McKinney, MLA for Claresholm, Alberta, stated that “citizenship is service to the world in which we live. If the purpose of the individual is service to the nation, as citizenship would indicate, then the purpose of national life is service to the world” (p. 94).

The first report of the National Council [1922], entitled *Observations on the Teaching of History and Civics in Primary and Secondary Schools of Canada*, was written and researched by staff members of the University of Toronto. This 43 page report was divided into three sections: an essay on the teaching of history by C. N. Cochrane, an essay on the teaching of civics by W. S. Milner, and an Appendix which listed history and civics textbooks available for use in Canadian schools.

The Appendix formed the textbook analysis portion of the National Council report which involved the reading and brief commentary by six committee members on some 100 history and civics textbooks which were submitted by British and Canadian publishers. The introduction to the Appendix states that while the list was not exhaustive, it was representative of texts available and, therefore, “educational authorities may...find it useful in preparing prescriptions for the schools” (National Council, [1922], p. 33). Clearly, the focus of the report was to encourage the teaching of history and civics and to provide provincial education departments with a means of selecting suitable civics

textbooks for citizenship education. Even though the writers' comments on the ten civics textbooks listed were very limited and uncritical, the study does, nevertheless, represent one of the first qualitative examinations of civics and history textbooks in Canada.

An essay on the teaching of civics, written by W. S. Milner, chairman of the study committee, argued that the teaching of citizenship "out of a book" offends British instinct and stirs misgivings with perhaps most thoughtful people" (National Council, [1922], p. 20). Milner acknowledged, however, that a basic knowledge of "civics," the study of how we govern ourselves, could be taught from a textbook. He cited R. S. Jenkins' (1919) textbook *Canadian Civics* as a good example of how to teach civics (National Council, [1922], p. 21). *Canadian Civics*, with its many editions and versions, was authorized for use in schools in all provinces of Canada between 1910 and 1930. Milner went on to state that the teaching of civics was the teaching of citizenship. Good citizenship in student character arose from patriotism, duty, loyalty and effort, be it in the classroom or the factory.

Interest in textbook studies continued and, over the next 45 years, history textbook studies were undertaken by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1933), the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association (1941), and A. B. Hodgetts (1968). All the studies stressed the importance of history and civics textbooks in promoting good citizenship and understanding. All used qualitative methodologies, in part, in the conduct of their studies. The Toronto branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom report entitled *The Canadian School History Textbook Survey* (1933) examined 40 textbooks: one economics, six civics and thirty-three history. In the Foreword to the study, the researchers indicated that their prime concern was to

address one of the causes of the Great War of 1914-1918 which related to the use of history as an “instrument of propaganda” for the creation of “narrow-nationalism” (p. 2).

The teaching of history in schools was of paramount concern and the focus of attention needed to be on textbooks. Based on the concepts of peace, non-militarism, tolerance and mutual understanding, the resulting questionnaire found that the texts were satisfactory although exceedingly dull. The reader of Burt's (1930) *High School Civics* commented that the book was splendid, providing much information on municipal, provincial, Dominion and Imperial governments. The reviewer also commented that there were no statements about other nationalities or governments and, therefore, we need not be concerned about any bellicose propaganda. The reviewer commented, however, that the League of Nations was not mentioned. During a time in which the League was to solve world problems through discussion rather than war, this was, to the reviewer, a major oversight in a civics text.

Similarly, in 1941, the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association released *A Report on Text-Books in Social Studies in the Dominion of Canada and Their Relation to National Ideals* that used a qualitative questionnaire to study each of the 55 elementary and secondary textbooks authorized for use in Canadian schools that focussed on social studies, including history, geography, economics and citizenship. National ideals were defined in terms of survey questions which asked of the books' treatment of democratic government over the centuries, the rights and privileges of citizens, the responsibilities of citizens, and the place of Canada in the British Commonwealth. The one elementary civics textbook studied was found in need of “drastic revision,” revised formatting, and re-orientation of material for use by students rather than the current high level material for

teachers. The researchers commented that the elementary textbooks used in the Prairie Provinces portrayed democratic institutions with great reverence but at the same time failed to encourage any critical analysis of political institutions to determine benefits or defects (p. 17). At the secondary level, each of the three civics textbooks examined failed in different ways to address important national issues. Deficiencies included lack of reference to the responsibilities of citizens, content too difficult for students to understand or take interest, and content written in such a manner that students would take for granted democratic institutions such as free press or free speech (pp. 57-60).

It was several decades before another textbook study focussed on civics, namely, A. B. Hodgetts' (1968) study, *What Culture? What Heritage?* With the financial support of the governing body of Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario where he was a history professor, Hodgetts started the two-year National History Project in 1965 as a nation-wide study of civic education in Canadian history and social studies classrooms. Hodgetts used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies based on the observations of some 847 classroom teachers in 20 cities across Canada (including Winnipeg and St. Boniface), 10,000 student questionnaires, 1,000 open-ended student essays, 500 teacher and 72 student interviews and an examination of social studies courses, textbooks, programmes of study and provincial examinations. Through these means, Hodgetts determined that history, social studies and civic textbooks in English Canada portrayed a "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant political and constitutional history" (p. 20), while French language texts presented a story which emphasized "a picture of history peopled with saintly, heroic figures, motivated by Christian ideals and working almost exclusively for the glory of God" (p. 31).

These opposing interpretations of Canadian history – one dry, secular and political, the other religious and moral – Hodgetts argues, means that English and French students and teachers could never fully understand one another or the nation in which they lived. Under the subheading ‘A lifeless study of government,’ Hodgetts’ analysis of civics classrooms and textbooks reveals an “old-fashioned concentration on descriptive materials, with very little analysis or realism” and shows a focus on the boring study of the “mechanical functioning of governments” (p. 29). Hodgetts further observes that civics classes failed to address issues related to cabinet responsibility, federalism or voting, political parties, lobbying, power elites and decision making. Hodgetts states: “The picture of politics given to our students does not correspond to the realities of life which many of them have begun to observe well before leaving school” (p. 30). Although they acknowledged the importance of the study, scholars were skeptical of Hodgetts’ methodology largely because the proposed handbook that was to contain his research instruments was never published. We do not know, for example, what civics textbooks he studied.

The 1970s brought new attention to social studies textbooks in Canada. While the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism addressed the official position of the government and Canada’s two founding peoples – the English and the French – and of problems in history textbooks of each group, the Commission also acknowledged the changing nature of Canadian society. Trudel and Jain’s (1970) analysis of Canadian history textbooks, one of the studies of the 1970 Royal Commission, notes that French and English history textbooks paid very little attention to minority groups except for “Indians” who were defeated and then disappeared. Minority groups increased in Canada and

multiculturalism, beginning in the late 1960s, became an increasingly dominant theme. Responding to this changing social reality, provincial governments became concerned with what textbooks said about members of the new multicultural society. Further, this concern for the portrayal of immigrant minorities also found a connection with other groups who had been excluded or marginalized in Canadian society and had now found voice, including women, Aboriginal peoples, labour, the aged, and the disabled. Thus, the social studies textbook analyses from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s focussed on concerns by academics and by government over bias and prejudice related to minorities and other excluded groups in Canadian society. Throughout this period, civics textbooks were included as a small part of many of the history textbook analyses. Further, researchers moved away from qualitative studies of the past to employ what was said to be a more scientifically-based quantitative education research approach.

David Pratt, first as a Ph. D. student and later as a professor at the Faculty of Education at Queen's University, led the charge to study bias and prejudice quantitatively in Canadian social studies textbooks. For his Ph. D. dissertation, Pratt (1969) developed a research instrument to measure "evaluative assertions" concerning minorities. This instrument was used to analyze 69 history (not civics) textbooks approved for use in Ontario schools to evaluate their treatment of Arabs, North American "Indians," Blacks, and French Canadians. He found that French Canadians were favourably treated, while Arabs, "Negroes" and "Indians" were unfavourably treated. "Indians" were treated least favourably, with evaluative terms for this groups that included "savage," "hostile," "unfriendly," "thief," and "fierce."

Later, McDiarmid and Pratt (1971), under contract with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, used the evaluative assertion instrument to analyze 143 social studies textbooks, including civics books, authorized for use in Ontario schools. In the resulting Ontario Institute for Studies in Education publication entitled *Teaching Prejudice*, they concluded that “we are most likely to encounter in textbooks devoted Christians, great Jews, hardworking immigrants, infidel Moslems, primitive Negroes, and savage Indians” (p. 45). However, McDiarmid and Pratt could not fight off the Ontario Human Rights Commission challenge to the quantitative methodology approach. The Commission argued that much of the bias and prejudice in social studies textbooks took the form of omission. Responding to this criticism, McDiarmid and Pratt identified twelve critical issues in Canadian social studies that they believed not only addressed the question of the treatment of minorities, but also could not be omitted in teaching Canadian social studies, and could not be treated ethnocentrically. In their assessment of Issue 7, ‘Legislation against discrimination in Canada,’ they found that the eight grade 10 civics textbooks made no mention of either existing anti-discrimination legislation in the Canadian Bill of Rights or the role of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) concluded that civics textbooks, while highlighting the traditional Canadian way of life, failed miserably to “provide not only immigrants but all young Canadians with basic information about their rights and the paths open to them in combating discrimination” (p. 73).

By modifying the initial quantitative instrument with a qualitative component designed to make a more sensitive measurement and one easier for other researchers to use, Pratt created the Evaluative Coefficient Analysis (ECO Analysis), a content analysis

tool which was used in several textbook studies in the 1970s and early 1980s, appearing as reports by provincial governments and organizations and as theses.

Three Manitoba reports were published in the early 1970s. In 1971, the Manitoba Human Rights Commission in its report entitled *A Study of Social Studies Text Books for Use in Manitoba Schools* undertook to study social studies textbooks authorized for use in Manitoba schools for the purpose of “eliminating discriminatory practices related to race, creed, religion, sex, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin” (p. i). The methodology used in the study was acknowledged by the Commission’s researchers as Pratt’s ECO Analysis. The contents of 45 authorized Manitoba history, geography and social studies textbooks were analysed for their treatment of Christians, Jews, Moslems, “Negroes,” “Indians,” immigrants, French-Canadians and women as well as eleven historical issues, including trade unionism, alien political systems and the concept of race and civic rights. In their findings, the Commission’s researchers pointed out that because of substantial omissions in textbooks relating to women, racial and civil rights, trade unionism and current status of “Indians,” these topics could not be studied (p. 5). Christians were glorified, Jews and Moslems were rarely mentioned, “Negroes” received prejudicial treatment, “Indians” were savages and stereotyped, immigrants and French-Canadians were treated inadequately, and women were at the forefront of omission, stereotyping and unbalanced treatment. In the one civics textbook examined entitled *How Are We Governed?*, the researchers found unacceptably high negative scores in the treatment of French-Canadians, women, race and civil rights, and Japanese Canadians. The researchers concluded that “the political process is presented in simplistic terms with no attention being paid to historical context or to relevant controversial issues” (p. 101).

The 1971 report clearly indicated that textbooks on citizenship and citizenship education were based on societal inequalities based on prejudice related to gender, race, and social class.

One of the recommendations of the 1971 Report was that the Department of Education, in conjunction with the Manitoba Human Rights Commission, review and revise textbook selection criteria. In 1973, the Minister of Education created a Task Force on Text Book Evaluation with members from the two organizations to study how bias could be limited or controlled in Manitoba textbooks. In its *Report of the Text Book Evaluation*, the writers developed “Guidelines to Minimize Prejudice and Bias in Textbooks” (Manitoba, 1973, pp. 8-9). These guidelines included criteria relating to historical accuracy, balance, language and the realistic treatment of prejudice and discrimination. The Task Force then recommended that the department’s curriculum and materials selection committees add the guidelines to the existing procedures for textbook evaluation.

In 1974, the Textbook Evaluation and Revision Commission of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood undertook to study bias against “Indians” in social studies textbooks approved for use in grades four, five and six in Manitoba schools. The methodology used Pratt’s ECO Analysis for a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of nine history textbooks and six *Jackdaws*. The overall analysis, published in *The Shocking Truth about Indians in Textbooks* (1974), was that textbook writers “treated the Native as an impediment to be removed so that the goals of European ‘progress’ can be realized. After dealing with this conflict, the authors ignore the later history of native people” (p. iii). The report documents over 200 pages of examples of biased and inadequate treatment of

people of native ancestry and is a stinging condemnation of the Department of Education textbook selection process and its failure to address problems identified in the 1971 Human Rights Commission Report. Also significant in this study, but not documented in the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood Report, is that the majority of the document's findings resulted from qualitative methodology, presumably because it served better the Brotherhood's concern for addressing the dominant form of bias by omission which permeated these textbooks.

Outside of Manitoba, human rights commissions either conducted or received studies that examined approved social studies textbooks used in their respective provinces, including the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission (1974), the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission (1974), and the Human Rights Commission of British Columbia (1977, 1980). The three studies from Nova Scotia (1974) and British Columbia (1977, 1980) ran into methodological problems when they attempted to implement Pratt's ECO Analysis.

The Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission study in 1974 analyzed 60 social studies textbooks (and 12 issues) used in Saskatchewan elementary and secondary schools utilizing Pratt's ECO analysis. The Commission determined that social studies textbooks promote prejudice in their unequal treatment of gender and minorities. Positive evaluative words were associated with Christians (e.g. great, successful, charitable), Jews (e.g. great, industrious, merciful) and "Eskimos" (e.g. skillful, friendly, hard working). On the other hand, negative evaluative words were associated with "Negroes" (e.g. primitive, bloody, dreaded), "Indians" (e.g. savage, warlike, rebellious) and Moslems (e.g. infidels, fanatic, threatening). Overly positive portrayals of some groups and overly negative portrayals of

other groups, based on prejudicial commentary in textbooks, supports a citizenship based on inequality. Since textbooks represent official state-approved knowledge and, is rarely challenged by teachers or students, prejudice incorporated in textbooks becomes a citizenship norm, one in which certain groups become “good” citizens, and others “bad” citizens. Equality of all groups as a basic citizenship right was the standard goal of provincial human rights commissions.

Researchers completed the Nova Scotia study in 1973, but were displeased with the results, arguing that there was limited value in examining words alone and that “more emphasis should be placed on complete and general ideas expressed by means of the content of the textbook” (1974, p. 8). Similarly, in a study of group prejudice in social studies textbooks by Mattu and Villeneuve (1980) conducted for the Human Rights Commission of British Columbia, the researchers, using a qualitative methodology, found that these textbooks were “becoming more polite in their teaching of prejudice” (p. 18). Mattu and Villeneuve argued that the content of new textbooks continued to reflect the dominant middle class, white, male. The researchers explained further that “oppression is not analyzed from the viewpoint of the victim. The historical context is still ignored or forgotten” (1980, p. 8). Mattu and Villeneuve also reviewed the models utilized in textbook analyses for the elimination of bias, and found that the Pratt’s ECO Analysis model failed to address bias of omission and the critically important historical and geographical situation in which terminology describing groups is used.

Three years previously, Galloway, LaBar and Ranson (1977) submitted a report to the Human Rights Commission of British Columbia on their analysis of racism in prescribed British Columbia textbooks. They began their study using the Pratt ECO

Analysis, but found it necessary to add comments for each textbook for the purpose of ensuring clarity. In addition, the researchers stated that, since the textbook history of native peoples began with the arrival of the white man and ended with the Indian confinement on reserves, the ECO Analysis could not address the historical omission of the period before the arrival of white man nor the period after confinement.

These four human rights commission studies found that the textbook portrayal of Aboriginal people and other groups in society was negatively stereotypical, full of omissions, and contained errors of fact. Clearly, Aboriginal people, Blacks and Muslims were being presented in student textbooks as second class citizens perceived as not having positive contributions to society. This is very much aligned with Apple's (1990) critical interpretation of knowledge and power that only selective information as articulated by the dominant groups makes its way into socially constructed textbooks. He particularly emphasizes the resulting inequalities related to race, gender and class.

In 1975, Patrick Babin of the University of Ottawa was contracted by the Ontario Ministry of Education to examine 1,719 authorized Ontario textbooks for bias related to labour unionists, minorities and the aged. Babin and his research assistant Robert Knoop, also of the University of Ottawa, wrote in their introduction that textbooks continued to have an important place in presenting students with a truly Canadian view of our culture, one that is very multicultural in nature. The researchers also pointed out that this was the first textbook analysis that focused on bias against the three minority groups of the aged, labour unions and unionists, and political minorities. As a result of the feedback from these three groups, received at the early stages of the study, the researchers chose not to use McDiarmid and Pratt's quantitative approach. The feedback was essentially that bias

in textbooks was one of omission, the essence of which could not be counted or quantified. Thus, the qualitative research instrument developed used evaluation criteria for each of the three groups being examined in the textbooks. The researchers' most significant finding was that bias against labour unions was the strongest and that the labour movement was ignored as were its achieved social benefits. The dominant group in power preserves itself and its control of knowledge against the challenge by labour and labour unions that their issues were real and valued by their members. Negative comments that unions caused inflation, strife and strikes were also found in the textbooks. On the question dealing with political minorities, each of the three civics textbooks analyzed was found to be biased in that each gave inadequate treatment to minority parties and over-treatment to the achievements of parties in power.

Also worth mentioning is a study conducted by Alberta Education (1981), in association with the Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, to review its province's social studies textbooks for adequacy of treatment respecting native people. In the report *Native People in the Curriculum*, Decore, Carney, Runte et al. chose a holistic qualitative approach for several reasons: the focus of the report was not just to list and rank biases, but rather to eliminate errors; the study was to examine the portrayal of native peoples which required the reviewer's statement of impressions with examples; and, finally, the researchers wanted observations in the form of annotations. The problems presented in the reviewer's observations could then be remediated. Although several hundred history textbooks and other media were examined, only four civics texts were studied, two of which were found acceptable. The other two had weaknesses related either to the lack of native content or the perpetuation of the welfare-bum stereotype often

associated with native people. The findings, overall, of the portrayal of “Native” people in Alberta textbooks were disturbing, as there were errors of fact, attribution and implication, problems of content, and stereotyping, clearly indicating that students were being presented with negative perceptions of citizens of native ancestry. A long list of recommendations to address these issues was contained in the report.

The period of examining textbooks for bias or prejudice comes close to an end with the 1981 Alberta study. By this time most provinces, either through their Departments or Ministries of Education, Human Rights Commissions or academic researchers, had undertaken analyses of social studies textbooks, including civics, for bias and prejudice. Their recommendations for addressing the problem would be incorporated into textbook selection policies.

Clark (1997), however, indicates that we should look again. She undertook a social studies analysis of 28 elementary and secondary approved textbooks, supplemented by other Canadian titles, used in British Columbia’s elementary and secondary schools between 1983 and 1995, with copyright dates ranging from 1970 to 1988. Clark (1997) found that these textbooks continued to have systemic issues of distortion and omission related to gender, race and ethnicity, disabled people and seniors. Clark stated that the concerns of bias and prejudice in textbooks continued into the 1990s and the portrayal of equitable citizenship and citizenship education continued to be problematic.

Beginning in the 1970s, many scholars took on a different educational research approach using critical social theory which had at its core the belief that there were systemic problems in education related to the treatment of certain groups and that action was necessary to address these inequalities. This new critical research paradigm informed

the qualitative methodologies in textbook studies that focussed on what and whose knowledge was selectively presented in textbooks and the presentation in textbooks of a broader view of society. There is a dearth of textbook studies that involve the analysis of civics textbooks using critical social theory. However, as critical social theory is used as the framework in my study of civics textbooks, a brief review of Canadian and American studies using critical theory to examine history and social studies textbooks is warranted.

One of the concerns of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School is to expose, through critique, the world as it is portrayed and the world as it actually exists. In his Ph. D. thesis on education and the social construction of reality, Bailey (1975) analyzed 123 Canadian elementary social studies textbooks. He found that textbook content resulted in students acquiring a view of national identity that differed sharply from their everyday reality. The knowledge constructed in textbooks tended to limit the understanding of community to physical space rather than to include social and cultural dimensions. Bailey also concluded that basic assumptions about issues such as progress, technology and the environment, were taken for granted and never explored or challenged. To address the discrepancy between the world portrayed in textbooks and the world that actually exists, he recommended that students learn to articulate their own life experiences, and to understand that continual progress may not solve all of the problems in social life. Bailey (1975) concludes with this statement on national identity:

[I]t is essential that its meaning be derived from the lived experiences of Canadians themselves, recognizing that the reality with which Canadian youth is confronted did not arise out of a social-historical vacuum and that its present form is the result of human authorship. (p. 186)

Murray (1986) studied the ideology of content in five prescribed British Columbia grades 4 and 5 social studies textbooks with copyright dates of 1984 and 1985. Using a conceptual framework of critical social theory and focussing on citizenship education as the main goal of social studies, Murray found that these texts presented a consensus view of society with none of the tensions of multiculturalism and failed to promote citizenship education adequately. To improve the balance of content in the textbooks, Murray recommended that educators become more critical in their analysis of social studies textbooks for transmitting particular social values and beliefs to ensure that a balanced view of society is provided.

More recently, Tupper (2002) used critical and postmodern theory to analyze three grade ten Canadian history textbooks currently in use in Alberta schools (with copyright dates of 1998, 1996 and 1994) for their treatment of Japanese Canadians, particularly their internment during World War II. Tupper clearly stated her critical theory orientation in this statement: "In Canadian schools, students are in danger of learning history that includes only the voices and experiences of individuals who belong to the dominant cultural group" (p. 328). Tupper contends that each of the three texts under study is informed by the dominant social group in Canada, with little, if any, voice of Japanese Canadians themselves. She states: "The racism, discrimination, and persecution Japanese Canadians endured are made marginal in the discursive frameworks of these three social studies textbooks" (p. 339). Further, since these textbooks failed to contextualize the event of the internment of the Japanese during World War II, the end result is that students have an incomplete and biased historical view. Tupper, in addressing these issues, highlights the important role of teachers to read textbooks through a critical lens to see these

inequities, and of students to use sources outside the textbook to find new and different perspectives.

Jean Anyon, an American critical social theorist, has written several articles analyzing United States social studies textbooks. By using a qualitative content analysis of 28 elementary social studies textbooks, Anyon (1978) determined that an unrealistic portrayal of social and political life is not the result of the lack of attention by textbook writers to students' critical thinking; rather, it is the result of the process of socialization where social and political forces impact on schools. Socialization has as its function "to foster in students an acceptance of the legitimacy of on-going social institutions" (p. 40). In other words, the specific knowledge found in elementary social studies textbooks legitimizes existing institutional arrangements, certain ways of behaviour and the interests of the political and economic elite. Anyon argues that both educators and educational researchers must continue their studies into these linkages to better understand those students who do not have power in the education system.

In another study, Anyon (1979) examined 17 secondary school American history textbooks for the treatment of economic and labor developments for the period 1865 to 1917 and determined that textbooks reflected the ideology of the dominant groups in American society whose knowledge was legitimated. Anyon stated: "Omissions, stereotypes, and distortions that remain in 'updated' social studies textbook accounts of Native Americans, Blacks, and women reflect the powerlessness of these groups" (p. 382). She found, for example, that textbooks promoted the belief that the working class did not exist or have an identity and that the working poor deserved their fate, all of which reflected the interests of the dominant business groups in American society. To counter

this legitimated knowledge found in textbooks, Anyon called on teachers to bring diverse perspectives to the classroom through the inclusion of social history in the curriculum and through research literature describing the dominant forms of knowledge in texts and offering new “counter” information.

In each of these studies, scholars used critical social theory to examine social studies textbooks. In similar manner, I undertake an analysis of civics textbooks for systemic inequalities in relation to citizenship and citizenship education and for the development of actions to address these problems.

Within the last 40 years, scholars of the history of education have examined textbooks used in early schooling. One of the first studies is Parvin’s (1965) *Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario*. Parvin investigated the changing legislation and policies of the Ontario Department of Education from 1846 to 1950 for the selection, preparation and authorization of elementary textbooks. Parvin contended that the goals of the department were to ensure a fair purchase price, uniformity in classroom instruction across the province, and to redress the influence of American textbooks and materials. In her compilation of authorized Ontario elementary textbooks, she identified only one civics textbook, and provided no commentary on the book.

Fifteen years later, Osborne (1980) undertook an analysis of 28 Manitoba and Canadian history textbooks published between 1886 and 1979 for their portrayal of citizens who were working people. Using qualitative content analysis, Osborne found a stereotypical presentation of Canadian workers as hardworking, temperate and peaceable citizens, inculcating a view of them as comfortable with their lives as happy and contented. There was little or no mention of the working class, labour unions, or of strikes

to improve the working conditions of union members. A 1979 civics textbook for the upper elementary grades was examined but this text provided little information about the working class and avoided any reference to social conflict in Canada's past. Their portrayal in textbooks was a false presentation created by the dominant groups. Osborne contends that both the working class and the rulers saw schools as important, but each for a different reason. On the one hand, the working class saw the school as a means of securing political and economic liberty; on the other hand, the ruling class viewed the school as a mechanism for social control. Osborne's recommendation was to have textbooks tell the story of the working class by the working class.

Three studies of British Columbia textbooks merit mention. A study by van Brummelen (1986) using qualitative content analysis examined prescribed British Columbia school textbooks used from 1872 to 1925 for the subjects of reading and composition, history and geography, science and agriculture, health, hygiene and temperance, and mathematics. Van Brummelen contends that the assumptions about the world and of society in these books changed over time. Only one 1925 civics textbook was included in the study and van Brummelen used information from this and other history texts and readers to illustrate the change from a society based on the moral authority of Christianity in 1872, to a secular-based society by 1925, which viewed religious institutions as part of the delivery of social services. For the same time period, Stanley (1995) observed that history and geography textbooks and school readers in British Columbia "fostered an 'ideology of difference' which legitimated the white occupation of the province as both natural and morally necessary, at the same time that it

rendered First Nations people and Asians as ‘Other’” (p. 39). The message to students is that this imperialism resulted in subjugating the weak and then bringing them civilization.

Starting where Stanley and van Brummelen left off, Clark (1995) examined 169 prescribed British Columbia history, geography, civics and social studies textbooks for the period 1925 to 1989. Using Pratt’s ECO analysis, Clark investigated the visions presented by the textbooks relative to Canadian identity and its change over time. Of the 169 titles examined, she primarily analysed British Columbia history textbooks. Clark briefly addressed two civics textbooks for the period 1925 through 1939, three for the period 1960 to 1975, and none for the 1970 through 1989 era. For the 1925 to 1939 era, Clark indicated that civics textbooks helped to teach the citizenship qualities of virtue through the exemplary study of heroes and heroines, the importance of cooperation within the community and, therefore, of subjugating selfish impulses for the greater good, and of duty to Canada and the British Empire. In the era from 1960 to 1975, the content of three civics textbooks is interpreted with themes such as the exclusion of Native peoples and blaming them for their problems; the constant need for the virtues of honesty, respect and sportsmanship; the study of exemplary heroic deeds by English Canadians and the British; the rejection of things American; and the importance of cooperation worldwide in the atomic age. Clark indicated that she examined all elementary and secondary textbooks of the period 1970 to 1989, but made no comment on the fact that, for this era, no civics texts were included in the study.

In a more recent study, Clark (2005) examined the portrayal of women in 20<sup>th</sup> century Canadian history textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia schools. She found that these textbooks consistently illustrated the building of the Canadian nation

theme and, in so doing, precluded the inclusion of women. In her study of 55 elementary and secondary approved textbooks used to teach Canadian history, Clark (2005) found that these texts could be divided into three historical periods. During the inter-war period, women are portrayed as remoras, “parasites on the host body of a male” (p. 247) or, simply, as weak, dependent onlookers. The period of the 1950s to the 1970s saw the inclusion of women only when they were writers or royalty. During the period of the 1980s, Clark (2005) found that secondary history textbooks were often devoid of women or their contributions were trivialized, whereas, elementary textbooks included women, though often as “idealized versions of gender roles” (p. 256) or as sidebars to the story, in what Clark called “filler feminism” (p. 257).

Two American studies dealing with citizenship and citizenship education warrant attention. Barth and Shermis (1980) compared American history and civics textbooks for the period 1874 – 1927 to those of 1960 – 1980 using a qualitative method. They concluded that the content patterns of textbooks for the early period remained essentially unchanged compared to the present. For civics textbooks, this meant the continuing uncritical celebration of American institutions and the ongoing study of structure and function of government.

Fedyck (1980) studied the concepts of citizenship and nationality in 80 US high school history textbooks published during the period 1913 to 1977. No civics textbooks were examined. A qualitative methodology was employed in the study using explicit clues found in words, phrases and student activities, and from implicit clues in metaphors, inferences and omissions. Fedyck determined that there was great stability in citizenship concepts over the 64-year period studied and that textbooks presented the ideal, typical

“good citizen” and emphasized that pride in citizenship was associated with the continuing progress and optimism of the American nation. Fedyck also indicated that as more recent history textbook authors began to give voice to marginalized groups, there was increasing confusion over the “melting pot” theory of American nationality.

### *Summary*

As this review of the literature on citizenship and citizenship education, textbooks and formal schooling, and studies of history and social studies textbooks has shown, much scholarly work had been done on the detection of bias and prejudice in textbooks, the historical mistreatment or marginalization of groups, the continuing importance of social studies textbooks to citizenship education, and the importance of citizenship theory to the understanding of the past and the present, all of which contribute to our growing understanding of citizenship and citizenship education.

Missing, however, from these studies is an in-depth analysis of civics textbooks, specifically those used in Manitoba schools, and what they can tell us about citizenship and citizenship education, past and present. To facilitate my analysis of civics textbooks, I have used the above mentioned citizenship model developed by Gagnon and Page (1999), supplemented by more recent scholarship, as the conceptual framework of this study.

### Chapter Three - Research Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology of the study which is largely informed by hermeneutics, the process of understanding through interpretation. I begin with a discussion of hermeneutics as a path to understanding. This is followed by descriptions of aspects of hermeneutic inquiry that informed the methodological framework of the research, and the specific methods of data collection and data analysis utilized in the study.

#### *Hermeneutics as a Path to Understanding*

Hermeneutics is about understanding texts through interpretation. The word “hermeneutics” is derived from Greek mythology where Hermes, the god serving as a messenger and herald for the other Greek gods, faced the ongoing certainty of having to interpret messages. From the Greek *hermeneutike*, the art of interpretation, the study of hermeneutics today transcends a multitude of academic disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, including philosophy, theology, psychology, sociology, law, literary theory, economics, nursing, medicine, international relations, history, and education.

The origins of hermeneutics began with Aristotle’s book *Peri Hermenia* which examines what we do when we interpret something, and continued with a school of interpretation located in Alexandria during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Smith, 1991, 2002). The first major application of hermeneutics to textual analysis arose during the Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Protestant scholars employed hermeneutics to interpret Biblical documents to reinforce their new church philosophy. Modern hermeneutics has developed as a reaction against the scientific, positivistic tradition of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Enlightenment (still very dominant in Western tradition), which views valid knowledge

only as that which is objective, factually based, and empirically proven through tested procedures. According to the positivistic tradition, knowledge derived from non-scientific or non-sensory means is invalid. Positivism contends that the methods of the natural sciences can be applied to the social sciences and that truth, as derived in the natural sciences, can be applied to the social sciences. The purpose is to create universal laws that transcend history and culture (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Lather, 1991; Smith, 1991).

Smith (2002), in his historical examination of the growth of the hermeneutic tradition, credits Wilhelm Dilthey, an early German hermeneutic scholar, with making the first distinction between work in the natural sciences and work in the human sciences when Dilthey declared: "Nature we can explain, but humans we must understand" (as cited in Smith, 2002, p. 4). Dilthey saw hermeneutics as the "experience of strangeness that makes interpretation, the work of hermeneutics, necessary" (as cited in Smith, 2002, p. 1). The early 19<sup>th</sup> century German hermeneutic scholar, Freidrich Schleiermacher, also made a significant contribution to hermeneutics through the argument that this method of inquiry was fundamentally a creative process involving interpretation and meaning-making, and seeing things in new ways, as well as through a "continuous process of emerging understanding, growing out of a spiralling dialectic between parts and the whole" (as cited in Smith, 2002, p. 3).

Gallagher (1992), in his study and analysis of the various works in hermeneutics, has identified four hermeneutic traditions: conservative, philosophical, radical, and critical hermeneutics. Conservative hermeneutics, evident in the works of Dilthey and Schleiermacher, takes the approach that, through correct methodology and diligent textual work, interpreters should be able to arrive at the exact meaning intended by the

author of the text. Gallagher, however, argues that no method can produce an absolute interpretation of the correct meaning of a work because of the interpreter's prejudices and traditions found in time, space and language.

Gallagher's position is supported by leading philosophical hermeneuticists like Hans-Georg Gadamer (1983, 1989), who have articulated a hermeneutic theory of understanding that takes into account prejudgments (prior knowledge and experiences, and prejudices) and our effective histories. Gadamer's theory essentially links text interpretation and understanding not with objectivity but with the interpreter's prior knowledge, history and the interplay between these and the text.

Gadamer states that we cannot have experiences without asking questions, and the best questions are those that allow true understanding through openness, where answers have not already been predetermined. We must admit that we do not know so as to be able to open dialogue with the object. As one endeavours to understand the meaning of language, we reflect to clarify and identify preunderstandings. Hermeneutical reflection is a constant re-examination of our experiences to arrive at improved self-understanding. According to Gadamer, understanding is a fusion of horizons between the text and the interpreter. Prejudice or prejudgment cannot be eliminated or set aside as we all live and think within a certain horizon of practices, preferences, values and meanings. Not only is prejudice unavoidable, it is positive in that our understanding of our world and ourselves depends on it. Gadamer contends that hermeneutic reflection on our prejudices helps to differentiate between enabling and disabling prejudice, and is, therefore, a precondition to understanding. Consciousness of effective history was coined by Gadamer to explain how each person is a product of their "effective history," that is, traditions that we have

internalized from authoritative voices in our past. Consciousness of effective history needs to be cultivated so that we can better understand ourselves as well as the traditions of other cultures. Important to the process of understanding is the hermeneutic circle which, according to Gadamer, is a principle that calls for an ever-expanding spiral of understanding between the parts and the whole of a text. For Gadamer, this spiralling circle is a continuous process, for understanding is never complete.

Gadamer (1979) sums up the purpose of these principles in philosophical hermeneutics, stating:

The best definition of hermeneutics is: to let what is alienated by the character of the written word or by the character of being distanced by cultural or historical distances speak again. This is hermeneutics: to let what seems to be far and alienated speak again. (as cited in Gallagher, 1992, p. 4)

Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault opened a new phase in hermeneutics that Gallagher (1992) refers to as “radical hermeneutics” which involves the deconstructive analysis of a text. Gallagher indicates that, in opposition to conservative hermeneutics, radical hermeneuticists, such as Foucault, view interpretation as more the playing with words in a text than the search for truth. Gallagher explains that the radical hermeneutic school of thought views objective meaning and discovery of “the truth” as impossible as such, all the interpreter/researcher can hope to do is “to stretch the limits of language to break upon fresh insight” (p. 10). Deconstructionists, such as Derrida, deconstruct the meaning of texts, not to create new meanings, but rather to show that all interpretations are “contingent and relative” (p. 11).

There is substantial growth in hermeneutic analyses based on critical social theory and its application to textual interpretation in education (e.g. Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991a; Sleeter & Grant, 1989, 1991, 1997). Gallagher (1992) labels this tradition “critical hermeneutics” where systemic problems in texts related to gender, race, culture, and class are identified. Critical hermeneuticists, according to Gallagher, seek in their textual analysis to identify issues of power and privilege in society and to undertake emancipatory activities that redress these issues.

Critical hermeneuticists argue that interpretation is both constrained and biased by economic, political and social forces, often reflected in texts as class, race, gender, religious and disability biases. Action must be taken to identify and eradicate these biases, and to create free communication, including that in the written word. Gallagher (1992) claims that critical hermeneutics “is employed as a means of penetrating false consciousness, discovering the ideological nature of our belief systems, promoting distortion free communication, and thereby accomplishing a liberating consensus” (p. 11).

Critical hermeneutics is not without limitations, however. These limitations are the same as those articulated earlier in my criticism of critical social theory – limitations to rational analysis and reflection, including epistemological limits, therapeutic limits, ethical limits, and power limits (i.e. Fay, 1987).

Despite these limitations, it is relatively easy to argue that, for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Canadian citizenship was guided by a state ideology of racism, marginalization, and cultural destruction rooted in power and privilege. These issues fall outside

Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics. Critical hermeneutics, therefore, served as a lens through which data on power and privilege were analyzed for my study.

Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics also provided an orientation for my study of citizenship and citizenship education. Three essential principles of philosophical hermeneutics relevant to textual interpretation and understanding informed this orientation. These principles are hermeneutic reflection and language; prejudices as preconditions for understanding; and the hermeneutic circle.

### *Hermeneutic Reflection and Language*

Hermeneutic reflection as questioning that surrounds textual interpretation, and the mediating role of language in this process, are core principles of philosophical hermeneutics. Gadamer (1989) bases the principle of hermeneutic reflection on the Socratic method of continuous questioning of traditional responses to lay open preconceptions or barriers to understanding.

He argues that hermeneutic reflection, based on the Socratic model, must be employed because interpretation is structured through questioning. Gadamer writes: "It is clear that the structure of the question is implicit in all experience. We cannot have experiences without asking questions" (p. 362). Gadamer argues that the focus of hermeneutic reflection is to question the text for the purposes of understanding. For this understanding to occur, the traditions that give rise to the text must themselves become the object of questioning. Traditions include the contexts (social, political, economic) and prejudices, preconceptions and prejudgments. Gadamer poses these traditions as fore-structures of understanding and posits that hermeneutic reflection, of this kind in textual

inquiry, is an activity that results in self-reflection and self-understanding, leading to a better interpretation of the text under study.

According to Gadamer (1989), hermeneutic scholarship has “a set of guides and recommendations for a principled form of inquiry that neither simply rejects/ignores tradition, nor slavishly follows or kneels in front of it” (p. 30). Linge (1976), in his editorial comments on a series of essays by Gadamer, argues that it is Gadamer’s hermeneutical theory, rather than any method, that is the key to understanding, stating: “Understanding is not reconstruction but mediation” (p. xvi) between the past and the present.

Gadamer maintains that language is the medium by which the past and the present interpenetrate. Therefore, language and the understanding of the meaning of a text are not two different processes; rather, they are one and the same. Gadamer states that “language is the fundamental mode of operation of our being-in-the-world and the all-embracing form of the constitution of the world” (1976, p. 3). Hermeneutic reflection is always framed within language; understanding is “language-bound” (1976, p. 15). Gadamer contends that one’s language has already been shaped by the political, social and economic forces at play in the lives of one’s fore-bearers. The real issue is how one attends to the arrival of new realities, either to suppress or to engage in a new shared reality. Further, the hermeneutic researcher, according to Smith (1991), must be etymologically adept because one must know the origin of words and the structure of language of the time period one investigates. Smith writes: “It [language] is reflective of our desires, our regrets and our dreams; in its silences it even tells us of what we would rather forget” (1991, p. 199).

In his analysis of the role of language in philosophical hermeneutics, Gallagher (1992) states that language has two paradoxical effects on the process of interpretation. First, language provides some access to textual meaning; second it limits our ability to derive absolute access to textual meaning. Gallagher contends that “the human being encounters the world and everything in it through language” (1992, p. 6). He points out that hermeneutics is not linguistics, the study of language; rather, it is an examination of the role of language in the researcher’s interpretation of the text. Gallagher writes: “Language used by the author, language sedimented in the text, language employed in the event of interpretation will lead us toward or away from certain of these possible meanings” (1992, p. 6).

Smith (1991) also argues that language is critical to human understanding, contending that good interpretation involves the interplay between language as a specific speech and language as a general system. Schleirmacher (in Smith, 1991) describes this micro-macro interplay:

Every discourse depends on earlier thought... (and) it follows that every person is on the one hand a locus in which a given language is formed after an individual fashion, and on the other, a speaker who can only be understood within the totality of the language. (p. 190)

Richard Rorty, a contemporary American philosopher and hermeneuticist, claims that our language, our truths, and our methods of inquiry are not shaped by nature but rather by human interests and sociohistorical factors. Rorty contends that language is “primarily an aesthetic tool for self-fashioning; we reconstitute ourselves and our society

by redescription, by retelling our histories through different ‘vocabularies’” (as cited in Shusterman, 1997, p. 2).

A limitation of the use of Gadamer’s hermeneutic reflection and language is presented by Gallagher (1992) who states that Gadamer is politically naïve for failing to identify non-hermeneutic factors at play that distort text as a result of force and coercion in an unequal society. In other words, language is always “constrained by reality,” a reality that is controlled by ideological, political and economic forces, all of which distort communication.

Nevertheless, hermeneutic reflection and language, as explicated above, served my study in two ways. First, I undertook to describe the traditions, including the social, political and economic contexts, and the prejudices and effective histories that gave rise to the languages that have framed citizenship and citizenship education during the period under investigation. Second, the languages and traditions, once identified, were organized into themes and analyzed to understand the notions of citizenship and citizenship education found in Manitoba civics textbooks between 1911 and 2007.

#### *Prejudices, Consciousness of Effective History, and Fusion of Horizons*

In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer (1989) attempts to rehabilitate the concept of prejudice that today has a negative meaning. Gadamer contends that prejudice is a prejudgment or a precondition for understanding. Prejudice cannot be eliminated or set aside because we always live and think within a certain horizon of practices, values, meanings and preferences. He argues that prejudice, in fact, is a “fore-structure” that begins the process to permit understanding. Crusius (1991) summarizes Gadamer’s belief in the importance of prejudices to understanding: “Not only is prejudgment (prejudice)

unavoidable, but it is also positive in the sense that our understanding of ourselves and the world – our whole orientation – depends on it” (p. 96). Grondin (1990) contends: “Whomever pronounces himself or herself free of prejudices is all the more blindly exposed to their power. Prejudices will exercise their underground domination all the more strongly, and potentially distortingly, when denied or repressed” (p. 54). Gadamer claims that rather than trying to eliminate prejudice, the interpreter needs to reflect on and to understand his/her own prejudices since a prime goal of hermeneutic engagement with a text is to distinguish between an enabling prejudice (which facilitates understanding) and a disabling prejudice (which diminishes understanding). In other words, through the recognition of one’s own prejudices/prejudgments, one opens the door to understanding the texts one is interpreting. In his critique of the Enlightenment which denies all such subjective elements in understanding, Gadamer argues that prejudices are a necessary condition for understanding and, therefore, achieving unprejudiced understanding is quite impossible.

Further, Gadamer (1989) articulates another interrelated concept that he calls the “consciousness of effective history” whereby one needs to be aware of the sources of one’s life as each person is a product of a tradition of authoritative voices from the past. Gadamer believes that most individuals are ill-informed of their effective history and, therefore, are unaware of their assumptions, values and prejudices, thereby creating misunderstandings not only of themselves but also of their world. A good understanding of our effective history, our “historicity” as Gadamer (1989) calls it, allows us to open ourselves to other traditions both in and out side of our own culture and traditions.

Gadamer (1989) contends that the best way to achieve understanding is to ask questions, to admit what we do not know, to achieve openness where answers have not already been predetermined. However, even with openness, one cannot step outside oneself into the shoes of another; neutrality is neither possible nor desirable. Gadamer is clear that, while opening ourselves to the claims of the Other, our prejudgments always remain operable and necessary. He argues that, in a “good” conversation between interpreter and text, there is a “fusion of horizons” where the viewpoints/effective history/prejudices of the interpreter and the text metaphorically fuse. Thus, the interpreter comes to have a far better understanding of the text, even when there is a great difference. Gadamer’s definition of horizon includes one’s historical and cultural situatedness, a horizon that moves forward as we gain understanding.

Gadamer’s theory on the role of prejudice, consciousness of effective history, and fusion of horizons, in all understanding, has been criticized by Emilio Betti, a conservative hermeneuticist (Gallagher, 1992). Betti maintains that the purpose of hermeneutic interpretation is to arrive at or determine the exact meaning of texts by following the correct methodology of attaining objectivity. According to Betti, Gadamer’s hermeneutics fails to arrive at objective understanding because he spends too much time describing the subjective elements involved in interpretation. Gadamer’s response is that “the purpose of my investigation is not to offer a general theory of interpretation and a differential account of its methods (which E. Betti has done so well!) but to discover what is common to all modes of understanding” (1989, p. xxxi). Gadamer’s focus is on the subjective element involved in all understanding, not on objective methods: “My real concern was and is philosophic: not what we do or what we

ought to do, but what happens to us over and above our wanting and doing” (1989, p. xxviii). It is clear that Gadamer is not interested in Betti’s attempt to apply hermeneutics to reproduce exact meaning, a task that Gadamer regards as philosophically impossible because of the interpreter’s historicity, and inherent prejudices and traditions.

While Betti’s concern may be important for the positivistic tradition of research, it is Gadamer’s theory of understanding that informed my investigations of Manitoba’s civics textbooks. Following Gadamer, my interest is not to attain complete objectivity and exact meaning in my analyses and interpretations of the textbooks under study; rather, I acknowledge the role of personal subjectivity and identity, prejudices and effective history in my attempt to interpret the textbooks. By opening myself to a better understanding of my prejudices and historicity, I realize that my identity and, therefore, my interpretation of the textbooks will be one of many other identities and interpretations. I have to reflect on my own effective history and prejudices that I bring to the interpretation of the civics textbooks, and, in particular, address those prejudices that are disabling, that is, that distort my hermeneutic “conversation” with the textbooks. For example, I am a white, Protestant male raised in a British, English speaking, working class household in south Winnipeg. My father worked at Eaton’s and my mother looked after the household. This effective history is one that upholds the state’s myth of the good, common, Christian, English-speaking Canadian citizens; one that disparages and ignores the French component of Manitoba, the Aboriginal presence, and other cultural groups. This history is at the very core of the Anglo-conformity, assimilation, colonization and homogenization that have dominated citizenship and social studies

textbooks especially during the period of nearly one hundred years under study in Manitoba.

My effective history, if not critically examined and understood, may become a disabling prejudice as it may blind my understanding of the marginalization of, and contestation by, other identities. The consciousness of effective history and prejudices should also encourage openness to other traditions outside my own culture, all of which are critical to an understanding of the nature of citizenship in Canada. As Kerdeman (1998) states, "To understand someone else is to see the justice, the truth, of their position. And this is what transforms us" (p. 241). This denial of subjugation, colonization and marginalization of others' identities is at the heart of the contestations over civics and citizenship in Manitoba and Canada over the last 96 years.

#### *The Hermeneutic Circle*

The hermeneutic circle is a key principle in Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics. Gadamer (1989) argues that, in order to have successful and convincing understanding, we must see "the whole in terms of the detail and the detail in terms of the whole" (p. 258). He contends that understanding is like an expanding circular movement between the whole and the parts and vice versa. Thus, to Gadamer, "understanding is provisional and unending by elaborating it on the basis of the old hermeneutic principle of the whole and the parts" (1989, p. 190). For Gadamer, then, understanding within the spiralling hermeneutic circle leads to greater understanding of meaning. As Gallagher (2002) puts it: "To understand the meaning of a particular passage one needs to see how it relates to the text as a whole; and to understand the whole of the text, one needs to see

how each part contributes to that meaning” (pp. 2-3). To Gadamer, the spiralling circle never comes to an end as understanding is never complete, never closed.

In a micro-macro context of the text and its place in the world, the “whole” could involve a number of factors, including the social, economic, political, intellectual and cultural backdrop of the text’s historical period, and the life circumstances, talent and language of the author, or the text’s literary tradition. “I understand X only by putting it into the proper context; and I understand the context better when I understand X” (Gallagher, 2002, p. 3). For example, to understand the traditions of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba, the “conversation” I had with Manitoba civics textbooks was not directly with the authors, but was substantiated by historical research into the lives of the authors, the larger contexts in which they wrote, the nature of publishing, and the rationale for the selection of textbooks by the government. The hermeneutic circle will, therefore, remain a constant interplay of part to whole, and whole to part (Blacker, 1993).

Critics (Honeycutt, 1995; Bontekoe, 1996) have argued that the spiraling hermeneutic circle can put the researcher on a merry-go-round of unending interpretation and reinterpretation, with no obvious method of extrication or solution. In a study of the dimensions of the hermeneutic circle, Bontekoe (1996) provides several examples of how the hermeneutic circle can become a vicious circle. For example, if new information is not constantly entering the hermeneutic circle, then it becomes vicious because there is nothing with which to build new insights. He states: “[T]he process of comprehension which the hermeneutic circle represents is ‘fuelled’ by the continuous stream of information” (p. 3). And, if the circle does not constantly push forward using old and new

information, then it becomes static, or vicious. “The circle of inquiry which is ‘fuelled’ with new information but also forgetful of old information will instead meander aimlessly, revisiting in its forgetfulness...stages of understanding that had already been reached, perhaps several times before” (Bontekoe, 1996, p. 6).

Proponents, however, contend that the researcher must at some point step from the hermeneutic spiral when he/she believes that a rich interpretation of meaning, has been reached. This stepping off, however, invites the researcher to step back into the spiral at a later point to develop even richer interpretations in the unending hermeneutic story of life.

In my study, I moved from the words, sentences and paragraphs of the text, to the larger issues associated with the text and the author of each civics textbook. This interplay between the parts and whole is a key concept in my study because I needed to examine the textbooks within a broader framework of social, economic and political life that influence education in Manitoba during the period under study. I also needed to understand the historical, cultural and autobiographical backgrounds of the authors of the texts that were approved or recommended for use in Manitoba to assist my interpretation of the texts.

For example, the origin of each of the approved civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools revealed an interesting macro story. Compared to the Ontario Department of Education, the Manitoba Department of Education did not write and publish its own textbooks. It did not have a huge school market, a textbook editorial office or a significant number of local publishers. But, in at least one instance, the Manitoba Department of Education was faced with a textbook problem that it had to solve. By the

end of World War II, all of the civics textbooks used up to and during the war period had gone out of print. By 1955, the Department decided to write and publish its own civics textbook. Published in 1956, the multi-grade, 288 page *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* was written by Manitoba government officials, authorized by the Department of Education, and printed, sold and distributed by the province's publisher, the Queen's Printer. This text revealed the full dominance of government in education where the writing, authorization, printing, sales and distribution were completely controlled by the state. This *Manual* reflected in its most complete form the state's official view of the content and orientation of citizenship and citizenship education to be taught in Manitoba. This authorized textbook continued a long history of exclusion by making no mention of females, Aboriginal peoples, immigrants, minorities, Franco-Manitobans, the disabled and faiths other than Christian. Anglo-conformity, assimilation, colonization, marginalization and fear of cultural pluralism were still ever-present.

#### *Research Methods*

Consistent with the hermeneutic orientation discussed above, this study utilized a qualitative approach to analyze civics textbooks during the period under consideration. A qualitative methodology affords opportunities for analyses beyond numbers, into the reasonings and contextual factors accounting for the data. Two specific research methods consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of hermeneutic inquiry and critical social theory were employed in the study. These methods were content analysis and historical inquiry.

### *Content Analysis*

Holsti (1968) defined content analysis as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages” (p. 608). In quantitative content analysis, Holsti employed frequency counting to determine the number of times a term, person or people is used, and/or space analysis to examine the allotment given to the study of a particular topic in a text. However, this qualitative approach offered limited ability to interpret or understand the assumptions built into a text, a task best performed by qualitative content analysis. In qualitative content analysis, Holsti focussed on what a text can tell us through analysis and interpretation of the themes or topics. The qualitative approach was useful for identifying messages and underlying assumptions of the text (Pingel, 1999).

Manifest and latent content analysis was utilized in this study of the notions of citizenship and citizenship education in civics textbooks. Manifest content referred to detail that is actually present in the text. Latent content, on the other hand, was interpreted symbolically from an analysis of the physically present data. Berg (1998) summarizes this distinction nicely: “Manifest content was comparable to the *surface structure* present in the message, and latent content was the *deep structural* meaning conveyed by the message” (p. 226).

Drawing on Holsti (1968) and Sleeter and Grant’s (1989, 1991, 1997) approaches to qualitative content analysis, this served as my primary method of analysis of civics textbooks. Sleeter and Grant, both critical social theorists, regarded the textbook as a key transmitter of curriculum content that has dominated Western education for many centuries. Their concern lay in how writers, who were primarily white, elite males, and

publishers of textbooks who sold textbooks, have selectively chosen the knowledge related to gender, disability, social class and racial groups to publish. To uncover the inequalities arising from the dominance of one group over another, Sleeter and Grant developed a textbook analysis instrument that utilized six kinds of analyses: “picture analysis, anthology analysis, ‘people to study’ analysis, language analysis, story-line analysis, and miscellaneous” (1991, p. 82).

For social studies textbook analyses, Sleeter and Grant recommended four of these analytical tools. Firstly, “story-line analysis” examined which group received the most attention; which group resolved problems; to what degree other groups appeared, under what circumstances, and whether they created or solved problems; the group with whom the writer wanted the reader to sympathise or respect; and which group’s story one learns about most. Secondly, “language analysis” examined the language of the text for sexism; adjectives used to describe non-Europeans or stereotypical words used to describe certain groups; adjectives used to describe males and females; words that imply progress or success associated with what groups; and words used to imply trouble with some groups. Thirdly, – “people to study analysis” – involved the identification of the race and gender of each person mentioned in the textbook. Fourthly, the “miscellaneous” category included any special factors that might be useful to the analysis of social studies textbooks. For example, I identified the space allotment in the civics textbooks given to various civics themes (e.g. passive versus active citizenship; focus on Canadian governmental issues/institutions versus international) to determine what was most important to each author.

This approach to content analysis had been used successfully to examine the content of textbooks for previous research. For example, in a study of fourteen social studies textbooks in the United States with copyright dates between 1980 and 1988, Sleeter and Grant (1991) found that, although sexism had been removed, the gender was still largely male; females were marginalized; issues relating to disabilities and social class were ignored; and, the story-line of the white male dominated. Okamoto (1999), in his study of the distortion and the revision of history in postwar Japanese textbooks for the period 1945 through 1998, used Sleeter and Grant's (1991) language analysis and story-line analysis to depict the change in a single Japanese history textbook from one of ethnocentric postwar Japanese nationalism to one far less nationalistic.

Sleeter and Grant's critical approaches to textbook content analysis were employed in my study to identify words/phrases, omissions/inclusions/exclusions and other issues pertaining to notions of citizenship and citizenship education.

### *Historical Inquiry*

Historical inquiry involves the study of the past to understand people, societies and institutions, then and now, and how and why change came about. Through the study of texts such as primary and secondary documents, I conducted historical inquiry into the events surrounding and affecting citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba during the period under consideration. Chapter Two – Literature Review – revealed some previous scholarly research into social studies textbooks, primarily history and geography textbooks, and pointed towards notions of citizenship and citizenship education in certain textbooks. My study explored civics textbooks which have, to date, received little attention by scholars. Civics textbooks, as part of the social studies curriculum, were used

in Manitoba schools at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and continue today to be recommended by the province for school use.

Consistent with Gadamer's hermeneutic principle of questioning traditions, crucial social, political, economic, and educational forces at play in Manitoba that impinged on citizenship and citizenship education were examined for each of the three eras under study. Through analysis of the official educational discourse on civics, as found in the social studies curriculum and in other government documents, I situated the educational context as an important backdrop to the notions of citizenship and citizenship education in the textbooks. For each civics textbook, I provided biographical information on the author and his/her social and political setting, bibliographical information on the book, information related to the period and process of authorization, grades for authorization, and whether the texts were intended for student and/or teacher use, especially in situations describing how teachers were to use the textbook materials with students. A comparison between the content of approved and recommended civics textbooks and the official discourse of the government as articulated in curriculum documents and other official documents related to civics was undertaken to assess congruity between the two. Qualitative content analysis was utilized in the examination of these historical documents.

Clark (1995) successfully used this historical approach in her study of the visions of Canadian identity found in British Columbia social studies textbooks used in schools between 1925 and 1989. Clark identified three important educational events – the Putman-Weir Report in 1925, the Chant Report in 1960 and, with the establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970, the Canada Studies Era – that led to three

chronological eras of social studies textbooks that have particular views of Canadian identity.

*Criteria Used For the Analysis of Civics Textbooks*

The criteria I used in this study for the analysis of civics textbooks were derived from a synthesis of works of several scholars in the fields of critical social theory and citizenship. Criteria emerging from my historical review of civics and citizenship over the 96-year period under study were also incorporated. These analytical criteria were divided into five categories: contextual factors; whose and what knowledge is identified to be of most worth; the school subject of civics; citizenship inclusion and exclusion; and summative components.

The first analytical category, reminiscent of hermeneutic circle of the relationship of the part to the whole, was the contextual setting. The overriding element in this criterion was that citizenship and citizenship education took place within an interrelated number of texts/factors. In the contextual picture developed for each of the three historical eras under study, I examined key educational, political, social and economic factors that impinged on civics and citizenship.

The second category, “whose and what knowledge is of most worth,” spoke directly to Gallagher’s (1992) critical hermeneutics, and addressed the social and economic interests that were being served among civics textbook knowledge. Critical social theorists (e.g. Apple & Franklin, 1990b; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991b) have addressed this issue. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991b), for example, contend that textbook research in the past has too strongly focused on “what knowledge is of most worth.” They argued that more emphasis needed to be placed on “whose knowledge is of

most worth,” theorizing that textbook knowledge represented the social and economic interests of some groups or class of people. Apple and Franklin (1990b) postulated:

the knowledge that got into schools in the past and gets into schools now is not random. It is selected and organized around sets of principles and values that come from somewhere, that represent particular views of normality and deviance, of good and bad, and of what ‘good people act like.’ (p. 63)

Thus, to understand why certain types of knowledge belonging to certain groups were represented in textbooks, I examined the social and economic interests that guided the selection of textbook knowledge. These commitments to selective knowledge resulted in inequalities for certain communities and served as purveyors of economic and social control over these groups. With this in mind, I investigated each civics textbook so as to determine whose interests are represented in civics textbooks as official school knowledge.

For the third category, the school subject of civics, I examined three components: the mode of presentation, the range of citizenship topics, and concepts of citizenship portrayal. Pingel’s (1999) UNESCO guidebook on textbook research provided assistance. Based on his study of civics textbooks, Pingel advises researchers analysing civics textbooks that they should be focussed on matters related to the “mode of presentation” such as an institutional approach versus a community approach, or, stated another way, the study of government institutions versus the study of life and service in one’s community. Another element to the mode of presentation relates to the use of a static versus a dynamic description of government. The issue here, according to Pingel, was

government that has reached its zenith of perfection, developed over the centuries, and for the ongoing need of transmission, versus government that is changing or dynamic.

Regarding the “range of citizenship topics” discussed, Pingel indicates that reviewers needed to pay attention to local/national affairs versus international affairs, and a homogeneous society versus a diverse one. Consistent with Gagnon and Page’s (1999) model, discussed in Chapter Two, Pingel’s “range of citizenship topics” and “concepts of citizenship” offer a robust model of the study of citizenship, including national identity; social, cultural and supranational belonging; an effective system of rights; and responsibilities.

Weinbrenner and Fritzsche (as cited in Pingel, 1999) examined the issue of human rights, including civil, political, equality, economic, cultural and social rights. These researchers contended that “textbooks tend to take an ethnocentric view of human rights” (1997, p. 28). They argued that the “centre-and-periphery-approach” is the predominant viewpoint taken on human rights issues in civics textbooks. In this approach, it was “we” and “the others,” expressed in binaries such as “good” versus “bad,” “rich” versus “poor,” “civilized versus uncivilized,” and “well developed” versus “underdeveloped.” In the “we” country, human rights are guaranteed, whereas with “the others,” human rights are violated. Thus, Weinbrenner and Fritzsche offered a valuable different approach to the citizenship concept of rights.

My fourth category analyzed citizenship inclusion and exclusion. Sleeter and Grant (1989, 1997) develop criteria for the examination of textbooks for issues of dominance of one group over another that resulted in the selection of certain types of textbook knowledge and the exclusion of other kinds of knowledge based on race,

gender, disability and social class. The resulting systemic inequalities have pronounced effects on citizenship and citizenship education. In terms of race, the criteria related to the representation of various ethnic groups that composed the society of the time and the manner in which they were depicted. For gender, the factors included the presentation of males and females in positions of power, their roles in society and differentiation between boys/girls and men/women. For people with disabilities, the criteria consisted of their portrayal as a part of society, their contributions and their struggle for rights. Social class factors included the presentation of peoples of varying socioeconomic situations, particularly the working class.

Based on my analysis of the 96-year period under study, I identified several additional factors missing from Sleeter and Grant's list. These factors were religion, language, age, and political beliefs or ideology. Religion included the portrayal of various faiths and any discrimination based on these beliefs. Language factors included the presentation of languages spoken or permitted, and official and/or heritage languages used. Age criteria consisted of the representation of the aged in society, their contributions, and their struggle for rights. Political beliefs or ideology included the portrayal of political persuasions and the identification of penalties for what many perceive as non-compliance with democratic understandings.

The fifth and last category of criteria I used for the analysis of civics textbooks was "summative components" and consisted of five elements: the historical/ahistorical treatment of civics; counter-hegemonic responses to imposed citizenship and citizenship education; the notions of citizenship education; the typology of citizenship and citizenship education; and congruency between the official knowledge in textbooks and

the official educational literature of the period. Apple (1986) has embraced the concept of ahistoricism, where authors “forget” the historical past related to the school subject of civics and to the groupings related to gender, social class, religion, race, disability, language, age and political beliefs. Counter-hegemonic responses (Fay, 1987) referred to the actions taken by the oppressed to oppose state-imposed citizenship. Notions of citizenship education referred to how the teaching of civics was used to reinforce the content presented in the civics textbook. The typology of citizenship and citizenship education referred to Sears’ (1995, 1996) four models of citizenship – republican, liberal, global, and activist. Finally, congruency or lack of congruency examined the similarity or difference between the official state knowledge presented in civics textbooks and that which was provided in the educational literature of the time.

These five categories of criteria provided the organizational approach to my analysis of civics textbooks. These criteria are found in Appendix C.

#### *Data Collection*

A primary source of data for this study was the content of civics textbooks approved or recommended for use in Manitoba schools between 1911 and 2007. These texts were located in the Rare Book Room and the Main Circulating Collection at the Library, Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 1181 Portage Avenue, in Winnipeg. Several approved civics titles were loaned from the collections of the University of Manitoba or through inter-library loans from other universities, or analyzed at the National Library and Archives of Canada in Ottawa. Ninety civics textbooks in use in schools between 1911 and 2007 were analyzed in this study. Appendix A provides an alphabetical list by surname of the textbooks analysed; Appendix B contains the same list

of ninety titles but arranged by authorization date for each of three historical periods, accompanied by further descriptive information including grade level(s), course title, and deauthorization date(s).

Drawing on Sleeter and Grant's (1989, 1991, 1997) four analytical tools (story-line analysis, language analysis, people to study analysis, and miscellaneous) for the examination of social studies texts, I identified groups and their portrayals in Manitoba civics textbooks and the implications of such portrayals for inclusive or exclusionary citizenship using story-line analysis. Language analysis was employed to study the words and phrases used to describe democratic political institutions which were often viewed as the best that can be, with little or no critical assessment. People to study analysis was utilized to explore issues related to gendered citizenship where white Anglo-Saxon males ran government and business, and women and non-whites were marginalized or ignored. Miscellaneous analyses were explored to identify other categories pertaining to citizenship and citizenship education (e.g. character education, assimilation, patriotism, knowledge/skills/values to be learned and the ideal-type citizens imagined).

An historical study of documents was undertaken to provide data on the social, political, economic, and educational contexts in which civics textbooks were written and used in schools as well as provide information on the actual civics books themselves. The documents studied were Department of Education annual reports; programmes of study; social studies curriculum guides; variously titled periodicals, including the *Western School Journal*, the *Manitoba School Journal*, the *Curriculum Bulletin* and *Education Manitoba*; Manitoba Text Book Bureau catalogues; lists of approved and recommended textbooks, Royal Commissions and other reports; and the Department of Education

Advisory Board minutes. Dissertations, theses, articles, books, and book chapters were also examined. In particular, I was looking for commentary by authors and government officials related to the intent and purpose of civics and the expectation of teachers to imbue students with these ideals.

### *Data Analysis*

Data pertaining to citizenship and citizenship education were extracted from the content of civics textbooks and the historical documents listed above. I utilized qualitative forms of content analysis, and manifest and latent content analysis. Manifest content was coded and inferred meanings assigned. Emerging patterns of meanings were then grouped into themes. Latent content was similarly dealt with, but was supported with additional evidence.

Data analysis focussed on addressing the six research questions identified in Chapter One. Notions of citizenship and citizenship education found in the documents and the textbooks were determined primarily through the identification of themes. Using van Manen's (1990) selective approach, I asked questions such as: What statements, words or characters are particularly critical in revealing the meanings of citizenship and citizenship education in civics textbooks? I inductively identified themes related to notions of citizenship and citizenship education as they evolved over the 96-year period under consideration. Throughout, the analysis of these themes were informed by critical social theory, the five categories of criteria for the analysis of civics textbooks, including Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual framework for citizenship, and elements of the hermeneutic principles I presented earlier.

The findings, presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six, are organized around three historical periods: the Assimilation Era, 1911-1920; the Community Life and Service Era, 1921 to 1960; and the Multiculturalism Era, 1961 to 2007. This sort of periodization is always complex and problematic, for history is a continuous process, thus making periodization more or less arbitrary. Nevertheless, periodization was a pragmatically useful way of organizing the data.

#### Chapter Four: Assimilation Era, 1911 – 1920

In this chapter, I describe and analyze the historical period from 1911 through 1920 of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba – a period I refer to as the “Assimilation Era.” During this Era, the dominant group was British, while minorities consisted of French, other ethnic groups, and Aboriginal peoples. The British elite held that all ethnic, racial and cultural groups would be assimilated into British society and would come to acquire British beliefs and customs. Bruno-Jofre (1998-1999), writing on citizenship and schooling in Manitoba, wrote that Anglo-conformity was the central organizing feature of citizenship during the period 1910 through 1945 (p. 26). Anglo-conformity, she stated, described the underlying feature of citizenship that made all citizens proper members of the Canadian nation-state.

For my textbook analysis for this era, I focused on the official discourse of the period and the content of two editions of *Canadian Civics*, the text used in Manitoba schools. The predominant theme that emerges – assimilation – was supported by themes related to national identity that was British, Christian, male, English-speaking, and white. Groups excluded from this identity were French, women, Aboriginal people, Asians, non-Christians, the disabled and the aged. Other themes found in the subject of civics included a study of the institutions of government; of a homogeneous and uncritical citizenry supporting a static form of government; the presentation of citizens as largely inactive politically and limited in terms of civic participation; and Canada within a global context that was Imperial and based on Great Britain’s Empire. Further themes included the use of ahistoricism as a means of ignoring underlying issues; counter-hegemonic

responses by subordinated cultures to the prevailing assimilationist view of citizenship; and a strongly republican-based model of citizenship and citizenship education.

These themes, along with pertinent historical information, were organized using the aforementioned Criteria for the Analysis of Civics Textbooks (Appendix C). I begin with brief descriptions of the relevant social, political, and economic conditions of the time to set the context for civics and citizenship from 1911 to 1920, and the influence of these conditions on the educational context. The educational context also focuses on a content analysis of the official discourse on civics and citizenship, and a historical account of textbook authorization and the civics textbook approved during the period. A major portion of this chapter focuses on the content analysis of the 1909 and 1918 editions of Manitoba's first civics textbook, *Canadian Civics*, for its reflections of citizenship and citizenship education. This chapter also outlines the counter-hegemonic response to the state's imposed assimilationist view of citizenship and citizenship education. The last section of the chapter examines the congruency, or lack thereof, between the official discourse on civics and the approved textbook, and identifies the dominant typology of citizenship and citizenship education that accompanied the Assimilation Era.

### *The Social, Political, and Economic Contexts*

The dominant feature of citizenship and citizenship education best describing the period 1911 through 1920 in Manitoba is Anglo-conformity. According to Kymlicka (1992), Anglo-conformity was the dominant assumption of the immigration policy both of Canada and the United States for the better part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While the

immigration that had populated Manitoba was unrestricted, it was subjected to Anglo-conformity and assimilation into the new British society. However, Anglo-conformity and assimilation during this period were to include not only new immigrants and a continuing assimilative effort directed at Aboriginal people, but also French speaking Catholics, and citizens born in Manitoba so they too would continue to remember their critical role as British citizens.

The citizenship backdrop for this period in Manitoba included a combination of several key features, some of which I highlight. Between 1896 and 1914, Manitoba experienced heavy immigration that was not of British origin. Rather, settlers arrived from throughout Europe, predominantly non-English speaking people including Icelanders, Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Jews and Chinese. While some of these migrants did reach Manitoba farms, many stayed in Winnipeg. In 1901, the city's population consisted of only 4.3% Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish and Chinese immigrants but, by 1911, this figure had risen to almost 14% of Winnipeg's population (Levine, 1995, p. 81). Changes to Canada's Immigration Act in the early 1900s prohibited the immigration of particular races based on their putative inability to handle Canada's cold winter climate or other conditions. The intent was clearly to prevent Black homesteaders from the United States from reaching Manitoba.

The abolition of the dual school system in 1890 represented a British Protestant victory over the French Catholic community. The Manitoba government replaced the dual school system with a non-sectarian public system in which former Catholic schools had the choice of becoming public schools with government funding, or remaining as private schools, not funded by the province. A Department of Education was created to

administer the public school system, and an Advisory Board to determine curriculum and authorize textbooks. Immigration to Manitoba brought a huge increase in school population, reflected in the growth of the elementary and secondary education systems. However, poor attendance plagued schools, with average attendance reported by Wilson (1967) to be approximately half of the school population from the period 1897 through 1916.

The constitutional and legal struggle initiated by the Catholic minority to restore the religious and educational rights lost in 1890, resulted in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise in 1897 by which an amendment to the Manitoba Public Schools Act permitted religious instruction at the end of the school day. The hiring of Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic teachers was also permitted, provided that there were specified numbers of students, and where there were ten students or more who spoke a language other than English. Teaching could take place both in that language (e.g. French, German, etc.) and in English, creating a bilingual system (Manitoba. *Statutes, 1897*, Chapter 26).

To accommodate immigrant students, the Department struck printing agreements with two publishing companies: Thomas Nelson from London, England; and the Polish American Publishing Company, in Chicago. The Advisory Board for the Department authorized bilingual readers in German and Ukrainian based on the already-approved "The Manitoba Readers" series for use in Manitoba's bilingual public schools. The Polish series was completely in Polish with no English, but matched each English story in the respective "The Manitoba Readers" series. Two purposes were accomplished. First, the approved reading content was presented in German, Polish and Ukrainian so that students could learn to read their mother tongues, reflecting the Department's compliance with the

bilingual system. Second, and most importantly, the English version of these series was provided so that immigrant students could learn English. The learning of English in Manitoba classrooms was a central citizenship concept through the entire period.

Authorized for use in grades 1 to 4 between 1912 and 1916 were four "Manitoba German-English Readers," the *First, Second, Third* and *Fourth Readers* (Manitoba Programme of Studies, 1913). Similarly, the "Manitoba Ruthenian-English Readers," the *First* and *Second Readers*, were approved by the Advisory Board for the teaching of the Ukrainian language and English. In 1916, the Advisory Board also approved the use of the "Manitoba Readers (Polish)," including the *Primer, First, and Second Readers*. Thus, by 1916, there were authorized language textbooks for all major immigrant groups so that the children of these groups could learn the essential citizenship concept of speaking, reading and writing English, all part of the assimilationist ideology of the government.

Nevertheless, while the Department was attempting to address the cultural needs of immigrant students, there was growing concern over the non-English speaking students, both for their need to learn English, and for their need to attend school.

One official educational report was released by the Department during the period under study, with the publication of the *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba* in 1916. In November and December of 1915, the Department sent its school inspectors to a large number of bilingual schools throughout the province, to gather information on the nationalities present in the school, and the extent and efficiency of the teaching in the English language. Newcombe, the superintendent of education and author of the *Special Report*, indicated that, based on the evidence provided by the school inspectors, there

were “language problems” (1916, p. 1) in the French, German, Ruthenian and Polish bilingual schools in the province.

In his description of bilingual French schools, Newcombe stated that, while there was progress, “in some cases the work in English has been neglected. In the primary rooms of most of the graded schools French is used almost entirely and it is rarely that a pupil can understand English” (Report, 1916, p. 2). Newcombe’s assessment of German bilingual schools was better, indicating that students could speak English fairly well, but there was “the tendency to leave school at too early an age” (p. 2). For Ruthenian and Polish schools, Newcombe commented that the students’ knowledge of English varied greatly. For example, Inspector Best reported that, for Bradbury, No. 1481 which had 26 Ruthenians and 14 Poles, their “knowledge of English almost nil” (p. 18).

In all likelihood, the *Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba* transmitted to the Minister of Education Thornton in January 1916 was the evidence he needed to deal with the problem of the poor teaching of English in many bilingual schools, the poor proficiency of many students in their ability to speak English, and the importance of compulsory attendance. Assimilation, and the learning of English, would take on a more direct focus.

In 1916, the provincial government finally introduced compulsory school attendance (*Statutes of Manitoba*, 1916, Chapter 97) and then legislation that terminated bilingual schooling in Manitoba (*Statutes of Manitoba*, 1916, Chapter 88). This came as a double blow to the French community on the grounds that Catholic children, before 1916, could not be forced into public schools. Immigrant communities also lost the freedom to

teach their native tongue in schools. The language of education, assimilation, and of citizenship was English for all ethnic groups living in the province.

The social change brought on by immigration and the role of the school in Anglicizing these newcomers was but one of the societal tensions during this period. Economic and political factors were also at play. Manitoba and Winnipeg experienced continuous agricultural, industrial and commercial growth. Manitoba, along with Saskatchewan and Alberta, had come to be known as the “Breadbasket of the Empire” and Manitoba’s rural farm economy, based on wheat, thrived.

Winnipeg’s new commercial/industrial elite ran the city and controlled its politics, as evidenced by the fact that, in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Winnipeg’s first five mayors were from the commercial elite. With property ownership a prerequisite for voting rights in municipal government, the ethnic population and the working class were effectively disenfranchised. The British elite would rule over the immigrant groups by disenfranchizing and excluding them from political power.

The period between 1900 and 1919 was one of numerous industrial disputes. In March 1906, the Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Company employees went on strike over the right for union recognition. On March 30, Winnipeg’s Mayor Sharpe called in the militia to disperse some 20,000 demonstrators on Main Street. The strike ended shortly after that and although the workers did not win the right to unionize, they did receive better wages and a shorter 10-hour workday (Levine, 1994, pp. 90-91). Labour learned from this strike, and others to come, that city government would normally side with the business class.

Winnipeg's economy began to falter in 1913 with the collapse of the real estate boom, and the speculative boom in the rural economy ended after the tightening of credit. Investors in Britain who had financed Manitoba's 20-year boom became reluctant to invest further in the face of decline in Manitoba's economy.

In 1914, Great Britain declared war on Germany. While young men from Manitoba and across the Dominion of Canada went off to war in France, Manitoba's newly-elected Liberal premier T. C. Norris passed legislation on January 27, 1916 giving women the provincial right to vote and to hold office. This culminated a long but successful struggle by the suffrage movement in the province. Manitoba's economy continued in the doldrums, with investment from Great Britain over, resulting in mortgage holders and implement dealers demanding that farmers repay their loans. A spectacular wheat crop in 1915 averted the crisis, and, coupled with the scarcity in goods as a result of the war, prices rose sharply in 1916 and 1917. While wages went up as a result of union bargaining and strikes, rising costs began to outstrip the ability of many working class families to survive, resulting in increasing discontent. With the end of the war on November 11, 1918, returning soldiers brought with them the Spanish influenza epidemic, resulting in the sickness and deaths of thousands of Manitobans during the latter part of 1918 and 1919.

In 1919, Canada's most notable labour conflict, the Winnipeg General Strike, took place. On May 15, negotiations broke down between management and labour in the metal and building trades over a first collective agreement with the result that the Winnipeg Trade and Labour Council called a general strike. Some 30,000 workers struck between May 15 and June 30, bringing the city to near shutdown. The origins of the

conflict were manifold, including poor working conditions, long hours, inflation, radical unionism, unemployment and demands for a living wage. The “Red Scare” was used to effect, with the economic and political elites claiming that the 1917 Russian Revolution was being exported to Winnipeg. The business and professional class in Winnipeg organized the Committee of 1,000 or the Citizen’s Committee, to resume services in the city as a direct challenge to the authority of the strike leaders. After several weeks of non-violent strike activity, the federal government arrested the strike leaders and mobilized the military. On June 21, the Royal North-West Mounted Police charged the strikers, killing two. The Winnipeg General Strike ended on June 30.

These social, political and economic factors had significant impact on education. To begin with, the rapid societal change that was taking place during the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century encouraged the government to address citizenship and civics. Through the school, the subjects of history and civics would be pressed into action. History would help teach the continuous growth of the nation, and its national citizenship, within the British Empire. Civics would teach all students about the stability and strength of all levels of government, from school, to municipal, to provincial, to Dominion and to Empire, all working efficiently to address the “needs” of society, as defined by powerful interests. The school, then, would not only offer the courses to teach citizenship, but would also serve to provide a stable environment where students would be “educated” and kept off the streets, thus providing the “needed” social regulation. Approved textbooks would ensure that the official version of history and civics was made available to all students, whether immigrant or Manitoba born. Poor economic conditions for the working class in Manitoba had led to many strikes aimed at improving the pay,

hours and situation for workers, but also resulted in the polarization of the elite group of politicians and businessmen against the working and immigrant class. This would play itself out in the exclusion of workers, women, and immigrants from the history and civics taught in Manitoba schools for the next fifty years, accomplished through the province's exclusionary curriculum and textbooks. History and civics textbooks, for example, would make no mention of strikes to improve working conditions and the pay of workers, and the existence of everyday workers, women and immigrants; and explain the use of property requirements as a means of disenfranchising the poor.

### *The Educational Context*

This section of the study examines the educational context of civics and citizenship education. I address three areas: the official discourse of the Department of Education on civics and citizenship, the direction this discourse gave to textbook authorization, and the two editions of a civics textbook that were authorized during this period of the 1910s.

### *The Official Discourse on Civics and Citizenship*

The official sources consulted for the official discourses included the annual departmental *Examination Papers*, departmental *Empire Day* booklets, and the *Departmental Bulletin* between November 1911 and December 1915 that later combined with the *Western School Journal* in 1916. The *Western School Journal* between 1906 and 1920 proved to be a most fruitful source of information.

National identity was a key focus of civics and citizenship. To facilitate the celebration of "Empire Day" each year, the Department of Education not only released a new *Empire Day* booklet, but also included related information in the *Departmental*

*Bulletin*. The Department expected each school, in the fourth week of May, to have a full day of events so that students would understand the meaning of "Empire" and develop a particular understanding of their membership in the British Empire. For Empire Day in May 1912, the Department, through the *Bulletin*, suggested the following programme: the morning would include the raising and saluting of the Flag; the singing of "God Save the King;" an address by the teacher on the flag; and students would go back into school to hear presentations by other students on the British Empire. In the afternoon, the programme would consist of Imperial verse and song from Canada, The Old Country, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, Egypt and the West Indies, including "Rule Britannia," "The Charge of the Light Brigade," and "The Maple Leaf." The *Departmental Bulletin* read: "We all believe that Canada is destined to play a very large part in the future of the Empire, and we should therefore see that children obtain a fair knowledge of its power, size and significance" (Manitoba, Department *Bulletin*, 1912, April, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 11). Student identity was to be closely associated with the British Empire.

Empire building also came from several other directions as evidenced in the *Departmental Bulletin*. The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, Fort Garry Chapter, began to sponsor an essay competition in 1913 "with a view to encouraging children to take an interest in the Empire of which they are citizens" (Imperial Order, *Departmental Bulletin*, 1912, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 2). The topics that students were to write on are revealing. At the Intermediate level, the subject was "Canada's Part in Our Imperial Defence" and at the Senior level, "The British Constitution, its administration, and wherein it differs with the Constitutions of France and Germany." For 1914, the

senior level essay contest was writing on “The Debt that Canada Owes to Great Britain” (Imperial Order, Departmental *Bulletin*, 1913, October, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 3).

Another agency involved in the promotion and understanding of the Empire was the “Hands Across the Seas” movement where, each year, the Department of Education would organize a fee-based summer trip to England for teachers. Frederick J. Ney was the Honorary Organizer, first as a teacher, then as a member of the Department of Education, and later as the executive secretary for the National Council of Education that was housed in Winnipeg. These tours of England ensured that Manitoba’s public school teachers remained “British” in their outlook and understanding of the world. It was expected that their renewed interest in things British would be duly taught to their students beginning with the opening of school in the fall.

Character building was also a theme of Empire Day. For example, in the May 1914 *Departmental Bulletin*, the Department posited that students, after listening to the struggles of the early pioneers of their land and of the Empire, would be ready to learn the “homely virtues of patience, industry, endurance, and self-denial, without which there can be no real progress, and no stability” (*Bulletin*, 1914, Vol. III, No. 9, p. 3). A stirring quotation from Major G. W. Stephens contended that he believed that it was the role of the school to embed the idea of citizenship into each boy and girl, upon which “an understanding should be born, showing the duties each owes to his neighbour, the community he believes in, and the Country and Empire to which he owes his allegiance” (*Bulletin*, 1914, Vol. III, No. 9, p. 1).

Thus, for the period from 1911 to 1915, citizenship and citizenship education were on the minds of the Department of Education writers who contributed to the

*Department Bulletin*. A strong emphasis was placed on student identity related to the British Empire, to student characteristics of discipline, patience and endurance, and to duties to community, nation and Empire.

The importance of Empire Day and Imperial citizenship was clearly revealed in the *Departmental Bulletin*. This relationship was reinforced through different “Empire Day” booklets prepared by the Department of Education and sent to all schools between 1908 and 1931. The 1908 booklet’s first content page was brief but powerful, stating that the “motto” of the Empire Movement was “One King, One Flag, One Fleet, One Empire.” The “watchwords” were “responsibility, duty, sympathy, self-sacrifice” (*Empire Day*, May 22, 1908, p. 3) while the 1911 booklet added the “rallying cry” of “For God, Duty and Empire” (*Empire Day*, 1911, May 23, p. 3).

Another official source was the Department of Education *Examination Papers* extant for the years 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1919. These exams were prepared by the Advisory Board for courses in grades 9 and up and helped to ensure that the information found in the authorized textbooks was known by students. The first exam set by the Advisory Board for grade 9 Canadian History and Civics was for June 1914, and year-end exams continued until June 1919, after which Canadian History and Civics at the grade 9 level were eliminated.

Story-line analysis of the four sets of examinations for Canadian history and civics suggested that the nature of the civics questions revealed an emphasis on school government in Manitoba, local municipal government, provincial (Manitoba) government and the Dominion of Canada government. These questions focused on the division of power between the Dominion and Provincial governments; the sources of

revenue/funding and expenditures for school, Manitoba and Dominion governments; the difference between “prorogation” and “dissolution” of Parliament and the holding of a general election; the role and election of Manitoba’s Premier and Cabinet; the operation of Manitoba’s government; Parliamentary law-making and carrying out; municipalities in Manitoba; and the difference between criminal and civil law. Only one small part of one question, where explanations of eleven terms were required, took students outside of Manitoba and the Dominion of Canada.

In summary, the official discourse on citizenship and civics focussed on national identity. Empire Day, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, the Empire Movement, and the Hands Across the Seas, all addressed student identity, one that was part of the British Empire. As well, national identity spelled out the characteristics of good citizenship, including endurance, self-denial, patience, industry, discipline, duty and responsibility. The language of citizenship and citizenship education was to be English. Citizenship education was also for the purpose of teaching national identity with close association to the British Empire. The typology of citizenship and citizenship education was similar to Sears’ republican model where the loyalty of students to Imperial Britain was a key feature, and from that arose important qualities of student character.

Citizenship was associated with being British, Christian, male, English-speaking, and white. Exclusion was the order of the day, applied to the French, women, Aboriginal people, Asians, the disabled and the aged.

#### *Textbook Authorization*

In 1890, the educational structure created at the birth of the province of Manitoba was ended through provincial legislation. An Act Respecting the Department of

Education (1890, Chapter 37) eliminated the Board of Education and the superintendents of the Catholic and Protestant Sections, and created two new bodies – the Advisory Board and the Department of Education. The Advisory Board was given the statutory authority to make regulations for education and had full control over curriculum, the selection and authorization of textbooks, and the setting of examinations.

The Department of Education was given the responsibility for the new Act Respecting Public Schools (1890, Chapter 38) which eliminated denominational schools and created a free, non-sectarian, public school system for persons aged six to sixteen. The central administration of education, including issues related to textbooks (other than their selection and authorization), and the appointment of school inspectors was given to the Department of Education. In Section 37 (11) of the Public Schools Act, the duties of trustees in rural districts included the requirement “that no unauthorized books are used in the school, and that the pupils are duly supplied with a uniform series of authorized text-books, sanctioned by the Advisory Board” (Manitoba. *Statutes*, 1890, p. 191).

During the period 1911 through 1920, the definition of curriculum was two-fold. The curriculum was both the content of the textbook being authorized by the Advisory Board for a particular subject, and the method of instruction incorporated into the textbook as a direction for the teacher. This textbook-as-curriculum and textbook-as-methodology came into existence as a result of several factors, including the Advisory Board’s control over textbook authorization and the setting of examinations based on the content found in textbooks. The textbook-as-curriculum and textbook-as-methodology during the 1911 to 1920 period recognized a provincial teaching force that was both poorly trained and academically poorly qualified; consequently, the textbook provided

the teacher's primary content and the primary method of instruction. Government control over the curriculum generally, and citizenship education specifically, was through the control of the curriculum and its vehicle, the authorized textbook. The control over the history curriculum and textbooks took on a new component, civics, in the early 1910s.

#### *Authorized Civics Textbooks*

In the review of civics textbooks used in Canada, I found no indication of the authorization of a civics textbook in any province before 1909. The reason for this could very well be that there were no Canadian civics textbooks published before 1909.

Manitoba's first civics textbook, *Canadian Civics* (Manitoba Edition, 1909), written by Robert Smith Jenkins and authorized for use in schools in Manitoba by the Advisory Board, was used by teachers and students from 1911 to 1929 for a variety of grades, but always as part of the revised school subject of History for the elementary programme and as History and Civics in the secondary programme.

Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* became the first civics textbook written at a suitable age level with a specific focus on government. A further search of the AMICUS database for "Robert Smith Jenkins" (LAC, June 25, 2007) revealed a large number of entries for *Canadian Civics*. Analysis of this information indicated that the Toronto publisher, Copp, Clark Co., in fact, issued nine editions of this textbook, one for each of the provinces of the Dominion. The known different versions of *Canadian Civics* include: one Nova Scotia edition (1912); two New Brunswick editions (1911, 1918); one Quebec edition (1915); two Ontario editions (1909, 1918); one Manitoba edition (1909); four Saskatchewan editions (1909, 1918, 1919, 1922); one Alberta edition (1912); and one British Columbia edition (1910).

Copp, Clark Co. hired Jenkins to write the entire text that appeared in each of the provincial editions of *Canadian Civics*. In other words, Manitoba's 1909 edition is the same as all of the 1909/1910/1911/1912 textbooks, including "Part I – National Affairs;" "Part II – Provincial Affairs," with "Duties of the Citizen", a subtopic of "Education;" and all of the four appendices of "Parliamentary Titles," "Suggestions to the Teacher," "Bibliography," and "Subjects for Study." The four topics of the "Provincial Affairs" section of the books are all similar, with common phrases throughout the various editions, but with very specific details unique to each province. The later editions of 1918, 1919 and 1922 are similarly comparable. Jenkins had, in effect, written the first pan-Canadian civics textbook used in Dominion of Canada schools for nearly two decades. For future provincial editions, he updated it as necessary, as was seen in Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and New Brunswick editions. Civics had clearly become a popular new subject added to the provincial curricula across the country.

There is at least one further edition – a Manitoba edition of *Canadian Civics* for 1918. A combination of factors led to the publication of this 1918 edition. Copp, Clark ran out of stock of the 1909 edition, and several legislative and structural changes in the Canadian government had to be addressed, all of which are discussed later in this chapter. These changes in content affected only ten pages of the 1918 textbook. The disinclination to compel parents to purchase new textbooks made it unlikely that schools using the 1909 edition would have purchased the new edition which had only a few content changes. In all likelihood, schools continued to use the 1909 edition until its de-authorization in the late 1920s. This is substantiated by an examination of the 1909 text held by the Manitoba Department of Education Library. A student using the textbook some time after 1921 had

written on page 76 “The victory of Mackenzie King was won on the tariff issue.” King’s Liberals had won in the 1921 federal election. Textbook purchases made by school districts after 1918 would have received the new Manitoba edition of *Canadian Civics*.

There were also references in the *Programme of Studies* to what appeared to be another book, entitled *The Idea of Government*. Consistently, no author or publisher was identified in the *Programme of Studies* but *The Idea of Government* was authorized as a civics textbook for students between 1911 and 1927. The search for this title proved futile until I examined the National Council of Education’s (1922) study of the teaching of history and civics in Canadian schools. In the list of textbooks used in Manitoba, “The Idea of Government” at the grade 5, 6, 7 levels appeared as four different chapters in Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics*. There was, then, only one civics textbook used in Manitoba schools during the 1910s and during the greater part of the 1920s.

Authorized in 1911 for student use in Grades 5, 6 and 7 History (Manitoba. *Programme of Studies*, 1911, pp. 15, 18, & 21), *Canadian Civics* was to be studied beginning with the chapter on local government in grade 5, provincial government in grade 6, and federal and British Empire at the grade 7 level. Grade 5 students, as part of their course in British history to 1485, studied “The Idea of Government (Local)” and examined the *Canadian Civics* chapter entitled “Topic XII. Municipal Government.” Grade 6 students, as part of their study of Canadian history to 1763, studied “The Idea of Government (Provincial)” which corresponded with Jenkins’ chapter “Topic XI. The Provincial Government,” “Topic XIII. The Courts of Law,” and “Topic XIV. Education and Duties of the Citizen.” Students in grade 7, as a section of their study of Canadian history from 1863 to 1922, examined “Government (Federal and Imperial)” which

consisted of ten chapters including the topics “The Dominion and the Provinces,” “The Outside Nations and the Empire,” “How Laws are Made,” “How Parliament does Business,” “The Premier and the Cabinet,” “Political Parties,” “How the Elections are Held,” “The Departments of Government,” “Taxation” and “Money and Trade.”

Authorized in 1912 for student use in grade 9 history (Manitoba. *Programme*, 1912, p. 38) was the complete volume of *Canadian Civics*. The popular educational thinking of the time, the theory of the spiral curriculum, was present in the organization of civics instruction where students were taken from the study of their immediate municipal government to the more worldly British Imperial government over a period of five years.

*Canadian Civics* was de-authorized for student use at the grade 5, 6 and 7 levels in 1927 (Manitoba. *Programme*, 1927), after a reorganization of the province’s programme of studies by the Advisory Board. The textbook had been de-authorized as a student text in 1919 for grade 9 Canadian History and Civics (Manitoba. *Programme*, 1919, p. 37) as a result of a reorganization of the history curriculum.

The Advisory Board not only authorized *Canadian Civics* as the official civics knowledge for students, but also used the same approach for teachers. It is reasonable to conclude that Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* was the core civics title for the decade of 1910 not only for the elementary history curricula but also for the history and civics secondary curricula in Manitoba schools.

*Reflections of Citizenship and Citizenship Education  
in Canadian Civics*

In this section, I examine Robert Smith Jenkins as an educator, scholar and writer, and analyse his 1909 and 1918 Manitoba editions of *Canadian Civics*, for their portrayal of citizenship and citizenship education.

*Whose and What Knowledge is of Most Worth?*

Robert Smith Jenkins was born in 1870 in Rosemont, Ontario. He received his B. A. in 1893 and M. A. in 1896 from the University of Toronto, and then became a fellow in Romance Languages at the University of Chicago in 1901-1902. In his work life, Jenkins taught classics at Orangeville High School, Ontario, between 1894 and 1900, and then became a lecturer in modern languages and philosophy at Toronto's Trinity University from 1902 to 1904. As well as writing many magazine articles, he wrote *Poems of the New Century*, published in 1903. He studied in Rome and Paris in 1904 and 1905, and then became a High School Principal in Strathcona, Alberta, from 1906 to 1908. He was elected President of the Northern Alberta Teachers' Association in 1907 and became a Senator of the University of Alberta in 1908. In 1908, while living in Montreal, he was engaged in literary work writing nine provincial versions of *Canadian Civics*. He also wrote *The Heir from New York* in 1911 and *Canadian Poems* in 1938 (Edited by his wife, Mrs. R. S. Jenkins). During the latter part of his career, he taught in public schools in Ontario. He died in Toronto in 1931.

In her analysis of her husband's poetic writing, Mrs. Jenkins believed that Robert Jenkins' love of Canada was as strong as was his sentiment for the British Empire. While writing the many versions of *Canadian Civics* in 1908 in Montreal, he was asked to make

a presentation at the Teachers' Convention on the topic of civics. According to Mrs. Jenkins, he talked about the importance of learning civics in schools and imperialism, of which he was a strong advocate.

Thus, Jenkins was a classical scholar, Victorian in orientation, and member of the elite class of educators and scholars in Canada. It is reasonable to conclude that, with his involvement in the school system as a teacher, principal and leader, he would have seen the need for a textbook in civics and citizenship that reflected his background.

Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith (1991b), as stated earlier, contend that, in the study of textbook knowledge, too much focus was placed on "what knowledge is of most worth." They argue that "whose knowledge is of most worth" is also critical in understanding systemic educational problems. Analyzed through the critical social theory of Apple and Christian-Smith, it can be seen that Jenkins would have written a textbook that incorporated a clear picture of the civics of citizenship: the understanding of the operation of government from the school to the Dominion levels. His focus would have been Victorian in nature resulting in a picture of civics that was Imperial, to be revered, and critical to the students' understanding of government and, particularly, of their role as citizens. Jenkins' knowledge was elitist in nature and written primarily for young, white British males who would some day run the country. It was imperative that they understood their "democratic" responsibilities. The Manitoba edition (1909) of *Canadian Civics* stated:

In the present little book an effort is made to present the elementary facts about our system of government in the simplest form, so that those who do not pass beyond the senior grades of the public school or the junior grades of high school,

may go out into the world with some adequate conception of what will be their duties and responsibilities as Canadian citizens. (Preface)

The knowledge that was of most worth in Jenkins' view was that of the ruling class in Canadian society, of which he was a member. The official message of the citizens' duties and responsibilities was to preserve, defend and continue the progress of the country; to revere the civilizations that had helped to take the people where they were; to ensure that their tireless work was not lost through neglect. Thus, Jenkins' social interests and background led him to present to students a strong republican orientation to citizenship. Jenkins wrote a textbook that the provincial governments, across the Dominion, could comfortably endorse as their official account of the operation of the provincial and Dominion governments and the role of its citizens.

*Notions of Citizenship: The School Subject of Civics*

In this section, I analyse civics as found in the two Manitoba editions of Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* for reflections of citizenship. As stated in Chapter Three, my analysis of the subject of civics is divided into three parts under the headings: Mode of citizenship presentation, Range of citizenship topics, and Citizenship concepts. In the 'mode of citizenship presentation,' I focus on two main attributes – an institutional approach focussing on the study of the operation of government and an examination of the social/political roles of individuals in society, and a static description of government versus a dynamic version of government (Pingel, 1999). For the 'range of citizenship topics,' I examine the topics discussed in civics with a focus on two main features: local/regional/national versus global context, and a homogeneous versus diverse

description of society. The third element 'citizenship concepts' focuses on national identity, belonging, rights, and responsibilities, as found in Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual model.

*Mode of citizenship presentation.* My story-line analysis revealed that a strongly institutional approach is used throughout the *Canadian Civics* textbook. Hence, civics was defined by Jenkins as the study of school, municipal, provincial, Dominion and British Empire institutions of government. At the national level, for example, Jenkins compared the Dominion's structure and operation with that of the provinces, closely delineating the different roles. Whereas, the federal government had the "power to legislate" in the areas of trade and commerce, banking and paper money, and naturalization, the provinces had legislative authority over the solemnization of marriage, administration of justice and fines or imprisonment when the law was broken, and education. In his definition of civics, Jenkins stated that "we shall be studying in this book what our government is and how it holds our nation together" (1909, p. 3).

Jenkins did acknowledge that there were "uncertainties" as to whether some issues were of Dominion or provincial control. His example related to the making of laws concerning the sale of intoxicating liquors. Without describing what the issue was or how it was resolved, Jenkins stated "it is now known that the provinces are allowed to restrict and practically to prohibit the sale in well-defined ways" (1909, p. 17). Jenkins provided this temperance example because later in his book, under the "Duties of the Citizen," we were told that that intemperance was an evil and that the good citizen supported the cause of lessening the disastrous effects of this excess.

On the topic of how laws were made, Jenkins outlined the nature of legislation and defined the role of the House of Commons, the Senate, and the Governor-General. Bills were shown passing through stages and eventually becoming law. Jenkins provided no sense of the inner workings of the passage of legislation or of the trade-offs made during the process. This linear political process that often characterized a republican conceptualization of citizenship intentionally eliminated the reality that the opposition parties had significant power both to stall government bills and change them. Jenkins' representation of the passage of bills was that each law was the best it could be and that no further action by the opposition parties would or should happen. Thus, Jenkins failed to describe for students how government actually functioned and how bills could actually be changed. His idealized world of the political process was not only sentimental, but also uncritical in nature.

On the issue of voting during federal elections, Jenkins did not state that citizens should vote, nor why voting was important, but, rather, spent four pages describing how voting is done. Jenkins presented nothing on the right to vote as a key citizenship duty and responsibility in a democratic system since elections determined not only what party was elected at the local, provincial and federal levels, but also gave a clear direction on policies and programs expected to be implemented. Jenkins seemed to be more concerned with the vote that would have been cast by the elite who ran the country, than with the larger body of citizens who knew far less about the issues and had limited involvement in government. Thus, Jenkins focussed much attention on the process of voting, intentionally not addressing the right to vote, or the means of expressing displeasure with government policy and individual politicians, and the possibility of change through the

vote. For Jenkins, the elite was trained and ready to run the country; the average citizen's role was nominal.

Outside the legislative affairs of Parliament, Jenkins' institutional approach took seven pages to detail the departments of the federal government, listing cabinet ministers and their responsibilities. Using "people to study" analysis, a clear focus on gendered citizenship was revealed. The Minister of Labour, for example, was concerned with the "welfare of the working men" (1909, p. 81). All of these Departments and others were staffed by a "great army of clerks and other officials, many of them men of highly trained skill" (1909, p. 84). Jenkins then spent nine pages describing federal taxation. Thus, between the ministers and their deputies and the civil service, males at the federal level carry out the business of government. What was missing was the operationalizing of these duties so that students could actually see what federal civil servants did. No sense of the dynamics of government-citizen relations was provided, leaving students with a totally abstract view of the extensive role that government played in their lives. The republican conception of citizenship advanced by Jenkins was that, while students should understand the technical operation of government, they need not be concerned with the services provided by government.

A similar institutional story-line was employed to describe provincial affairs in Manitoba. Jenkins began by outlining the role of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Premier, the Executive Council and the Legislature. Eleven pages are devoted to an examination of Manitoba's municipal government, including the kinds of municipalities, municipal councils, elections, municipal officers, council meetings, by-laws, municipal taxation, exemptions from taxation, and the poll tax. Thirteen pages are used to describe the courts

of law in Manitoba. Similarly, Jenkins described the education system, focussing on school trustees, elections of trustees, the provincial school inspector, the Education Department and the Advisory Board, provincial funding for schools, the training of teachers and programs offered by the University and colleges. All of this detail on the Manitoba government, the legal system and enterprise of education supported the republican notion of citizenship where student literacy associated with civics was viewed as an important knowledge to be taught and learned in a civics textbook. These understandings enabled students to be “good citizens” by showing appropriate reverence to the many governmental institutions and of the need to obey the law.

Thus, no institution at any level of government in Canada or Manitoba was omitted in Jenkins’ textbook *Canadian Civics*. His 1918 Manitoba Edition continued this civics focus, wherein descriptive information was unchanged or, as in the case of the institutions of the federal and provincial governments, is merely updated. The critical role of the citizen was absent from these institutions. In a five-page section entitled “Duties of the Citizen,” Jenkins described the social or political role for the citizen, outlining at length how the citizen should become involved in politics by becoming a member of a political party and attending its meetings. This activity, according to Jenkins, would ensure that vote-buying by politicians and the securing of favours by businessmen in return for lavish donations would be thwarted. Jenkins stated: “So every citizen who loves his country should try to discover and oppose all tendencies to evil-doing in the party to which he belongs” (1909, p. 146). Revealingly, Jenkins did not mention that the citizen should become involved in the party itself, criticize the party when warranted, give direction on important public issues, or consider running in an election. Thus,

Jenkins' civics was one that involved the understanding of the institutions of government and not of active involvement with them. Jenkins' republican conceptualization of citizenship presented an elite class of businessmen and politicians who would run as candidates and determine party policy.

The second aspect under the 'mode of citizenship presentation' is whether a static or dynamic approach to government is used. Language analysis indicated that Jenkins portrays government as the outcome of centuries of struggle and the role of the citizen as maintaining social order and stability through training in "social and civic responsibility" (1909, Preface). Jenkins contended that it was the role of the state to instruct students in the value of our civilization and the "ways of preserving it from impairment, and of assisting in its progress" (1909, Preface). Throughout Jenkins' civics textbook, he described government as it existed but did not attempt to present a dynamic description of government, one with the potential for change. He focussed on the preservation of what had been acquired over the years. This was particularly noticeable when Jenkins described the British Empire. As an imperialist, Jenkins contended that permitting the Empire to evolve into "allied nations" would lead to the break-up of the Empire, which was not good. He stated: "Here is one of our great problems and no one yet can see a good solution" (1909, p. 6).

Jenkins provided a section on the public questions being handled by political parties, listing issues such as the national tariff, separate schools in Manitoba, Senate reform, national ownership of railways, the new provinces, and the prohibition of intoxicating liquors. He provided no details on these social, political or educational issues, leaving it to the student or teacher to make sense of these issues. Thus, again,

Jenkins talked about the progress of the nation but failed to explain what the problems were or what they meant. At this time, with many teachers in their teenage years with limited formal education, it is highly unlikely that civic problems would be addressed in the classroom.

Thus, Jenkins' mode of presentation of civics in *Canadian Civics* was an institutional approach with limited social or political involvement by the citizen and a fairly static notion of government, all of which are characteristic of Sears' and Kymlicka's republican notion of citizenship.

*Range of citizenship topics.* The focus of *Canadian Civics* was school, municipal, provincial, Dominion, and British Imperial governments. Story-line analysis revealed that each of the nine editions written in 1908 had a standard section on the Dominion and British Empire governments, followed by a specific section devoted to the provincial affairs in each province. Nova Scotia's A. H. MacKay, speaking to the fledging Canadian Education Association in 1892, remarked on the need for civics in a national curriculum and of the need to have civics textbooks developed at the provincial level rather than national. Whether Jenkins heard this message or not, he obviously realized the need for the commonality in understanding the Dominion and Empire governments as well as the duties of citizens, and the specificity when describing provincial civics. Thus, Jenkins' approach was that all students should understand their common Dominion of Canada and British Empire governments, and then understand that each province had a fairly unique mode of operation in relation to schools, municipalities and provincial governments. Jenkins, then, presented to students a common national culture, another key element in a republican conceptualization of citizenship.

Education was treated as another form of government institution and received ten pages of text in the 1909 edition and some twelve pages in the 1918 edition, largely due to the expansion of Jenkins' treatment of the section on the University and colleges but also as a result of the addition of a section on university matriculation. In addition to describing the role of school trustees and their election, Jenkins spent considerable time presenting how the Department of Education, with a minister at its head, is "in supreme control of all the schools in the province" (1909, p. 138). School inspectors were appointed by the Department "to have the oversight of the schools in a certain division of the province" (1909, pp. 137-138), performing such duties as regularly visiting schools, examining student work and reporting to the Department on these matters. The Advisory Board, with members appointed by the minister, was described as prescribing textbooks, defining the course of study and preparing examinations. In addition, Jenkins spent one page on describing the financial support from the Department for teachers and school operations, including the fact that the Department must approve each new school building being erected. Jenkins emphasized the "strong" control by the Department over schools throughout the province as "good government."

In terms of global context, Jenkins' view of the world was Imperial, based on Great Britain's Empire, of which Canada was one of the Dominions with limited self-rule. The world according to Jenkins was of two parts: The British Empire and the "outside nations." The British Empire was composed of nations that were Dominions, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and the Union of South Africa, and colonies where the population was not ready for self-government. Jenkins described British colonies in the tropics "where the native races are not highly civilized, are placed,

either wholly or partly, under the administration of persons chosen by Great Britain” (1909, p. 8). There were also protectorates where “Great Britain conducts the government of a country which in strict law is the dependency of another nation, but which in fact is part of the British Empire” (1909, p. 8). Jenkins gave two examples of this, namely Egypt and Cyprus. The reader does not learn anything of these Dominions, colonies or protectorates or how they came to be part of the British Empire, other than that their government was different from that of Great Britain’s but they were still part of the British Empire. They were definitely not one of the “outside nations” such as the “great powers” of the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Russia or Japan. Thus, in effect, the focus of Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics* was the Dominion of Canada as part of the British Empire. Thus, Jenkins painted a national culture of the British Empire, of which all students in Canada were members.

Another element in the range of topics found in civics textbooks relates to whether the social image painted is one of a homogeneous society or one of diversity. The story-line analysis suggested that there were few, if any, minority groups in Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics*. Throughout the textbook, the portrayal of people reflected one homogeneous society, although Jenkins did acknowledge the different ancestry of some of the peoples of the Dominion of Canada. He stated that, in many provinces, the ancestry was mainly the British Isles; he described the other provinces as “possessing a more mixed population, and one, Quebec, having a great majority of persons of French descent” (1909, p. 11). Nevertheless, the overarching tone throughout the text was that of a homogeneous society with a common understanding of the federal government and the duties of citizens, coast to coast. In all of the known editions of *Canadian Civics* from

1909 to the mid-1920s, the Dominion government remained a constant, as do the responsibilities of its citizens. The exclusion of groups was another component of republicanism that Jenkins presented to students.

Minorities, for example, were not the focus of Jenkins' textbook. The fact that, in 1909, Manitoba still had a large population of French was ignored. The fact that, outside of Winnipeg, there were large immigrant communities of Poles, Germans and Ukrainians as well as Aboriginal people was never mentioned. The role of republican civics was to bring the nation together through its federal government and the common duties of all citizens, not through a discourse on the diversity of the society at that time.

*Citizenship concepts.* Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* textbooks are analysed for their reflections of citizenship using Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual citizenship model of national identity, belonging, rights, and responsibilities.

According to Gagnon and Page, national identity includes a grouping of characteristics that "all citizens are invited or encouraged to share" and "refers to the collective identity of a political community" (p. 8). These scholars indicate that one sub-component is civic culture, referring to normative elements expressed largely through political and legal frameworks, such as the Canadian Constitution and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Societal culture, another sub-component according to Gagnon and Page, refers to the public lifestyles of the people of the country, including the official language or languages used by the citizens in its institutions, including schools. A third sub-component, heritage, addresses national symbols, history, heritage languages, founding myths and cultures, while a fourth sub-component addresses allegiance and patriotism. Hall (1992), however, critiques this notion of national identity as a "myth,"

that is, that there continues to be a critical dialogue on national identity that essentially challenges the main elements of a common collective cultural identity.

In Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*, the strongest citizenship concept is national identity presented as one's identity as a citizen of the British Empire. Throughout the text, Jenkins' imperialism stood out as he explained the operation of the governments of Manitoba and the Dominion, in particular how Great Britain acted for the whole Empire. According to Jenkins, there were only two kinds of nations in the world – The British Empire and the "Outside Nations." For example, Jenkins contended that Canada's protective tariff was moderate, compared to the heavy tariff of the United States. He indicated, however, that Canada had adopted a "British preferential tariff" for Great Britain and its colonies that was lower than that charged to the "Outside Nations."

In addition to taxation, Jenkins outlined the relationship between the Dominion's government and that of Great Britain. Parliament in the Dominion of Canada consisted of the King, the Senate and the House of Commons. The representative of the King in Canada was the Governor-General. But Jenkins quickly pointed out: "Yet it must always be remembered that the King is considered to be the direct ruler of Canada" (1909, p. 21). The Governor-General, who signs a bill into law, was actually giving the King's assent. Imperial control over Dominion legislation, according to Jenkins, also gave Great Britain one year to disallow acts of Parliament "if it is considered that this law will cause injury to the Empire, is contrary to treaties that have been made with foreign nations, or is beyond the right of our parliament to pass" (1909, p. 16). At the provincial level, Jenkins documents the role of the Lieutenant-Governor, who was appointed by the Dominion government, and held a similar office to that of the Governor-General. The Manitoba

legislature was composed of the Lieutenant-Governor and a single House, the Legislative Assembly. Jenkins also described the courts of law in Manitoba, indicating that their foundation stone was English Common Law, as supplemented by provincial and Dominion statutory law. Finally, Jenkins indicated that the "Privy Council" in England was the highest court in the Empire, and dealt with important cases normally involving constitutional matters.

The first duty of a citizen, according to Jenkins, was to understand not only this operation of government in the Dominion, but also the affairs of the Empire. He stated: "In your study of public affairs you will be led beyond the bounds of the Canadian Dominion, for we have the advantage of living in a country which is part of a great empire" (1909, p. 144). As a citizen of the Empire, Jenkins urged all students to have "respect and toleration for the opinions of others" (1909, p. 145). No matter what creed, race or tongue, according to Jenkins, loyalty to the Empire was critical, stating that "this imperial feeling will also help us in our national affairs, for it will enable us to be sympathetic with our fellow citizens throughout the Dominion" (1909, p. 145). Jenkins made no such plea for the Dominion of Canada, but rather couched everything in terms of the British Empire. Thus, Jenkins presented students with a very pro-British identity, describing the Imperial relationship between Great Britain, the ruling state in the Empire, and the Dominion of Canada, a nation belonging to the Empire. Canadian national identity was that of a citizen of the British Empire.

Civic culture is a sub-component of national identity, according to Gagnon and Page (1999). The normative elements and traditions of the Dominion were based on the British North America Act of 1867 and the creation of the Dominion of Canada, one that

was tied legally and politically to the British Empire. Gagnon and Page (1999) also describe allegiance and patriotism as sub-components of national identity. Interestingly, little patriotism appeared in Jenkins' civics but allegiance, incorporating loyalty and conformity to the institutions of government, Dominion and provincial, as well as to those of the British Empire, is very strong. Allegiance to the state was another element of the republican conceptualization of citizenship. Other sub-components of national identity as identified by Gagnon and Page, such as societal culture and heritage, were not present in *Canadian Civics*.

A second component of citizenship is the social, ethno-cultural, and supranational belonging. According to Gagnon and Page (1999), poles of belonging include national, cultural, linguistic, religious and sociological minorities, as well as the relative importance of diversity. The closest that Jenkins got to these issues of belonging was to acknowledge that, although in most provinces the inhabitants came from Great Britain, in others there was a mixed population, and, for Quebec, most are of French descent. Thus, story-line analysis revealed that there was no mention of belonging for minorities or diversity in Jenkins' civics. National identity took precedence.

Rights form Gagnon and Page's (1999) third component of citizenship, consisting of fundamental, political, social and cultural rights, as well as other features including equal access and equity measures. Jenkins did not mention the words "right" or "rights" of the citizen in either edition of *Canadian Civics*, even though these ideas were definitely present at the turn of the twentieth century in Canada. John Millar, in his *Canadian Citizenship* textbook, published in Toronto in 1899 for students of advanced civics, spoke about civil rights, such as liberty and the right to hold property, and political

rights, including the right to vote. Millar also addressed the suffragette movement in Canada. Jenkins did not mention the right to vote, although he described in great detail the process of voting. In terms of human rights, generally, Jenkins took a very Western-Eurocentric view, emphasizing how the British Empire had brought civilization to many races and tribes, and, “under imperial sway the greatest amount of happiness and prosperity” (1909, p. 9) for all.

Political and civic participation form Gagnon and Page’s (1999) fourth main component of citizenship. They identify two main sub-components: participation in political life and in civil society, and the requisite skills required both for political and civic participation. Following Jenkins’ section on Education was a five-page topic entitled “Duties of the Citizen.” This “duties” topic was found in each of the editions of *Canadian Civics* from 1909 to 1922 and was, word for word, the same in each edition. In terms of participation, Jenkins indicated that taking an active role in politics was critical. This participation formed a component of a republican conception of citizenship that Jenkins trumpeted. However, the only example provided was to become a member of a political party and the nature of that involvement was only to ensure that no “evil-doing” took place in the party. Jenkins presented no involvement with party politics, electioneering or running for office. Apparently, these activities would be undertaken by the more able and knowledgeable business and political elite.

Civic participation, according to Jenkins, included supporting the “good causes” of education of all citizens, temperance, and religion. Jenkins couched each cause with admonitions against speaking with ill will. Regarding temperance, he stated: “Another good cause of which you should speak no ill, is the effort which is being constantly made

to lessen the evil of intemperance in our country. Our race from ancient times has suffered injury from the habit of drinking intoxicants to excess" (1909, p. 147). Civic participation also formed a component of republican citizenship.

Another element of civic involvement, according to Jenkins, was to understand Canada's system of democratic government and the close ties with the Empire. He provided no demonstrative manner in which this relationship could be developed but contended that this relationship would allow students "to be sympathetic with our fellow citizens throughout the Dominion" (1909, p. 145).

In terms of the requisite skills necessary to take part in government, Jenkins described in detail the qualifications for voting. For example, in a federal election, the people of Canada elected members "but not everybody has a vote" (Jenkins, 1909, p. 39). Jenkins listed those who did not vote, identifying those groups who were not British subjects, who were criminals or insane, Indians, and women. Therefore, all men who were 21 years old, British subjects, not criminals or insane, could vote. The assumption, therefore, was that once these three qualifications were met, then men had the requisite skills to vote federally. Jenkins immediately made it clear that Indians and women could not vote, just in case the student did not see the obvious. No explanation was given as to why they could not vote; neither was information provided on the suffrage movement in Canada.

Thus, Jenkins presented a very passive form of male citizenship participation. For example, the only somewhat active area was that of involvement with a political party for the purposes watching for corruption. Such involvement was not only unlikely for a grade 6 student to comprehend, but also equally unlikely for adults to be in a position to

uncover corruption. There was limited active civic participation and no critical citizen involvement in Jenkins' civics.

*Reflections of Citizenship Inclusion and Exclusion*

Working within a critical theoretical framework, Apple (1990) and Apple and Christian-Smith (1991a) present strong arguments for examining knowledge in social studies textbooks as a vehicle for the study of citizenship. They argue that a highly selective, hegemonic political knowledge makes its way into social studies textbooks, representing a hidden curriculum not only of how "good citizens" act, but also of the disenfranchisement of certain groups based on gender, social class, race, disability, and the exclusion or token mentioning of non-dominant groups. Their list of marginalized groups are expanded in this chapter to include others based on language and religion, that is, the French-speaking, Catholic community in Manitoba. And, in his republican conceptualization of citizenship presented to students, Jenkins felt comfortable in incorporating exclusionary elements.

Jenkins presented the student with a wide range of "good citizenship" attributes, including the need for a good knowledge and understanding of government, its "efficient and effective operation," and a variety of "good cause" civic duties. Story-line analysis revealed that many more messages of a more subtle and hidden nature permeated the text.

The citizens who required the most assimilative attention were Aboriginal peoples and immigrants. Bruno-Jofre (1998-1999) indicates that English Canadian citizenship education excluded Quebec, emphasized loyalty to Great Britain and the Empire, and described matter-of-factly the colonization of Aboriginal peoples (p. 26). The official discourse of the state – its curriculum and its textbooks – was "aimed at generating a

common polity, based upon a shared identity, loyalty to common institutions, a common language, a common culture, and a homogenizing notion of citizenship” (Bruno-Jofre, 1998-1999, p. 34). *Canadian Civics* bore out this assimilative focus. People to study analysis revealed that Aboriginal peoples were mentioned only once in each of two editions and with the same line: “Indians do not usually have the right to vote” (Jenkins, 1909, p. 39). Jenkins’ story-line provided no explanation as to why “Indians” could not vote but it was understood that since they were not yet “civilized,” they could not vote until this transformation had taken place. With the failure of reserves and Indian schools to “civilize” Aboriginal peoples, it must be assumed that the best course of action was not to mention the “Aboriginal problem.”

With the exception of indicating that naturalization is the responsibility of the federal government, Jenkins made no mention of immigration, immigrants and becoming British citizens. Story-line analysis also indicated that Jenkins made no reference to French Canadians or French in Manitoba. The fact that the French in Manitoba were a founding people of the province and, during the period 1896 to 1916, had the right to have their own schools goes without mention. This exclusion was initially based on religion, but when French schooling ended in 1916, the issue had become one based on the need for one language, English. Osborne's (1980) reference to the stereotypical hard working, temperate and peaceable working class as found in Canadian history textbooks of the period was absent even from *Canadian Civics*. In fact, the working class did not exist in Jenkins' story. There were no “disabled” citizens in Manitoba or in Canada. The story-line presented by Jenkins, then, was a homogeneous, British, able-bodied

population served by common levels of municipal, provincial, Dominion and Imperial governments.

Jenkins also failed to mention the Chinese immigrants in Canada and their role in keeping British Columbia a part of Confederation, including the 17,000 Chinese males from Kwangtung province in China who built the Canadian Pacific Railway line through the Rockies of British Columbia as part of that province's demand for entering Confederation (Tan & Roy, 1985, p 7). Responding to the demands from British Columbia for a road linking that province to rest of Canada, and insufficient cheap labour in the Dominion to supply such a vast activity, the federal government decided to build a railway and had given the Onderdonk Construction Company of BC permission to bring into BC this reliable and cheap Chinese workforce. No attempt was made to assimilate these Chinese workers into Dominion society because it was expected that, with the completion of the railway, all would return to China.

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in November 1885, many Chinese were left stranded in British Columbia. For a number of reasons, including the failure to earn large amounts of money and no paid passage home, many Chinese stayed in Canada and worked mainly in British Columbia. Others moved east, providing a cheap labour supply. Resentment of the Chinese who were said to be taking jobs from British citizens in British Columbia and elsewhere in the Dominion, grew rapidly. Ottawa responded with legislation passed in 1885 that imposed a head tax on the entry of any Chinese; the intent was to stop the immigration of Chinese people to Canada. Since the original \$50.00 Canadian Head Tax was not deterring this immigration, it was increased

to \$500.00 in 1904. This was coupled with federal Order in Councils beginning in 1913 that put further restrictions on Chinese immigration (Tan & Roy, 1985, p. 8).

Canadian discrimination against Asians also included the Japanese. By 1914, there were some 10,000 Japanese people who had permanently settled in Canada, primarily in British Columbia, working in the fishery. Between 1877 and 1907, the majority of these immigrants were young males. In 1907, the Canadian government forced Japan to limit immigration to no more than 400 males per year. Thereafter, the majority of the Japanese immigrants to Canadian were women who were joining their husbands (Ward, 1982). None of these acts of discrimination against the Japanese and the Chinese immigrants figure into Jenkins' story-line.

Women are barely mentioned in Jenkins' civics. In the 1909 edition he states that "in none of the provinces are women permitted to vote in parliamentary elections" (p. 39). A student using this text some time after 1916 had written at the bottom of page 39 "women are allowed to vote Jan 27, 1916," referring to the right to vote and run in provincial elections. In the 1918 edition of *Canadian Civics* Jenkins briefly stated "In 1917 women voted for the first time in parliamentary elections" (p. 39). Apple and Christian-Smith (1991b) refer to this brevity of treatment as "mentioning" (p. 10). Domination continues through the minor incorporation of selective information. Thus, selective inclusion of some citizens and the exclusion of others were the order of the day both in the 1909 and the 1918 Manitoba editions of Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*.

Jenkins' citizenship, in terms of gender, was very masculine. Dating back to the time of the Greeks, it was the role of the male to be involved with government and the role of women to tend the home. Jenkins endorsed this male citizenship model as is

evident throughout the two editions of his *Canadian Civics*. Language analysis reveals that the words “he” and “men,” used in reference to citizens actively involved in politics, are found throughout the text. The words “she” or “girl” are never used. The word “women” in the 1909 textbook is used once to describe the right of women to vote in municipal elections. While it is understood that both boys and girls are citizens, it is clear that the boys alone would be involved with the running of government. Jenkins states: “He [man] must not sit down quietly, and allow the affairs of state to go on, without feeling of some responsibility” (1909, p. 146). This same passage was used in the 1918 edition after women’s suffrage had secured the right to vote for women in Manitoba and federally. However, despite the fact that women had been enfranchised, men were still in charge of the political affairs of the nation and this is reflected in Jenkins’ text. Female citizens were largely something to ignore; in fact, even the traditional role of females running the home and family was not mentioned.

Thus, Jenkins presented a republican citizenship of exclusion based on gender, social class, disability, race, religion, language and if you were Aboriginal. White, British, English-speaking, Christian, males were the included citizens.

### *Summative Components*

*Historical/Ahistorical treatment.* Apple (1986) argues that textual ahistoricism is a device used by authors to ignore struggle, underlying core issues, and to diminish oppositional voices. In the case of *Canadian Civics*, although Jenkins mentions that women in 1918 had gained the right to vote, he presents no history of the strong suffragette movement in Manitoba and in Canada that ultimately led to gaining that right. In fact, none of the civics topics presented in *Canadian Civics* is given any historical

context. Another example of ahistoricism can be seen where Jenkins, in his discussion of the Advisory Board in the operation of the Department of Education, fails to give the origin of the Advisory Board in 1890, a key historical moment in the life of the province ending the rule by the Protestant and Catholic Sections of the Board of Education. The ahistoricism illustrated here was probably to stay silent on the issue of the creation of the Board so as not to reopen old wounds associated with the loss of Catholic control over Catholic schooling in Manitoba. Similarly, Jenkins, in writing on the "training of teachers," failed to give any history of the development of the 'normal school,' as this would also lead to the closure of the French normal schools after 1916. Again, the ahistorical approach served the interests of the government to not raise controversial issues best left quiet. However, the ahistorical treatment of civics topics in Jenkins' text resulted in students not seeing the struggle involved with key features of Canadian citizenship. This incomplete picture paints a false impression as to how and why important issues in citizenship came to be the way they were.

*Counter-hegemonic response.* Fay (1987) contends that, despite the attempts made by the dominant culture to control subordinate cultures through hegemonic devices such as schools, this hegemony is never complete; subordinate groups do resist domination. This resistance or counter-hegemonic activity is particularly evident during the Assimilation Era as seen through contestation against British cultural norms by the French, Aboriginal peoples, immigrants and the local working class population. Osborne (1998-1999), in his study of the school subject of history from the 1890s to the 1920s, examined the issue of Anglo-conformity and contended that citizenship and citizenship education could not be seen only as Anglo-conformity; rather, it was one of negotiation

involving counter-hegemonic activities of teacher and student resistance and manipulation. Osborne (1998-1999) described the contested nature of citizenship education during this period:

What the Department of Education wanted to happen in classrooms was not necessarily the same as what actually took place in them. When teachers taught history, they had more pressing things to worry about than wondering how best to sing the praises of the British Empire. (p. 22)

According to Wilson (1967), opposition by the Franco-Manitoban community occurred at two different times during this period. Legislation in 1890 ended the education accommodation of the previous two decades by eliminating the Board of Education with its Protestant and Catholic Sections and the dual denominational school system, and replacing it with a state run Department of Education and an Advisory Board, and a single non-sectarian school system. A report by a Catholic member, A. L. Young, describing the outcome of the 1890 legislation, indicated the following disposition of the former Catholic school system: 36 Catholic school districts came under the provincial regulation; eight convent schools supported by voluntary subscriptions and fees continued as before; and 38 Catholic denominational schools continued but as schools supported by private subscriptions (Wilson, 1967, p. 153). Of the 36 Catholic school districts under government regulation, the degree of acquiescence to Anglo-hegemonic control was debatable. It was argued, for example, that the trustees of St. Boniface, then under state jurisdiction, did not follow the letter of the law. Their strong opposition was present as they continued to seek uncertified teachers from religious

orders and continued to use the guidance of the parish priest both as a religious and as educational leader in the schools (Wilson, 1967, p. 177).

Nevertheless, Franco-Manitobans immediately contested the validity of the 1890 legislation, beginning the Manitoba Schools Question. After a series of court cases, a political compromise was reached in November 1896 between Laurier's Liberal government in Ottawa and Greenway's Liberal administration in Manitoba and became law in Manitoba in 1897. The Laurier-Greenway Compromise introduced the following clause:

Where ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language (or any Language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be in French (or such other language), and English upon the bilingual system. (Manitoba. *Statutes*, 1897, Chapter 26)

By 1915 there were 125 French bilingual schools in operation in Manitoba. Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface opposed the 1897 Laurier-Greenway Compromise because it provided only for French bilingual public schools rather than denominational schools which were the only "correct" mechanism to teach and to educate Catholic children, stating: "sauver le francais, c'est sauver une grande force Catholique; l'anglais dans notre pays est une force pour l'heresie" ["saving the French language, it is saving the great Catholic force; the English language in our country is a force for heresy"] (as cited in Wilson, 1967, p. 279).

While this contestation was simmering in the background, what probably caught the provincial government off guard was the huge wave of migration to Manitoba, beginning in 1896, of people from central and eastern Europe who knew no English and

settled both in colonies and intermixed with the local population. Taking advantage of the permissive Laurier-Greenway legislation, immigrant parents sought to establish new schools. By 1915, there were 61 German bilingual schools as well as 111 Polish and Ukrainian bilingual schools. For the provincial government, this situation created two major assimilation problems. The first was how to bring the English language, the cornerstone of citizenship, to students who spoke virtually no English. The second was how to portray the complete identity of good, assimilated, British Canadian citizens to all of the students in bilingual schools, and to immigrant children in the regular public school system. As Wilson (1967) wrote, the very ethnic diversity of Manitoba now brought an increasing political and social concern to use schools as an assimilation device for immigrant students.

Parallel to these issues was the continuing problem of poor student attendance. By 1916, there were 1835 school districts in Manitoba with a school population over 118,000. However, there were only 103,000 registered students with an average school attendance of slightly over 66,000 (Wilson, 1967, p. 257). Poor attendance did not facilitate the learning of English or citizenship for students, no matter what their origin. In 1916, the provincial government responded with two contested pieces of legislation. The first repealed the bilingual schools and public funding clauses in the education act; the second introduced compulsory school attendance.

Opposition to these 1916 legislative directions was immediate. Taillefer (1987) has studied educator and community resistance in Franco-Manitoban communities to the provincial government's renewed model of Anglo-conformity in education. He notes that in response to the legislation which eliminated bilingual education, made English the

single official language in schools, forced French Catholics to attend English schools or to pay to go to private schools, and made religious instruction available only outside of normal school hours, the Franco-Manitoban community resisted the perceived injustice and created, in the same year, L'Association d'éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba, headquartered in St. Boniface, and mandated to protect French interests. Taillefer (1987) writes that L'Association began to develop a French Catholic curriculum and select French textbooks for Franco-Manitoban schools that paralleled the English programme authorized by the Manitoba Department of Education.

During the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, compulsory education was increasingly seen as an essential tool through which immigrant children could be forcibly Anglicized in schools. Just before the introduction of compulsory education legislation in Manitoba in 1916, Minister of Education Thornton spoke to the success of immigrant students learning English in English-speaking schools in Winnipeg and of the slow progress in English of immigrant students in bilingual schools outside of Winnipeg. Thornton stated:

A grave injustice is being done to the children who do not receive a satisfactory education in English. Without that knowledge they grow up under a continuous handicap. We wish to give them the same consideration as is accorded to our own children, to fit them to earn their way through life, and to take their places as citizens in our Canadian nationality. In this Dominion we are building up, under the British flag, a new nationality. We come from many lands and cast in our lot, and from these various factors there must evolve a new nationality which shall be simply Canadian and British. (as cited in Bilash, n. d., pp. 52-53)

The compulsory education concept was, however, a focus of contestation because many parents of all backgrounds saw the greater need for children to work with their mothers or fathers. The focus of the commentary of the time, however, was on immigrant parents as reflected in provincial school inspector Maguire's discussion on the poor attendance of immigrant children in schools in Portage la Prairie in 1906:

They are in the primary classes, unable to speak a word of English. As soon as they get a smattering of the language and can help at home or earn a little money, they are taken from school. This means that these children are growing up uneducated, unassimilated. (Manitoba. *Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1906, p. 355)

Chinese immigrants in Winnipeg received the brunt of Dominion government discrimination, through the use of restrictive immigration legislation, and, locally by the white community in Winnipeg. According to Baureiss and Kwong (1979), this discrimination against the Chinese

forced them to interact with those who shared the same conditions. This in turn fostered the formation of a close community, whereby language and customs were retained, and institutions peculiar to their ethnic origin established in an effort to ensure survival. (p. 58)

By the 1920s, the Chinese in Winnipeg had formed many organizations that maintained their traditions, provided assistance to members who were in need, and fostered inter-organizational solidarity. Further, these organizations also provided financial support to members' families and relatives living in China, and acted as go-

between with society as a whole in Winnipeg. Classes to teach the Chinese language and culture were also started during this period.

Contestations over Anglo-conformity were not only from immigrants and Franco-Manitobans. There was also resistance by Aboriginals to federal colonization through schooling that continued throughout this period. I contend that, in the absence of any federal school curriculum and the existence of a provincial curriculum, "Indian" schools in Manitoba would have, by necessity and convenience, followed the general outline of the Manitoba Department of Education's curricular offerings.

Illustrating this counter-hegemonic activity was Titley's (1993) case study of Rupert's Land Indian School, located at Middlechurch on the outskirts of Selkirk, during the period 1890 to 1906. As a federally-funded Indian Industrial school, it provided a basic education, employment training for boys in the trades and household sciences for girls, and a student residence. Operated by the Anglican Church using student per capita grants from the federal government, the school's colonizing program which was designed to eliminate Indian culture and identity, and to replace it with a white identity of English, Anglicanism, entrepreneurial spirit and British values, was strongly resisted by students, their parents, and Indian leadership throughout the school's 16-year life span. Student resistance included the use of prohibited native languages when the school's staff was not present, high truancy rates, and numerous small fires in the school, leading ultimately to a fire that destroyed the main school building and the closure of Rupert's Land Indian School on January 4, 1906 (Titley, 1993).

*Notions of citizenship education.* The teaching strategies provided by Jenkins in *Canadian Civics* were intended to ensure that the civics messages in the text was learned

by students. These strategies were the same in both the 1909 and 1918 Manitoba editions of *Canadian Civics*. Mentioned earlier in this chapter was the "Preface" where the importance of civics was clearly stated. In Appendix II, "Suggestions for the Teacher," Jenkins indicated that the book encompassed two years of instruction. The first year was to provide the student with a general understanding of government and the terminology. At the end of each of the 14 Topics or chapters, as Jenkins described them, there were anywhere from five to nine questions that highlighted the main elements of each Topic. One can conclude that students would answer these questions so as to accomplish Jenkins' goal of mastery of the content. For example, under the Topic of "Municipal Government," he asks "1. What is the name of your municipality? What kind of municipality is it? 5. Who are the officers of your municipality? 8. Mention the kinds of property that are free from taxation" (Jenkins, 1909, p. 120). Students could answer these factually-based questions from reading the specific Topic in the textbook and by asking their parents. Jenkins particularly wanted students to memorize various political poems from Tennyson that were often found at the end of each Topic. At the conclusion of "Duties of the Citizen," for example, he quotes Tennyson:

Love her howe're her fate be cast,  
And ever faithful do  
Your duty to the Empire vast,  
Canadians, be true! (p. 149)

For the second year of instruction, Jenkins advised the teacher both to study the topics more deeply, and to encourage "a student's independent investigation of questions of a more advanced character" (1909, p. iii) found in Appendix IV. Under Topic XIV,

“Education,” Jenkins asked the following questions: “3. Where is the nearest high school (collegiate institute or academy)? Tell what you can about it. 5. What are the advantages of a good education?” (p. xii). In Topic III, “How Laws are Made,” Jenkins lists: “3. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of the appointment of a Canadian as governor-general?....5. What are the arguments in favour of retaining the Senate?” (1909, p. vii). Jenkins also encouraged teachers to have the students use the school library, newspapers, government publications and their parents for information. He suggested that the teacher have a mock court or parliament to stimulate the interest of students (p. iii). Jenkins concluded the teaching of civics by stating: “the purpose is not so much to load the pupil with knowledge, as to inspire within him a never-dying interest in the affairs of the nation” (1909, p. iv). At the core of instruction to teachers was that students, through answering questions found at the end of Topics, would learn common components of civics.

Jenkins did not appear to be interested in the development of critical thinking skills in students. All of the questions in the text were designed to elicit factual information: simple questions and answers in the first year of study, and more complex, research-orientated issues in the second year of the course. His lack of attention to critical thinking in civics results in a text that failed to have students move beyond sentimental civics.

Although the second year of instruction is more in-depth in approach, its implementation was questionable. Rural schools and communities in the 1910s and 1920s did not have major resource centres; where could students acquire the information to do the higher level work? Sears (1995) presents a knowledge component for republican

citizenship education where “teaching styles and techniques may vary but are focused on students arriving at common answers on matters of fact and/or value” (p. 25). Thus, the teaching style for Jenkins' civics education - be it answering questions, reading, memorization, or mock parliaments - was to reinforce the content found in *Canadian Civics*. On the other hand, it is possible that Jenkins was attempting to introduce a more critical element in the second year of civics instruction. However, it was highly questionable whether placing the onus of critical civics instruction on the shoulders of teachers was a reasonable approach based on the youth and lack of training of teaching staff during this period.

*Typology of citizenship and citizenship education.* What, then, does *Canadian Civics* tell us about education for citizenship during the 1911 to 1920 period in which this textbook was authorized for use in schools in Manitoba? To become a "good citizen," the student would need to study civics as a course associated with history in four different grades. With the citizenship content and message delivered directly through the students' or the teachers' authorized *Canadian Civics* textbook, students were faced with a variety of civics topics from the study of government to the duties of the citizen.

The students' civics and citizenship education as prescribed in *Canadian Civics* is a republican model as Sears (1995) and other scholars have postulated. With the knowledge aspect of citizenship education, students were to acquire a common understanding of political institutions and structures, from Imperial, to Dominion, to Manitoba, to municipal, to school. According to Jenkins, the political process throughout these levels of government was simple, organized, linear, clean and without rancor, a finely tooled and cooperative system, the result of years of struggle by citizens for

democratic rights. Regardless of the mechanism of instruction employed by the teacher and the resulting activity by the student, all was to ensure that students receive the content and the message of citizenship education. As a British subject, it was the role of each student to uphold these political traditions and institutions of the country and of the Empire. Importantly, there was no mention of the citizenship of the home and family, the school, associations, work or government services. Students were taught a variety of values, including tolerance and support for the causes of temperance and religion.

A hallmark of the republican concept of citizenship education is passiveness in political matters. *Canadian Civics*, while describing the mechanisms of voting, failed to mention the importance of voting per se. Jenkins (1909) did endorse “taking an active part in politics,” urging students “to become a member of a party and to attend its meetings” (p. 146). He described the purpose of attendance to ensure that no illegality take place. Not only was this a passive activity, but for the age of the students receiving this information, this rather lofty, abstract citizenship goal seemed rather unlikely, especially when Jenkins made no reference to students being involved at the school level with student government. In addition to Jenkins’ model of citizenship as one of passive participation, it was exclusive of females, the working class, immigrants, Aboriginal people, the aged, the disabled and people of religions that are other than Christian. He created a homogenized society with a worldview that was British, white, patriarchal, imperial and exclusionary.

Thus, Sears’ (1995) republican model is clearly evidenced in Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics*, that is, the transmission of a common knowledge of the Dominion and Imperial governmental structure, perfectly operating systems of government, with emphasis on the

duties and responsibilities of the citizen and of citizenship passiveness. Jenkins' suggested teaching methodology – read, memorize, answer questions – was consistent with Sears' analysis of republican education.

*Congruency.* This section focuses on the degree of congruency found between the official educational discourse of citizenship and that of the two official civics textbooks, the 1909 and 1918 editions of *Canadian Civics*, for the 1911 through 1920 period.

In my examination of the official discourses, there was a strong congruency between the viewpoints dealing with the citizenship concept of national identity. Both discourses focussed on students as citizens of the British Empire and of student character associated with obedience, discipline and duty. The official record as found in educational periodicals of the time spoke to the Imperial standards of Empire Day, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, the Empire Movement, and Hands Across the Seas. The authorized civics textbook also focussed on similar notions of national identity based on Canada's "democratic" government and its historical development from that of Great Britain, the importance of the Empire, and the duties of the citizen to know and understand the Empire. Both official discourses were congruent in their silence on citizenship issues related to belonging to Canada and the rights of the citizen. There was, however, a lack of continuity between the official educational literature that made no mention of citizen participation and the authorized textbook that directed the citizen to a generally passive political participation with limited civic involvement in support of specific causes.

Congruity was also found in the official discourses of educational literature and the textbook as it related to citizenship inclusion and exclusion. In both, citizenship was inclusive of British, white, Christian males, and the language of citizenship was English. Excluded were Aboriginal people, Asians, the disabled, women, and the French.

The official education literature and Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* were also congruent in their approach to information on the war effort. The official literature made no reference to the war and the civics textbook strangely marginalized it. Jenkins' 1918 Manitoba edition had a new section relegated to the back of the book that dealt with the wartime election of 1917. Jenkins indicated that the 1911 Parliament was not dissolved at the end of five years, but rather in 1917. The 1917 War-Time Elections Act did not permit the vote to be given to anyone who became a British subject after March 1902; was born in a country at war with the British Empire; or was born in a European country where the mother tongue "was the language of a country at war with us" (Jenkins, 1918, n. p.). He also indicated that a woman "having the same qualifications as those required in the case of male voters, was entitled to vote, if she was the wife, widow, mother, sister or daughter of a soldier or nurse on active service with the Canadian or British forces" (Jenkins, 1918, n. p.). This wartime information regarding federal elections and the granting of the vote to women was marginalized to a section at the very back of the book rather than incorporated into the main text. This section, entitled "The War-Time Election of 1917," was unpaginated, was not included in the Contents page at the front of the book, nor indexed at the back of the text.

This exclusionary element represented a good example of Apple (1986) and Apple and Christian-Smith's (1991b) 'mentioning' where key pieces of information – in

this case giving some women the right to vote, and a highly unusual piece of legislation which permitted the 1911 Parliament to not dissolve at the end of five years – should have been presented within the main body of the textbook to give legitimacy and recognition to these two historic citizenship events.

The 1918 Manitoba edition continued to include a passage found in the 1909 edition where Jenkins commented that the size of a country is but one factor in determining the power of a country: “thus Germany, though occupying a portion of Europe of only moderate area, is regarded as one of the great nations of the world” (Jenkins, 1909, 1918, p. 1). This statement in the 1918 edition about a country with which the Dominion had been at war for four years is astonishing, particularly in view of the fact that the 1918 edition of the textbook could have been easily edited to remove any mention of Germany. Further, in both editions Jenkins talked of the great powers of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Russia, the United States and Japan. The Dominion had been at war with Germany and Austro-Hungary for four years. So, Dominion of Canada students were being told of the most powerful countries in the world, Germany and Austro-Hungary, when the Dominion and Great Britain were, in fact, at war with these countries. The argument could be made that the publisher Copp, Clark could not afford to change the printing plates for this revised 1918 edition. While this is possible, it was highly unlikely in view of the fact that, for the 1915 Quebec edition of Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics*, revised by I. Gammell, the passage relating to Germany on page one was removed, as was the reference to the great powers of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary on page two. One has to wonder if Jenkins’ infatuation with empires, including those of Great Britain and perhaps of

Germany, was such that he was unwilling to remove them from Manitoba's 1918 edition. It was not until the 1922 Saskatchewan edition of *Canadian Civics* that references to Germany on page one and page two were removed by Jenkins.

### *Summary*

This chapter critically examined the reflections of civics and citizenship as found in the two editions of the Manitoba textbook *Canadian Civics* and in the official educational literature for the period 1911 through 1920. The Manitoba Department of Education controlled the textbook-as-curriculum and the textbook-as-pedagogy. While the school subject of history was used to teach nation-building to students, its new component, civics, brought a content of government and citizenship, based on the assimilation of all groups in society into British norms and culture. The republican model of citizenship and citizenship education that permeated the period 1911 through 1920 characterized the Assimilation Era. The official civics educational discourse of the period pointed strongly to a national identity that was British, English-speaking and Imperial for all students, coupled with a student character of temperance, Christian, duty and discipline, and passive political and limited civic participation. The hidden messages involved the disenfranchisement and/or marginalization of many groups in society, including women, Aboriginal peoples, immigrants, French-Canadians, and the working class.

## Chapter Five: Community Life and Service Era, 1921 – 1960

This chapter examines civics and citizenship education from 1921 through 1960, period characterized by themes described collectively as the “Community Life and Service Era.” Students were expected to understand community life, that is, to comprehend how democratic governments and organizations operated and provided services at the local, provincial, national and international levels, which had been “saved” at the cost of thousands of Canadian lives given during the world wars. Community service also addressed the expected voluntary activity of students giving back to their country in return for their entitlement to the benefits of living in a democracy and for the lives lost overseas. Assimilation, the dominant theme of the period 1911 to 1920, continued, but community life and service became predominant themes in citizenship and citizenship education during the 1921 through 1960 period.

Thematic analysis was based on the study of the literature of the period and on the twelve new civics textbooks used in schools. Community life and service were supported by a number of themes. National identity saw a significant shift from Imperial to Canadian. International identity moved from a focus on the British Empire to a more global identity based on problem solving, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The study of government institutions remained a central concern of the period. Assimilation, the overall theme of the earlier era, continued as evidenced by lack of treatment of the major citizenship concept of belonging, continuing homogenization and the ongoing exclusion of many groups in society. The theme of ahistoricism found in civics textbooks began to change. History was now employed to describe the background to community life and service, but was not used to address contemporary social, political or cultural

problems. The ongoing strong counter-hegemonic response to assimilation and lack of belonging continued during this period. A republican conception of citizenship and citizenship education continued during this era. Themes found in the official literature and in civics textbooks were largely congruent, suggesting a strong link between the larger social-political contents and what was being taught in schools.

The organizational format for this chapter is similar to that used in the previous chapter. First, I set the key social, political and economic context of this 40-year period, followed by an analysis of the educational system, focussing mainly on the official discourses on civics and citizenship, textbook authorization and the civics textbooks used in Manitoba classrooms. Twelve civics textbooks used in schools during the four decades under study are analyzed for their reflections of citizenship and citizenship education. Dissenting elements to the state's imposed citizenship are also discussed. The congruency between the official discourse on civics and the approved textbooks is examined. The last section of the chapter addresses the dominant typology of citizenship and citizenship education that existed during the Community Life and Service Era.

#### *Social, Political, and Economic Contexts*

Many contemporaries of the time and historians since then have regarded the aftermath of the Great War as having tremendous social, economic and political ramifications for Canada and Manitoba. Morton (1967), for example, described the period 1917 to 1922 as one of "social crisis" in Manitoba that experienced the effects of labour organization and unrest, war recruitment, demands of the war industry, inflation and the cessation of immigration. By the end of the Great War, Manitoba's workers faced

a drop in wages, difficult working conditions and radical political movements of farmers and urban workers (Morton, 1967, pp. 356-379).

Neville (1994) summarized this feeling of upheaval stating: "Expectations were high that the sacrifices of war would be redeemed by a new world – better, safer and more just than the old" (p. 172). While the pre-war Dominion had been dominated by the Liberals and the Conservatives, the post-war era saw the emergence of new political parties that focussed on issues important to the West. Both labour and farmers organized political parties to use the political system to address their grievances. During the 1920s in Winnipeg, the struggle between labour in the North End, through the Dominion Labour Party, and the economic and political British elite in the south end, under the umbrella of the Citizens' League, continued. The former sought "a more active civic role in social policy" and the latter "emphasized services to property" (Neville, 1995, p. 173). Labour consistently lost civic elections owing to its leadership being labeled as "Red," poor financial backing, and election laws that required property ownership, thereby disenfranchising much of Winnipeg's labouring and immigrant community.

Farmers in Manitoba also contested what they believed to be the neglect and disinterest of the two party system. The United Farmers of Manitoba (UFM) fought the Liberals in the provincial election of 1920 and became the unofficial official opposition. Two years later, the UFM formed a majority government. Although the 1923 Murray Royal Commission on Education identified under-funding as one problem in the school system, the fiscal conservatism of the UFM meant that these problems would not be addressed. Unwilling to spend money on education, health or economic development, the UFM, dominated by British farmers, was at odds with Winnipeg and its social problems.

Nevertheless, following recessions and booms in the early 1920s, in 1928 Manitoba's industrial output outstripped its agricultural production for the first time.

Halted by war and the economic problems that followed the coming of peace, immigration to Canada quickly picked up in the ten years from 1920 to 1930 with some 100,000 and 160,000 new comers arriving each year, primarily British, English-speaking, white Christians (Avery, 1995). But, just as Canadian immigration policy allowed some members of select groups into the country, it also used deportation to rid itself of "problem" immigrants who were not "good" Canadian citizens. Beginning during the war and continuing after the Winnipeg General Strike, so-called alien Bolsheviks were deported on the grounds that they posed a political menace to Canadian democracy. With the Great Depression and drought on the prairies during the 1930s, tremendous unemployment and dislocation of people resulted. During the 1930s, troublemakers, communists and the unemployed were confronted by deportation officials, helping municipalities and cities to rid themselves of unnecessary, financially burdensome immigrants and "protecting" the democratic state against political, economic and social protest. Undesirables would not be tolerated in Manitoba or in Canada.

The poor economic situation resulted in a lower taxation base as many people were unable to pay taxes. This meant less money for education generally as the Department of Education cut its expenditures, through the continuous reduction of payments to schools beginning in 1932, the termination in 1933 of the Free Text service that had provided free textbooks to schools throughout the province since 1903, and the elimination of the school library grant for the purchase of books in 1934. School districts also cut costs, lowering teacher salaries and minimizing expenditures on school operating

supplies and building maintenance. It was not until the beginning of World War II that payments to schools began to rise again (Tooth, 2005).

Responding to the Manitoba Association of School Trustees to close the agency if it were not being used, Deputy Minister of Education Robert Fletcher opened the Manitoba Text Book Bureau during the summer of 1931. For the first time parents and schools were able to easily acquire approved textbooks at good prices negotiated by the Bureau. Nevertheless, with Manitoba's economy in disarray, many parents and schools had tremendous difficulty finding the money to pay for the texts. This was well-illustrated in the September 1933 issue of the *Western School Journal*, which announced the creation of the University Book Service Association in Winnipeg where teachers and students could trade in old textbooks that were still approved, for new textbooks required for the coming school year. The civil servant writer of this short article in the "Departmental Bulletin" section "jokingly" entitled the piece the "Used Text Book Bureau" (Tooth, 2005).

During the war years from 1939 through 1945, there was a shortage of schoolteachers in Manitoba; some had gone off to fight for the Dominion, and others had gone to better paying jobs. Approximately 81,000 young Manitobans enlisted in the military services, leaving women to fill these now-vacant positions in the cities, to run farms, and to gain employment in new war-related factory jobs being created in Manitoba. The provincial school system was compelled to cast aside convention and rehire married women, engaging many teachers on local permit certificates (Shilliday, 1995).

With the end of World War II, Canada experienced a huge influx of some 165,000 European “displaced persons” during the period 1946 to 1952, some of whom settled in Manitoba (Avery, 1995). This desperately-needed labour force consisted of the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Hungarians, and the Rumanians. However, as much as a labour force was needed, a Gallup Poll conducted in October 1946 asked Canadians to identify the nationalities to be kept out if immigration were to be limited. First on the list, though not surprising in view of WWII, was the Japanese, followed closely by the Jews (Avery, 1995). Despite the Holocaust, Canadians were not prepared to open their doors to Jewish immigration.

After 1952, Canadian immigration policy focussed on specific European countries, including Portugal, Greece, Italy and Germany. Later, with the Cold War, Canadian policy excluded communists. Between 1951 and 1961, over 1.5 million immigrants arrived in Canada, primarily from Europe and the United States. Many of these immigrants landed in Manitoba (Bruno-Jofre, 1999). In addition to population increase through immigration, the post-war baby boom rapidly increased the number of school age children. Post-war prosperity made more money available for education. The rapid expansion of population was coupled with the renewed hope that education could serve Canada and the world better.

During the 40-year period under study, many government education reports, including the 1959 Royal Commission on Education, addressed the continuing funding problems in education with no apparent results. Nevertheless, the demand for the reexamination of the school system continued. Although Manitoba was still dominated politically, economically and socially by British norms and values, the increasing

diversity of its population began to change the nature of Winnipeg and the province during the 1950s and 1960s. The 1956 mayoral election marked a significant departure in Winnipeg politics. Steve Juba, son of Ukrainian immigrants, became the first non-British non-elite city mayor ever to be elected in Winnipeg. A similar departure from the norm occurred in 1959 when Duff Roblin and the Progressive Conservatives were elected with a majority to the provincial House of Assembly. They were prepared to spend the money to make changes in Manitoba.

These social, political and economic conditions had a strong impact on education and citizenship. The aftermath of World War I had led to a civics and citizenship education dominated by the study of community life, justified on the grounds that students could understand the benefits of living in a democracy that had just been “saved” at the cost of many Manitoba soldiers’ lives. This political pressure from society also resulted in the study of service as part of citizenship; if soldiers had given their lives or fought for years in Europe, then certainly students could do their part to society by giving to the community. Community life and service were landmark components of civics throughout the 40-year period. None of the economic, political or social problems and issues, including strikes, poverty, unemployment during the Depression, the deportation of troublemakers and communists, nor radical political movements, were subjects to be examined as material in civics textbooks; however, World War II refocused attention on patriotism and the fight for democracy over totalitarianism, resulting in a civics that had a strong practical orientation designed to prepare students to fight. The post-war arrival of European “displaced persons” followed by an opening of Canadian immigration laws began to redirect the nature of civics and citizenship toward the end of the 1950s.

### *Educational Context*

In this section the education context of civics is examined through an analysis of the official discourse on civics and citizenship, textbook authorization, and the twelve civics textbooks authorized during the 40-year period.

#### *The Official Discourse on Civics and Citizenship*

Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual framework for citizenship of national identity, belonging, rights and responsibilities is used to analyze educational articles written by officials in the Department in the *Western School Journal* from 1921 until its demise in June 1938, and in its replacement, the Departmentally-published *Manitoba School Journal*, September 1938 until 1960.

In early 1938, the Department of Education began planning for the takeover of the assets and goodwill of the *Western School Journal*, contending that, while the latter had served the province's teachers well for over 30 years, a new Departmental publication was required not only to reach every teacher in Manitoba, but also to improve communication across the educational spectrum. The first issue of the *Manitoba School Journal* was September 1, 1938, and continued with 10 issues annually, and over 7000 copies distributed across the province. H. B. Hunter, the first editor, commented after the first year of publication, that the *Journal* had included both theoretical and practical articles written by Department officials, teachers and university professors (Manitoba *Annual Report* 1938-1939, pp. 60-61). The *Journal* provided official discourse on civics and citizenship in abundance.

A story-line analysis of the official discourse found in the articles in the above two journals from 1921 to 1960 showed not only a continuing interest in national

identity, but also a more broadly based concern for civics and citizenship generally. National identity took on a very local, practical, community orientation that had been absent during the Assimilation Era. Further, while national identity did have a national focus during the period 1921 to 1960, there was also a strong component of internationalism that had been absent during the Assimilation Era.

Another dominant theme was civic participation, or, in the language of time, community service. R. S. Thornton, Minister of Education, from 1915 through 1922, put into words the new component of citizenship, namely a national identity based on community life and service. Of the soldiers and nurses who had given their lives to keeping their democracy free and preserving their way of life, Thornton (1919) stated at the Manitoba Education Association convention:

The spirit we need, then, is the spirit of unselfish service, the spirit that our soldiers and our nurses displayed in France. We must face our new problems with the same indomitable spirit – we must strive to develop a citizenship, a community life worthy of the sacrifice of our boys; we must prove that they did not die in vain. (*Western School Journal*, XIV(6), p. 206)

A year later, Thornton (1920) described service in terms of an outcome of the 1919 strike where labour and capitalism had run head on into conflict, stating: “Citizenship means service that we must do for the community – something over and above what one does for oneself” (*Western School Journal*, XV(5), p. 177).

Community civics was the focus of an article in 1926 that essentially stated that civics textbooks failed completely to approach the topic of “community.” The anonymous official argued that civics meant the “life-experiences” of students,

something that Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* did not address. What followed was a reprint of Miss Hannah Margaret Harris' *Bulletin 20* that was published in 1918 by the Bureau of Education in Washington. This community civics document provided an outline of the content of civics for grades 1 to 6, along with a variety of teaching methodologies. In grade 2, for example, Harris recommended that students visit a fire-engine house, select a place to play, choose games to play, help with the maintenance of school grounds, and grow a garden at school or in a window box. Teaching methods for the six grades included learning to play properly in the playground, meeting with persons who represent authority, undertaking dramatizations, and planning conversational lessons.

Community civics remained during the 1930s, but during WWII it took on a very practical focus. C. K. Rogers, Acting Superintendent of Education, commented in 1943 that boys and girls had already given to the war effort through the donation of large amounts of money; the gathering of rubber, metals and paper; and improved health so that they may meet the demands of a nation at war. He continued, however, that the army and air force training programmes were similar but different, and often recruiters competed for student interest. In 1941, the Department began the development of a civics education syllabus that was tied to existing school curricula. The syllabus was completed in 1943 and was in use by boys and girls in secondary schools in Manitoba. This Practical Citizenship course included physical exercise, drill, first aid, and small arms training. In December 1943, Education Minister Ivan Schultz indicated that, for the school year 1944-45, one textbook was to be provided to schools to teach the Practical Citizenship course. Research indicates that no such textbook was ever developed or provided to Manitoba schools.

In the immediate post-war period, there was a return to a more traditional community civics concept. In the "Superintendent's and Chief Inspector's Page" in the *Manitoba School Journal*, MacFarlane and Rogers (1946) reasserted the need for teachers and students to look after school property, both buildings and grounds. The writers indicated that there were many opportunities for such cooperative activities, including "untidy libraries, dirty windows, dusty furniture and cluttered cloak-rooms, all of which can be remedied" and outside, "a year-round programme for neat grounds, laid with gravelled walks, and playing fields, equipped with sand box, swings, protected by a shelter belt of trees, and beautified by shrubs and perennials" (VII(7), p. 3). The remainder of the article dealt with community civics programmes in Ontario, New Zealand, the United States, and England.

Imperial identity was officially promulgated by the Department through a number of mechanisms, including essay contests, films, and the promotion of royal visits. For example, in 1921, a short article in the *Western School Journal* by the League of the Empire advertised books for sale on Imperial history that were written for teachers and for students. Lord Meath's Empire Day Challenge cups and the League of the Empire prizes were awarded through Empire Day essay competitions open to every school in the British Empire. The 1921 senior competition asked students to write on the great ideals of the British Empire, illustrated with historical and contemporary examples. The Overseas League offered films that dealt with all aspects of life in the British Empire through the Department of Education's Visual Education Branch. The Royal Empire Society during the 1940s and 1950s offered essay competitions with "a view to encouraging the progress of Imperial Studies in the schools of the Empire, and among the children of British

subjects generally” (*Manitoba School Journal*, II(10), p. 17). In 1954, the Royal Empire Society essay contest included the rhetorical question: “Do you agree that the British Commonwealth and Empire is getting stronger rather than weaker?” (*Journal*, XVI(1), p. 11). Royal visits received great attention in the *Manitoba School Journal*. Deputy Minister Robert Fletcher helped organize children from rural Manitoba to come to Winnipeg to see the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on May 24, 1939. Following the death of King George VI in February 1952, the Department, in May 1953, dedicated not less than eleven pages to the pending June coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

Nevertheless, it was the patriotic celebration of Empire Day that remained a constant reminder of Imperial ties. Empire Day was started in 1902 by the 12<sup>th</sup> Earl of Meath and this event continued officially in Canada until 1953, when the federal government changed the name to Citizenship Day to better reflect a more nationalist viewpoint. For over fifty years, the Department of Education spoke to this patriotic event in which the British Empire and Canada, as a part of the Empire, were celebrated. To ensure that schools got the Imperial message, Departmental officials developed and sent to each school an *Empire Day* booklet that contained a program of patriotic celebrations that could be followed in every school. Further, the *Western School Journal* and the *Manitoba School Journal* always had at the very least a notice of Empire Day, and, during the Depression when there were insufficient funds, and during WWII when there was insufficient paper to publish a separate booklet, the two journals printed the program for the celebration. Patriotic events for Empire Day were normally scheduled for a school morning and were held immediately before the Victoria Day holiday each May.

Empire Day events aimed to build a strong uplifting patriotic feeling. The 1920 program, for example, had descriptions of the expected ideal student character in the Empire, including physical, intellectual and moral attributes. In the ideal community, the relationship of rich and poor, urban and rural was to be discussed, as was how the community could be improved. Students were expected to explain the role of Canada and Manitoba in the Empire and the requirement for cooperation among the many nations in the Empire. In their discussion of the Empire and the World, teachers were expected to encourage discussion of Britain's role and Britain's "protection, enlightenment, missionary effort" (*Western School Journal*, XV(1), p. 122). The summative statement was particularly revealing:

Each individual developed.

Each community friendly.

Each dominion flourishing.

The Empire united.

The Empire leading the world. (p. 122)

In the 1938 Empire Day message, Deputy Minister Robert Fletcher harkened back to the words of the late Dr. R. S. Thornton, Minister of Education, who, for the 1922 Empire Day, spoke of a less Imperialistic celebration, indicating that students should be thinking not only Canadian but also internationally: "The dominant thoughts of this Empire Day should be the development of ideals of Canadian citizenship, harmony within the Empire, and peace, good-will and understanding with other nations" (*Western School Journal*, XXXIII(5), p. 138).

In March 1927, the Empire Day message quoted Prime Minister King who described the evolution of Canada from colony to near-independent Dominion, stating: “The essential feature of the Imperial situation today is the transformation of what was formerly an empire in the old sense into a league of free and equal nations” (*Western School Journal*, XXII(3), p. 97).

The May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1938, programme offered schools four similar but slightly different versions of the celebration. Programme No.1 started with the singing of O Canada; readings from “Empire Builders,” that is, highlighting the lives of those selected by the teacher; a stirring patriotic song by a visiting singer; a speaking engagement on the meaning of Empire Day by a visiting citizen; raising the flag and march pass; the singing of a selected patriotic song; a reading on La Verendrye by an older pupil; and, closing with the singing of God Save the King (*Western School Journal*, XXXIII(5), pp. 138-149). Following the outlines of the programmes on Empire Day, the Department provided a patriotic study unit on La Verendrye, “The first pathfinder of the West,” written by G. W. Bartlett, Ph. D., Inspector of Schools.

The refocussing of Empire Day away from the Empire continued during WWII. In 1944, C. K. Rogers, Acting Superintendent of Education for the province, while reasserting the patriotic nature of Empire Day and the role of Britain in fighting against tyranny, chose to focus on the role of Canada in the war, highlighting the war work of Canadian men and women, the fighting at Dieppe and Hong Kong, and the ultimate sacrifices of many as evidenced on daily casualty lists (*Manitoba School Journal*, VI(9), p. 4). In his May 1945 message, Rogers spoke of the pending victory of the Allied forces.

After describing the various nations in the world who came to Canada to train for war, Rogers stoically gave a positive outcome of the fighting:

This war with all its horror and destruction will not have been entirely in vain if it has brought the peoples of the earth closer together, and to the realization that they have so much in common that they can no longer live apart. (*Manitoba School Journal*, VII(9), p. 4)

The Empire Day programme that followed Rogers' message contained a request from the Department that every school should have a patriotic programme, the culmination of a student's good citizenship activities during the year.

Empire Day patriotic messages continued during the latter part of the 1940s, but it was not until 1950 that the school calendar, printed in the *Journal*, contained an entry for January 20<sup>th</sup> as Citizenship Day, and a request that teachers use the Department's patriotic exercises booklet. May 23<sup>rd</sup> was also identified as Empire Day.

For 1952, under the banner of C. K. Rogers, the Department provided an Empire Day programme in April with two scripts written by Rae Tooke, a grades 1-5 student in Normal School. The first script was entitled "What is a Canadian." Six Canadian citizens and citizens of the Commonwealth, boys pretending to be adults, described where they came from (Poland, Scotland, China, Italy, France and Germany), what they did in life (labourer, doctor, student, merchant, mechanic and teacher), and hailed Canada's democratic way of life (the rights of free speech and freedom to worship, but with duties of speaking wisely, acting wisely and choosing our leaders wisely). The second script was entitled "The Commonwealth;" students presented performances from the Dominions of the Commonwealth.

In May 1951, R. O. MacFarlane, Deputy Minister of Education, and C. K. Rogers, Chief Inspector for the Department, indicated that the focus of May 23, which had been Empire Day for some 50 years, should now emphasize Canadian citizenship, its advantages and responsibilities. They went on to explain that Prime Minister St. Laurent, with the agreement of provincial ministers, had, in April 1950, proposed that May 23 patriotic services “be observed both in schools and by public-spirited organizations in order that we may become more deeply conscious of our own citizenship and all that it implies” (as cited in the *Manitoba School Journal*, XII(9), p. 3). In 1951, St. Laurent stated for May 23 that

    this Canada of ours is no ordinary nation. Made up as it is of people of different languages, cultures and religious beliefs, it stands today as a great example of what can be accomplished as a result of a deep respect for and tolerance of the rights and opinions of others. If the world is to have a really secure peace, if countries are to live in harmony, these conditions will come about only through genuine understanding and the development among nations of the kind of partnership we have developed here in Canada, and through which we have made Canada a great and united country. (p. 3)

In emphasizing citizenship, St. Laurent addressed not only rights and responsibilities, but also belonging. The Citizenship Day programme printed in the *Journal* for 1951 included the Oath of Allegiance to Canada, a Prayer of Unity, the Credo of a Canadian, What is a Canadian, and the singing of “This Canada of Ours.” This type of patriotic programme continued during the 1950s, except that, in 1958, the federal government changed Citizenship Day from May 23 to the Friday before the legal

observance of Victoria Day. The last Empire Day message, from the Earl of Gowrie, was printed in the *Manitoba School Journal* in May 1953.

In 1959, Citizenship Day was celebrated on May 15 and the April *Manitoba School Journal* printed an article by Manitoba educator Dr. L. A. Glinz, Liaison Officer in Manitoba for the Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration on the topic, "The Meaning of Citizenship." He reminded teachers and students that it was only recently, in 1947, that Canadian citizenship became recognized internationally; until then, all were British subjects living in Canada. Glinz provided three meanings of citizenship: based on rights and responsibilities, the essentials of democracy, and the relationship with the community. Regarding the latter meaning, Glinz indicated that in Hamiota or Brandon, in the towns or the schools, there are good, and there are weak citizens, and quoted Professor Klein that "it is the ability to live with people. Citizenship is being a good neighbor. Citizenship is Christian principles in action. Citizenship implies participation in one's neighborhood and community affairs" (as cited in the *Manitoba School Journal*, XX(8), p. 15). This was, of course, a continuation of the community civics concept of the 1920s. Glinz ended the article reminding teachers that *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* (1956) was a good source for ideas on the conception of the public good.

In addition to the patriotic nature of Empire Day and then Citizenship Day, Remembrance Day, while only briefly mentioned in the *Western School Journal*, received regular attention in the *Manitoba School Journal*. In the third issue of its first volume (November 1938), Education Minister Schultz spoke to the war-like pall hanging over Europe and compared it the social and political climate of Canada, "a young nation,

free of ancient prejudices, devoid of envy, lacking nothing more and desiring nothing more than an opportunity to live in amity and friendship with all men" (*I(3)*, p. 2). The Minister cited the International Peace Garden in the Turtle Mountain district of southern Manitoba and northern North Dakota, where both the United States and Canada have pledged peace, friendship and mutual understanding. He beseeched both teachers and students to learn more of the International Peace Garden as part of their patriotic duty for the 1938 Remembrance Day.

Remembrance Day ceremonies through the 1950s were recommended to be about an hour long on each November 11 after which students were to be dismissed. These ceremonies focussed on a combination of honouring the ultimate sacrifice of those who had given their lives to keep the peace; understanding why men fought in the two world wars; and a national observance of peace, freedom and a democratic way of life for which Canadian soldiers had fought.

Patriotism, however, was not reserved solely for Remembrance Day, Empire Day, Citizenship Day and visiting Royalty. Articles appeared in both journals to officially remind teachers and students first of patriotism to the Empire and, later in the Era, to Canada. In 1927, an article in the *Western School Journal* asked readers to consider the unifying factor in the numerous nationalities that were part of the British Empire. The answer was patriotism, an examination of loyalty to the institutions that enshrined freedom with the limitation that, in the exercise of this freedom, it not impede the freedom of others. The anonymous writer went on to state that the objective was to develop patriotism to the British form of government, both central and local, as well as loyalty to the King-Emperor. "If patriotism is taught from this point of view as a

revelation of an Imperial ideal which represents democracy at its highest,” contended the writer, “children will be immune from ‘disloyal and revolutionary propaganda’” (*XXII*(6), p. 234).

Since understanding government was still a key part of national identity, the editors of the *Manitoba School Journal* began an irregular series in the *Journal* entitled “Know Your Government.” In January 1945, a one-page spread listed cabinet ministers of the Dominion government with their responsibilities; in March 1945, members of the executive council of the government of Manitoba were listed along with the members of the Legislative Assembly; and, finally, in April 1950, a two-page list of cabinet ministers in the Dominion government, provincial premiers, and cabinet ministers for the Manitoba government were provided.

The international perspective as part of civics was a regular feature throughout the 40-year period under study. In 1922, an Education Department official wrote an article describing the work of Japanese peace workers who submitted “school textbooks to a critical examination, with a view to rooting out sources of international prejudice, ignorance and hatred” (*Western School Journal*, *XVII*(2), p. 62). They had requested that the League of Nations convene an international education conference to promote peace and friendship amongst nations, that would “effectively counteract the hidden forces tending toward imperialism and militarism” (p. 62). While there was no indication that such a conference ever took place, there is some evidence to suggest that school history textbooks in many nations were revised to include the League of Nations. The anonymous author of a 1926 article in the *Journal* indicated that Dr. Mack Eastman’s

*World Progress*, a prescribed high school history textbook in British Columbia and Alberta, had added the League to the closing chapter.

Internationalism was on the minds of government officials. *A New World or the League of Nations*, developed by the League of Nations Society in Canada, was authorized by the Advisory Board in 1927 as supplementary reading in grade 10 history and was sent free of charge to schools in the province. In 1934, W. A. McIntyre, Principal of the Normal School, wrote a short article on the League indicating that while it was having severe trouble with some nations, “yet it is the world’s only hope” (*Western School Journal*, XXIX(10), p. 315). He beseeched schools to talk to their students about the successes and benefits of the League, rather than its failures and the “greediness and squabbling” of some of its members. The last article that appeared on the League of Nations was in January 1939 wherein the Department of Education indicated that all schools should have access to materials on the League, and, to this end, printed a list of contemporary material on the League in the *Manitoba School Journal*.

In March 1945, the official discourse on internationalism, as found in the *Journal*, resumed, but now focussed on the fledgling United Nations. Drawing from material published by the California State Department of Education, officials of the Manitoba Department of Education created a study in world friendship through the process of asking students in social studies at the elementary, junior and senior high levels to undertake a variety of activities on the United Nations that would lead to the development of a flag and a symbol for that body.

The United Nations was created on October 24, 1945, with a charter to maintain world peace and security, by force if necessary. UNESCO would be its organization to

solve problems in the areas of education, science and culture. J. C. Dryden's Ministerial message to schools in January 1946 indicated that the UN was recommending that October 24 be declared an international holiday, United Nations Day. The following month, the Department sent all secondary schools a copy of the *Report on the United Nations Conference on International Organization* (April 25, 1945), the conference that had led to the founding of the UN.

The first United Nations Day celebrated in schools in Manitoba was held on October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1952, wherein the Department provided schools, via the *Journal*, with a programme for observing this special day. Some of the twelve activities listed included identifying the reasons for the creation of the UN, preparing a pageant on the first seven years of UN action, and decorating a classroom to demonstrate how the UN brings nations together "in peace, as good neighbours." After 1952, United Nations Day programmes regularly appeared in the *Journal*.

The culmination of civics and citizenship for this Era in terms of national identity was evidenced by the work of Dr. J. M. Brown, Director of Curriculum in Manitoba from 1949 to 1957. He wrote a small pamphlet – *Curriculum in the Province of Manitoba* – available from Copp, Clark Publishing, indicating that the programme of studies for Manitoba had two main objectives: broad literacy and democratic citizenship. Citizenship education, he contended, had four major elements, including "citizenship in the home and school," "citizenship and the community," "national citizenship" and "world citizenship" (1956, p. 5). Brown then provided an example of the interrelatedness of the teaching of subject content and civics in the home and school component:

in teaching children how to solve a particular type of problem in arithmetic, the

teacher is concerned with developing accuracy and speed in arithmetical calculations as aspects of literacy, but she must at the same time be equally concerned with the development of honesty and integrity in solving problems.

(pp. 5-6)

Brown's 1956 conception of civics represented a culmination of the evolutionary developments of civics dating back to the 1920s. While national identity continued to have a strong focus on the study of local, provincial and national governments, there would now also be an equally solid examination of world government, world citizenship. Further, the study of community, with its myriad of services, was now a fundamental component of civics, as was the expectation that the student had the responsibility to contribute to that community.

Other elements of civics and citizenship including belonging, rights and responsibilities received some official attention during the 40-year period under study.

Assimilation as part of national identity was still present during the entire period, but was definitely muted. Canadian identity was emerging. For the first time, there was incipient acceptance of belonging, at the opposite end of national identity on Gagnon and Page's (1999) axis.

An article in the 1939 issue of the *Journal* by its civil servant editor, H. B. Hunter, described the cultural resources of Manitoba, focussing on the origins of the main ethnic groups. Hunter (1939) indicated that, in coming issues, there would be articles that sketched the cultural contributions of various groups, written by leaders in the ethnic communities. Hunter stated that

a distinct Canadian culture can be built up on the thoughts, ideals, and efforts of

men and women who consciously strive out of their daily toil and leisure, to achieve a set of cultural values which we may proudly hand down to succeeding generations. (*Manitoba School Journal*, II(1), p. 13)

With the exception of the first article on the English contribution, none of the ethnic groups written about had ever been previously acknowledged in the citizenship columns of either the *Western School Journal* or the *Manitoba School Journal*.

A further acceptance of belonging began in the 1940s. The October 1940 Education Minister's message described a new feature for the *Manitoba School Journal*, "inspirational biographies" of pioneer men and women in Manitoba, said to be valuable to students in their understanding of good citizenship in action. Two of the featured seven pioneers were women. The voice of women was also found in a later biographical series entitled "Great Citizens of Manitoba" and "Great Citizens of Canada," previously discussed in the unofficial literature of the Era. This official belonging of "women" was an important first step to inclusionary citizenship because these biographies were an official acknowledgement that there were "important" women in Manitoba's and Canada's past. Minister Dryden (1940) stated that these "center-spread articles" would be a "distinctive feature" of the new *Manitoba School Journal* (X(1), p. 2).

It was the patriotic and educational duty of teachers to assist immigrant children, who, with their parents, were flooding into Canada in the post-WWII period. Deputy Minister Macfarlane and Chief Inspector Rogers commented in 1948 that "it is the special duty of educators to assist them [*immigrant children*] to a knowledge of our language and the Canadian way of life without which they cannot be fully at ease in the land of their adoption" (*Manitoba School Journal*, X(3), p. 3). As the Honourable C.

Rhodes Smith, Minister of Education, stated the following year in, the new conception of citizenship, assimilation was no longer the main objective. The framework of democracy was now “to train citizens capable of making their own decisions and shaping their own ends” and included qualities of “human sympathy, social imagination and a capacity for foreseeing the practical implications of a suggested policy” (*Manitoba School Journal*, X(8), p. 2).

Rights and responsibilities received some official attention in the *Manitoba School Journal*. With the passage on December 10, 1948, of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the United Nations General Assembly asked member states to promote the Declaration and “to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on political status of countries or territories” (*Journal*, 1949, XI(2), p. 21). The Declaration stated the organization’s view that human rights should be guaranteed to all people, including the right to life, liberty and security of the person; the right to an education; the right to employment and protection against unemployment; the right to participate fully in cultural life; freedom from torture or inhumane treatment or punishment; the right of freedom of thought, conscience and religion; and freedom of expression and opinion.

It is with some irony that, although John P. Humphrey, a Canadian, headed the human rights secretariat for the United Nations at the time and wrote the draft of the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights*, External Affairs Minister Lester Pearson initially abstained from voting on the Declaration, declaring that there were concerns related to infringing provincial affairs. Three days later, Canada changed its position and voted in favour of the Declaration. Schabas (1998) has reviewed the archival documents

of that period and contended that the real reason was that “there was simply no ‘human rights culture’ within the Department of External affairs” and that, in fact, external affairs officials “viewed the Declaration as a troublesome impediment and a rather hollow gesture” (p. 441).

It was not until eight months after the signing of the Declaration that it was acknowledged in the *Manitoba School Journal* with a page that outlined the main articles. No further reference was made of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the *Journal* until November 1954 when a short announcement appeared on the “Minister’s Page” that Human Rights Day was to be commemorated on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1954. Another page appeared in the *Journal* in 1954 identifying the main articles in the Declaration. It was not until 1958 that a short article on the commemoration of Human Rights Day appeared that provided a list of nine suggested topics, including “*Human Rights and the Indians. Are Indians in Canada getting a square deal?*” and “*The Declaration of Human Rights and the Canadian Bill of Rights. Does the Bill of Rights make a real contribution to further the principles in the Declaration?*” (XX(3), p. 5). For these two extremely important topics, the Department provided no guidance for teachers or students.

The citizenship concept of responsibilities began to appear as an issue during WWII. In November 1940, Education Minister Schultz addressed what he called “citizenship in action.” Stating that it was important for children to understand that we were at war, that our freedoms were in jeopardy, and that Christian civilization was on the line, he argued that, as a lesson in citizenship, students could collect funds for ambulances used in the war effort. Schultz commented: “This Department believes it is

only as responsibilities are translated into active duties requiring effort that students can realize what real citizenship involves” (*Manitoba School Journal*, 1940, *III*(3), p. 2). The Director of Technical Education, R. J. Johns (1940), in the same issue of the *Journal*, wrote a full-page article on learning citizenship through work, stating: “The most direct and satisfying route, today and tomorrow, for youth and adult to enjoy full citizenship responsibilities is through propitious, steady and useful work” (*III*(3), p. 7).

In June 1942, Acting Superintendent of Education, C. K. Rogers, reproduced part of an American report on school administration that dealt with the duties of school children in the war effort which, he contended, were the same for American children as they were for Canadian. The student’s role was two fold: first, to conserve raw materials, reduce food waste, and salvage paper, metals and rubber, as well as to develop and preserve health to ensure stamina when required; and, second, as part of citizenship responsibilities during war, to understand the war, and their privileges and responsibilities, to take care of themselves and others during emergencies, to follow the main elements of the principles of democracy in the school, and to know and serve the community (*Manitoba School Journal*, *IV*(10), pp. 5, 24).

Four months later, Rogers (1942) indicated that, while students would not be paying more income tax nor could they purchase Victory bonds, they still could undertake a number of responsibilities to assist in the war effort. This included purchasing war saving stamps, undertaking salvage work or first aid training, and taking part in Cadet training programmes. A year after the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act on January 1, 1947, Judge G. W. Morley wrote that the prime duty of every Canadian

citizen was to be fully acquainted with, and appreciative of the obligations of our system of government: municipally, provincially, nationally and internationally.

The last item to appear in the *Journal* that mentioned the responsibilities of citizenship was a very short piece that appeared on the table of contents page of the January 1950 issue. The editor identified the duties of the democratic citizen: “matches his freedoms with responsibilities;” “trusts the democratic process;” “respects people, whatever their origin;” “does more than what is asked of him;” “stands up for what he believes;” “insists on free and open debate;” “is willing to compromise;” and “respects his neighbor’s right to take a different position” (XI(5), p. 1).

In conclusion, story-line analysis revealed that there was a continuing focus on national identity as found in the 1921 to 1960 period of official discourse of the Department related to civics and citizenship. Local, practical, community civics and service were very strong in the four decades of this Era. The British Imperial identity continued to be pressed during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, but an increasing Canadian perspective was seen beginning in the 1940s and the 1950s. A strong international identity, first through the League of Nations and, then, the United Nations, remained a constant during the 40 years under study. The citizenship concepts of belonging as well as of rights and responsibilities began to appear for the first time in the 1940s and 1950s.

#### *Textbook Authorization*

The meaning of an authorized textbook for the 40 years between 1920 and 1960 remained unchanged from that of the period 1871 through 1920, that is, an authorized textbook was one that was so legally designated for the content and teaching methodology for a particular subject at a particular grade level. The *Manitoba Gazette* for

1959 provided one of the first official definitions of textbook, stating that it “means a book authorized or prescribed by the Minister by authority vested in him...under The Education Act for use as a text book” (Manitoba. *Regulation 88/59*, p. 1789). Howard Dunfield (April 2, 1980), a Manitoba school inspector for many years, contended that, prior to 1970, there were few instances where teachers were not using authorized textbooks. When he did have to inform a teacher that the text being used was not approved, the teacher made the change to the approved textbook. Dunfield also stated that, prior to 1960, the authorized textbook was, in effect, the course of study.

From its creation in 1890 to early 1937, the Advisory Board of the Department of Education evaluated textbooks submitted by publishers, individual teachers and educators, the general public, the Board’s textbook sub-committees and, later, by committees of the Manitoba Education Association, to be approved or not approved for use in schools in Manitoba. Publishers often sent manuscripts of new textbooks, indicating that they would entertain changes if the textbook were approved.

A standing committee of the Advisory Board, the Textbook Committee, made recommendations to the Board. After a reshuffling of committees in 1927, the Committee on Textbooks and School Libraries functioned in a similar manner. These subcommittees of the Board – the Textbook Committee and, later, the Committee on Textbooks and School Libraries – upon the receipt of textbooks through the mechanisms identified previously, sent the books to their textbook committees and out to individual teachers and inspectors for review and recommendation.

The authorization and deauthorization of approved textbooks was made known to schools through the annual *Programme of Studies* sent to every school in the province

and through the "Departmental Bulletin," a section found in the *Western School Journal* and, later, through the Department's own publication, the *Manitoba School Journal*. However, after the Manitoba Text Book Bureau opened in the summer of 1931, it published an annual catalogue listing every approved textbook for use in Manitoba and eventually developed a system of symbols to indicate upcoming deauthorization of certain textbooks by the Advisory Board or, after 1937, by the Minister of Education, through his Departmental staff and committees.

Legislation regarding textbooks and their use in the classroom had been passed in the period 1890 to 1920, continued during the period 1921 to 1960, although there was continuing government activity related to authorization. In 1934, a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly was created to investigate the administration and financing of schooling in Manitoba. Interviews were conducted with trustees, inspectors and teachers' organizations, and on April 12, 1935, Secretary Robert Fletcher submitted to the Advisory Board the resolutions from the Committee's *Report*. It advised

That the Advisory Board of the Department of Education be asked to continue the inquiry into the subject of the cost of school textbooks which inquiry has been commenced by this committee, and which, in the opinion of the Committee, should be continued. (PAM, G8464, p. 203)

The Advisory Board received the following instructions: 1) to review the possibility of standardizing the textbook selections in the Western provinces; 2) to eliminate the all too frequent change in textbooks; and 3) to review the possibility of publishing textbooks in Manitoba or the Western provinces. At its May 1935 meeting, the Board instructed Fletcher to investigate recommendations 1 and 3 and to report to the

Board. A Committee of the Industrial Development Board of Manitoba indicated that, while it could do the printing of Manitoba textbooks, its printers did not have the editorial staff to review and revise textbooks, nor did it have the equipment to bind hard cover textbooks.

A subsequent meeting of representatives of other Western provinces indicated that a joint editorial board would be able to handle books only from the West; they wanted to choose the best textbooks in Canada but had no money to spend on an editorial board. Fletcher reported to the Advisory Board that there continued to be cooperation with the Western Provinces on some textbooks (Readers and Mathematics), with the possibility of health and physical education in the future. He also reported that printers in the Western provinces and Manitoba printers, were neither interested in establishing an editorial board, nor in funding binding equipment. In summary, then, while some small soft-covered textbooks could be published and sold in Manitoba through the Manitoba Text Book Bureau, the majority of hardcover textbooks, including history and civics, would have to come from elsewhere, typically Toronto-based publishers.

An amendment to the Public Schools Act of 1937 (*Statutes of Manitoba, 1937, Chapter 12*) ended the forty-seven years of Advisory Board control over textbook selection and authorization. The powers of the Minister of Education now included prescribing textbooks to be used in schools, authorizing the course of study, and arranging for the printing, purchase and sale of textbooks. The Advisory Board was left with one responsibility related to textbooks: it had authority to approve textbooks before they were authorized. There is no recorded instance in which the Advisory Board rejected a proposed textbook authorization submitted by the Minister.

Interestingly, five days before the passage of Chapter 12 on April 17, 1937 in which the powers of the Advisory Board were removed, the Legislative Assembly approved the creation of a Select Special Committee whose task it was to study and report on the selection and price of school textbooks. This Special Committee reported in April 1939 and was highly critical of some of the actions of both the Advisory Board and Fletcher regarding the costs that accompanied the all too frequent changes in textbook authorization. The Committee was reassured by Departmental staff that the new policy was “bargaining before authorization” (Manitoba. *Journals*, April 17, 1939, p. 246) and that there would be no conflict of interest between those selecting books and those writing books.

The Minister of Education, through the Department, now managed the approval of textbooks, including history and civics. In the 1954 *Revised Statutes of Manitoba*, the Education Act, under the powers of the minister, stated that this person had the authority to “prescribe the text book to be used” and “prescribe the courses of study” (*Statutes of Manitoba*, Chapter 67, p. 1016). In the revised Public Schools Act, teachers in schools and districts were required to take care of text books (p. 1000); ensure that “no unauthorized books are used;” (p. 1062) and face conviction before a justice of the peace if found to have willfully substituted an unauthorized textbook for an approved text book (p. 1075). Thus, the Department had restated its position on textbooks, confirming the textbooks’ continuing legitimacy and providing punishment should unauthorized textbooks be used.

The province amended the Public Schools Act in 1958 establishing a legislative grant that covered the complete costs of textbooks, provided they were authorized by the

minister and were made available to students without charge (*Statutes of Manitoba*, Chapter 7, p. 78). Funding became available for schools to ensure that each student had appropriate books in all subject areas, including history and civics. Proof of this bonanza came from the Manitoba Text Book Bureau, increasing its annual sales by some 76.4% by June 1960 (Manitoba. *Annual Report*. 1960, p. 119).

#### *Approved Civics Textbooks*

At the beginning of the Community Life and Service Era, Jenkins' *Canadian Civics* (1909, 1918) continued to be authorized for use in elementary schools for grades 5, 6, and 7. At the secondary level, use of the Manitoba editions of *Canadian Civics* for grade 9 ended in 1919, as a new curriculum of ancient history had been introduced, replacing the course in Canadian history and civics. Advisory Board Secretary Robert Fletcher reported that, at the February 20, 1919 meeting of the Board, "the Committee of the Western Provinces had agreed to recommend the following textbooks for the public school course for use in the four Western provinces for the academic year 1919-1920" (PAM, G8462, p. 117). One of the nine textbooks listed was Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*.

For much of the 1920s, *Canadian Civics* continued to be used in the elementary program in Manitoba. However, its datedness was becoming evident. In the 1909 edition at the Department of Education Library, a student had written into the textbook sometime after the 1921 federal election that "The victory of Mackenzie King was won on the tariff issue" (Jenkins, 1909, p. 76).

With the implementation of the recommendations of the Review Committee for the elementary program, *Canadian Civics* was deauthorized in 1927 for student use by

grades 5, 6, and 7, followed by its deauthorization for teacher use in grades 5 and 6 later in 1927, and in 1928 for grade 7.

The minutes of the March 30, 1928, meeting of the Department of Education's Advisory Board contained an approved motion stating that the syllabus on Civics and Citizenship as recommended by the Special Committee be adopted for the ensuing school year and that the text Studies in Citizenship – McCaig be used by teachers as a reference book for the year, the whole syllabus to be brought under any necessary revision after one year trial. (PAM, G8463, p. 93)

There were no references to revisions in the later minutes of the meetings of the Advisory Board. In 1929, James McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship* was approved, according to the *Programme of Studies* for teachers of the new grade 8 Canadian history course (Manitoba. *Programme of Studies*, 1929-1930, p. 15). No longer would civics be taught in grades 5, 6 and 7, but, rather, civics would be a focus of Canadian history and civics for grade 8.

There are two known Manitoba editions of McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship*, both of which were published by The Educational Book Co. of Toronto. The first Manitoba edition was printed in 1929, with a 1925 copyright date. In all likelihood, the title had to go to a new printing by the middle of the 1930s, resulting in a second edition being published in 1936. Both editions have on the title page "authorized by the Advisory Board of the Department of Education for Use in the Public Schools of Manitoba" (McCaig, 1925, 1936). Even though the 1936 Manitoba edition of *Studies in Citizenship*

went out of print in 1941, the Department of Education decided to continue its authorization as a teacher textbook for civics in grade 8 Canadian history and civics.

McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship* had a similar pan-Canadian publishing history as did Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*. A search of the Library and Archives of Canada AMICUS database for "James McCaig" (LAC, June 30, 2007) revealed many authorized provincial editions of *Studies in Citizenship*, including British Columbia (1925, 1934), Alberta (1925, 1927, 1933, 1936), Saskatchewan (1925, 1928, 1932, 1941), Manitoba (1925, 1936), New Brunswick (1925) and Nova Scotia (1925, 1934, 1948).

In addition to McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship*, the Department of Education chose to authorize a second civics textbook for teacher use in 1941. Authored by Cecil Charles Goldring, *We Are Canadian Citizens: A Community Civics Reader for Grades VII, VIII and IX* was published in 1938 by J. M Dent and Sons, Toronto. Both *We Are Canadian Citizens* and *Studies in Citizenship* were deauthorized for teacher use in the study of civics at the grade 8 level at the end of the 1946 school year (Manitoba. Department. *Programme of Studies*, 1945-1946).

The revised programme of studies for secondary schools resulted in a new grade 10 course entitled "British history and civics." In 1927, the Advisory Board received a letter from the League of Nations Society in Canada requesting that a League publication entitled *A New World, or, The League of Nations* (1927) be authorized for use in Manitoba schools. The Advisory Board reviewed the publication and, in the minutes of the Board for October 28, 1927, a motion was carried that this pamphlet be identified as supplementary reading in history for grade 10 (PAM, G8463, p. 75.). To ensure that teachers had their grade 10 students read the book, there appeared a short piece in the

“Departmental Bulletin,” a section found in *The Manitoba Teacher*, stating: “It [*A New World...*] will not form any part of the course for examination purposes, but all students applying to write upon the Grade X examination will be required to have their teacher certify on the application form that they have read this pamphlet carefully” (December 1927, p. 3).

While not an officially approved civics textbook, *A New World, or, The League of Nations* was, nevertheless, important supplementary reading and an early acknowledgement by the Department of Education of the importance of the League of Nations, representing a strong break in the Department’s near-exclusive promotion of Imperial identity. This 47-page publication described the League as neither a government nor a debating society; rather, it was “simply a solemn agreement between sovereign states whereby they consent to limit their complete freedom of action on certain points for the greater good of themselves and of the world at large” (p. 5). It addressed the principal organs of the League, wars prevented, continuing difficult problems with several governments, assistance to racial minorities and refugees, and world health issues.

A search of the AMICUS database (LAC, June 29, 2007) revealed that there were at least five editions (1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1933), published by the Ottawa-based League of Nations Society in Canada. In all likelihood, Manitoba’s Advisory Board reviewed the 1927 edition. Chester Martin (1927), a University of Manitoba professor, wrote in a September article on the League that *A New World, or, The League of Nations* “will soon be available for every high-school teacher and student in the province” (*Western School Journal*, XXII(7), p. 239). In early 1928 the “Departmental Bulletin”

reported that this publication could now be acquired from Russell, Lang & Co. in Winnipeg for ten cents a copy plus postage.

Alfred LeRoy Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics*, published by W. J. Gage, Toronto, was approved for student use in 1930 (*Programme of Studies*, 1930-1931, p. 56) for grade 10 British history and civics. There were no less than five versions of this textbook published during its period of authorization. The Rare Book Room of the Department of Education Library holds copies dated 1930, 1931, 1941 and 1943, and a search of the Library and Archives of Canada AMICUS database for "A. L. Burt" revealed that a Canadian university library held a copy dated 1935 (LAC, June 30, 2007). All of the copies have on their title page: "Authorized by the Advisory Board of the Department of Education for use in Manitoba." Not a single word changed in any of the post-1930 editions, such that by the mid-1940s the book was quite dated.

Complaints from schools, however, to the Manitoba Text Book Bureau during 1944-1945 were more pragmatic in nature, namely the unavailability of textbooks at school opening in September, including Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics*. It was not until January 1945 that the Bureau was able to secure a supply of these civics textbooks and ship them to requesting schools. W. G. Rathwell, in the "Departmental Bulletin" section of the *Manitoba School Journal*, contended that there were two problems – the short supply of men and women once in the publishing industry, now at war, and the continuing lack of paper for the presses (*Departmental Bulletin*, January 1945, p. 19). The *Programme of Studies* for 1947-1948 indicated that *Manitoba High School Civics* was deauthorized for grade 10 British history and civics in 1948 (*Manitoba. Programme of Studies*, 1948).

Oddly enough, the *Teacher's Guide and Manitoba Text Book Bureau Price List for 1958-59* (1958) carried the 1943 *Manitoba High School Civics* as a reference book available for sale for grade 11 Canadian history. With the relegation of the British history course in grade 10 to an optional course and its replacement with geography as the core course for September 1952 (Department, *Examinations*, June 1953, p. 4), civics, formerly attached to British history, now migrated to grade 11 Canadian history. In addition to Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics*, three other civics reference texts for use in grade 11 Canadian history were being sold by the Manitoba Text Book Bureau during the period 1958 through 1961: Robert MacGregor Dawson's *Democratic Government in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949, 1957); George Victor Ferguson's *How We Govern Ourselves* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1945); and Donald C. Rowat's *Your Local Government* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1955).

Sometime in late 1944, the Departments of Education for Saskatchewan and Manitoba co-released an approved textbook for teacher use. In Manitoba, *Citizenship: Our Democracy* was intended for use with grades 1 to 8, but teachers were also informed that the book could be used for grades 9 and 10. The *Programme of Studies* for 1945-1946 indicated that this textbook was approved for use in that school year. Unfortunately, the historical record for the post-war period is incomplete such that we do not know how long the authorization lasted. During the 1940s, the Department increasingly published programmes of studies only for grades 7 to 12 or 10 to 12. The rationale for this orientation was likely that the curricula for these grades were changing rapidly, both in terms of course offerings and textbooks, whereas, the elementary curricula remained largely unchanged. The Manitoba Text Book Bureau did not stock this teacher textbook

as it had been freely distributed by the Department of Education to schools in the province. The end result is that we do not know the duration of the authorization period of *Citizenship: Our Democracy*.

By 1946, there was no authorized teacher civics textbook for grade 8 history and civics and, by 1947, there was no authorized student civics textbook for grade 10 British history. Schools, however, must have faced a rather practical problem both for grade 8 and grade 10 history and civics. In all likelihood, *Studies in Citizenship, We Are Canadian Citizens* and *Manitoba High School Civics* continued to be used by teachers and students while school supplies lasted. One can also speculate that the Department of Education must have been looking for replacements for these civics textbooks. Perhaps, as a result of the failure to find appropriate civics textbook titles in post-war Canada, the Department of Education set out to research, write, print, authorize and sell to schools its own legitimated knowledge in the form of a new civics textbook. In fact, in February 1954, the Hon. W. C. Miller, Minister of Education, commented that, in the social studies programme, “where the student learns the nature and the needs of the society in which he lives,” there was a missing piece related to “the study of the government institutions through which the modern democratic state fulfils its functions” (*Manitoba School Journal*, XV(6), p. 3). Miller went on to state that the Departmental staff was considering a solution to this problem.

The apparent result was the release in 1956 of *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* that stated on its title page “authorized by the Minister of Education” and contained civics information for grades 1 through 12. Unfortunately, much of our history of this textbook has been lost. Since this text was sold through the province’s official

printer, and not through the Manitoba Text Book Bureau, the normal printed information found in the annual Manitoba Text Book Bureau catalogues regarding authorization and deauthorization is unavailable. The Manitoba King's, and, after 1953, the Queen's Printer, did not keep any records on any one item that it published or sold.

During the school year 1955-1956, work continued on the development of the *Manual* with a large committee of five teachers, two principals, one professor, a student-at-law and a teacher from the Normal School, along with authorities of the government including the Director of Curriculum, the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, the Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs and an Inspector of Schools. Dr. J. M. Brown, the Director of Curriculum, with some assistance from committee members, was the primary writer of the document, thereby insuring that only official knowledge made its way into the publication. The *Manual* had a three-fold purpose:

to present in concise form the basic concepts of democracy as a way of life and a form of government; to provide a source book on civics and citizenship; and to suggest activities through which a programme of civics and citizenship can be carried out more effectively in our schools. (Manitoba. *Annual Report*, 1955-1956, p. 133)

A copy of the *Manual* was sent to every school in the province in November 1956, with a request from the Department that it be kept in the school library, and that "it is not to be taken away from the school" (*Manitoba School Journal*, XVIII(3), November 1956, p. 5). The contents of the *Manual* emphasized the two foundation of civics, the study of government and community civics. The spiral curriculum approach was used again with the student starting the study of civics in the home and school, to the

community, to the province, to the government of Canada, and, finally, in grade 12, to the study of international government, including the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Colombo Plan. The manual provided activities for the implementation of practical citizenship in schools.

The *Annual Report* for the Department for 1956-1957 indicated that individuals and organizations interested in the teaching of civics in Manitoba, Canada and internationally, had responded favourably to the document. The Minister of Education for New Brunswick requested and received permission to adapt the *Manual* for use in New Brunswick schools.

For the province's Commercial Programme, the Department created, in the 1956-1957 school year, an optional grade 12 history course entitled Democratic Government in Canada 3. The authorized textbook used between 1956 and 1967 was Robert MacGregor Dawson's (1949, 1957, 1963 and 1964) *Democratic Government in Canada*. This was the same text identified as reference material for Canadian history 200.

*Reflections of Citizenship and Citizenship Education in  
Authorized Civics Textbooks*

The authorship of the six approved civics textbooks (twelve editions) used during the 40-year period under study are examined to assist in a determination of the social interests that were reflected in their interpretations of civics. Also analysed is each edition of twelve civics textbooks – McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship* (1925, 1936), Goldring's *We Are Canadian Citizens* (1938), Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics* (1930, 1931, 1935, 1941, 1943), Manitoba and Saskatchewan Departments of Education *Citizenship: Our Democracy* (1944), the Manitoba Department of Education's *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* (1956), and Dawson's *Democratic Government in Canada*

(1949, 1957) – used in schools across the province for their reflections of citizenship and citizenship education.

*Whose and What Knowledge is of Most Worth?*

James McCaig, who authored the civics textbook *Studies in Citizenship* authorized for teacher use in Manitoba schools from 1929 to 1943, had impressive qualifications. He obtained a B. A. and an M. A. from the University of Toronto, with his thesis entitled *Origin and Growth of the Canadian Constitution* (1897). He also earned a Bachelor of Laws degree, Public School Certificate, Principal's Certificate and Public School Inspector's Certificate. McCaig taught in public and high schools in Ontario, was the head of Lethbridge Schools, Alberta, for six years, was briefly a provincial inspector for the Edmonton District, was vice-principal of the Calgary Normal School and was elected to the Senate of the University of Alberta in 1908.

Hired in 1906, McCaig became the first superintendent of the Edmonton Public Schools and was described as “a highly-qualified educator and an active member of two provincial curriculum committees at the time of his appointment” (<http://compass.epsb.net/15/Nov2004/index2.html>, October 11, 2006). The 1906 annual report for Edmonton Public School Board recorded McCaig as stating: “The ultimate end of school work is character building. The work of the school should result in a heightening of the intelligence accompanied by a fostering of imperative impulses toward honesty and useful service” (as cited in Kostek, 1992, p. 76). McCaig resigned from Edmonton Public Schools in 1913 and died in 1921.

McCaig wrote extensively, with many editions of his civics book being used across Canada long after his death, but he also wrote books on Alberta agriculture for use in that province's schools. As a scholar, educator and academic his elite status in

Canadian society of the time would have contributed directly to his republican or elite understanding and perpetuation of the existing social and political structure of Canada through civics. His interpretation of civics would have been very consistent with that of provincial governments across Canada.

Cecil Charles Goldring, who authored the civics textbook *We Are Canadian Citizens*, authorized for teacher use between 1941 and 1946 in Manitoba schools, was born in Whitby, Ontario, on August 28, 1892, and educated at Queen's and Toronto universities, holding a LL. D. (1957), M. A. (1920) and D. Paed (1924). He had been involved with schools in Toronto since 1912, as teacher, principal, inspector of schools from 1927 to 1932, as superintendent of schools for thirteen years and as director of education from 1945 to 1958. His publications included *We Are Canadian Citizens: A Community Civics Reader for Grades VII, VIII and IX*, which was authorized for use in Manitoba; *Intelligence Testing in a Toronto Public School*; *Oral Arithmetic for Grades 3 to 7*; *A Forward Look at the Toronto School System*; *Canadian Citizenship*; and *The Canadian Story: Grade VII*. Goldring was president of the Canadian Education Association in 1952-1953 and was an active member of the Empire Club of Canada, serving as its president in 1955-1956. When created in 1903, the object of the Empire Club was to support a strong Imperial relationship with Britain. While this focus had diminished significantly by the 1950s, it was, nevertheless, still present in the Empire Club. Goldring's social interests were definitely elite in nature and his republican interpretation of civics was consistent with that of the provincial government.

Alfred LeRoy Burt, author of *Manitoba High School Civics* authorized for student

use between 1930 and 1948, was born in Listowel, Ontario, in 1888 and was educated at the University of Toronto and at Oxford. He joined the University of Alberta history department in 1913 and became its head in 1920, moved to the University of Minnesota in 1930 and retired in 1957. Burt was a prolific writer, primarily of Canadian history, with no less than 14 history books with Canadian, American and British publishers (LAC, July 1, 2007). He died in 1971.

While most of his literary output was of a scholarly nature, Burt also wrote for the school community. In 1928 he authored *High School Civics: A Brief Treatment of the Civics Section of History 3* which was published by the School-Book Branch of the Saskatchewan Department of Education. Even though there is no direct evidence, it is likely that the Advisory Board for the Manitoba Department of Education noticed his Saskatchewan title and asked if he would write a similar book for use in Manitoba schools. Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics*, published by W. J. Gage in 1930, was authorized for use in grade 10 British history and civics until 1948. Burt also wrote *Romance of the Prairie Provinces* (1930) which was used in Manitoba for a short time in the late 1930s as a reference book in history for grades 7 to 12. Burt was a member of the elite in Canada and generated a civics with a strong republican orientation.

Dr. J. M. (John Melville) Brown, who did most of the writing for *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* (1956), became the Director for Curriculum for the Manitoba Department of Education in the latter part of 1949. The "Report of the Deputy Minister" found in the Department's *Annual Report* for 1950 indicated that Dr. Brown brought "academic achievement" and "teaching experience," including an M. Ed. in 1941 from the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba and, in 1948, a Ph. D. in

education from California's Leland Stanford University. Brown had been a teacher in a Manitoba one-room school and in various-sized high schools as well as a provincial school inspector and Assistant Principal at the Provincial Normal School. In 1956, he wrote *Curriculum in the Province of Manitoba*, published by Copp, Clark as part of its series, "Study Pamphlets in Canadian Education."

On September 15, 1956, Brown left the employ of government and took a teaching position at the Manitoba Teacher's College. After the 1965 reorganization of the College as the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, Brown served as its Dean until 1974. Soon after his arrival at the Manitoba Teacher's College, Brown and L. D. Baker began to co-publish a series of school civics textbooks, including *Citizens at Home: A Text Workbook for Grade One* (1958); *Citizens at School: A Text Workbook for Grade Two* (1958); *Citizens in the Community: A Text Workbook* (1958); and several versions of *Civics and Citizenship: A Sourcebook for Schools* (1960; Alberta edition, 1961, 1966; British Columbia edition, 1961), all of which were published by the Regina-based School Aids and Text Book Publishing Company (LAC, July 1, 2007). Brown's experience with *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship in Schools*, must have facilitated his involvement with and writing of the four civics textbooks published in Regina and sold throughout Western Canada and British Columbia. In fact, the 1961 Alberta edition of *Civics and Citizenship* acknowledges in the "Foreword" its indebtedness to the Manitoba Department of Education.

Thus, Brown was an academic, educator and scholar, well versed in the operation of government and the value of the teaching of civics in elementary and secondary schools. His background was definitely that of the elite academic. At the same time, he

had a clear picture of the pragmatic element of teaching. Brown was also a provincial civil servant who would have clearly understood that only the state's official account of civics would be accepted and prescribed by the Manitoba Department of Education.

While Brown wrote *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools*, there was no clear picture of the authorship of the earlier civics textbook *Citizenship: Our Democracy*. What was clear, however, was that this textbook was written by officials of the Departments of Education in Saskatchewan and Manitoba during the War period. These government officials would certainly have created what can only be described as the authorized version of civics.

Robert MacGregor Dawson (1895 to 1958) was the author of *Democratic Government in Canada* (1949, 1957), used as a civics textbook for a special grade 12 history course for commercial programme students. Dawson was one of Canada's leading political scientists, having been educated at Dalhousie University, receiving a Master's degree in 1916; at Harvard, an A. M. degree; and from the University of London School of Economics and Political Science, an M. Sc. and a D. Sc. both in economics. He taught at Dalhousie, Rutgers, the University of Saskatchewan, and then the Department of Political Economy at the University of Toronto in 1937. He died in 1958. G. E. Wilson, writing on Dawson's life, indicated that he was a great teacher and scholar, and "was an ardent Canadian nationalist. Never an imperialist, he saw with the greatest satisfaction Canada grow from colony to a nation" (1959, May, p. 211). *Democratic Government in Canada* presented a classical, republican-oriented study of the operation of the Canadian government at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Dawson, an elite academic, educator and scholar, wrote a text that was factually accurate and understandable, and

representative of his social interests of stability and reverence for democratic institutions. His approach was institutional and linear, not unlike the republican model used by Jenkins in his 1910 *Canadian Civics* textbook.

Critical social theorists, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991b), and Apple and Franklin (1990b) remind us that textbook knowledge presents the social interests of some group or groups. Thus, for two of the civics textbooks approved for use in Manitoba schools during the 40-year period under study, the authorship was, in fact, civil servants who were entrusted/required to provide the authorized version of civics that the provincial governments of the time wanted disseminated in schools. The remaining three textbooks were authored by individuals who were all academics, educators and writers representing the social interests of the elite class in Canadian society, whose civics knowledge could easily be endorsed by Manitoba's provincial governments of the time. Through this republican interpretation of citizenship students were said to become informed, knowledgeable voters; that the business of government was in the hands of a select group of qualified people; and to become strongly loyal to the state.

*Notions of Citizenship: The School Subject of Civics*

In this section, I analyse the six approved civics textbooks (12 editions) used during the 40-year period under study. Mode of citizenship presentation, Range of citizenship topics, and Citizenship concepts formed the framework of the analysis.

*Mode of citizenship presentation.* Under this topic, examination is made of the institutional approach versus the study of the social/political roles of individuals, and static versus dynamic version of government. The story-line analysis indicated that a variety of modes of presentation were utilized in the civics textbooks under study,

including the study of civics through government institutions at the school, municipal, provincial, national, and international levels; the study of community civics and of the roles of individuals in society; and, lastly, a combination of these two models of citizenship representation. Community civics was clearly a strong move away from the more institutional approach that dominated the period 1910 to the late 1920s.

McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship* concentrated on community civics and was authorized for use in Manitoba for grade 8 Canadian history and civics. McCaig contended it was through the government that many community services were provided: "Government is simply ourselves working with all the other members of the community for the common good" (1925, p. 21). Public health, public education, security of life and property, public works, the postal system, national defence, and public morals are all part of community civics provided through various levels of government. Hospitals, communicable disease control, provision of parks and playgrounds, filtration of water for home use, regulations for the supply of air in buildings, inspection of milk for contamination, and the provision of sewage and garbage disposal were all elements of public health provided by government.

After describing what government did for communities, McCaig then argued that the family, the school, and the church, all helped to make good citizens. However, some members of the community needed further assistance, including crippled children, the elderly, those suffering from tuberculosis, and many who were unemployed. Men and women both gave time and money as service to welfare associations that then hired or provided people to assist, for example, in the training of the blind. Other organizations, such as the Junior Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, and Young Men's and

Young Women's Christian Associations offered boys and girls a means of providing many voluntary social services to those in need.

Thus, McCaig contended that, in addition to the three elements of life in the community – the home that promoted good habits and health; the school that developed cooperation, skills and intelligence; and the church that promoted brotherhood and service through social institutions – there was a further element, a citizen's economic or business life. To satisfy an individual's need for shelter, clothing and food as well as the aesthetic desire for books, music and automobiles, the world of work provided people with a means of meeting these private needs. McCaig commented further, however, that there remained "public needs or public services" (1925, p. 83) for schools, roads and hospitals that had to be paid for. The purpose of industry and business was primarily to serve private needs.

Following this, McCaig went into great depth describing various types of industries that provided employment that supported people's needs in their communities. After outlining the extractive industries of farming, forestry, mining, fishing, and water power, McCaig encouraged students to conserve soil resources, forests, minerals, the fisheries, natural beauty, and bird life. "Conservation is preventing the waste, not the use, of our natural resources" (1925, p. 99); it was the duty of boys and girls, men and women, and of government to be good citizens through conservation ensuring that resources would be passed on to future generations. McCaig then proceeded to describe the benefits to humanity of manufacturing, trade, transportation and communication, indicating that it was industries that "reached around the world and joined the peoples of the world into one great community of citizens dependent upon one another" (1925, p.

120). In McCaig's community civics, no place was given to the study of government institutions as had been the focus of Jenkins' civics of the earlier period.

Grade 8 students and teachers witnessed the approval of a new civics textbook in 1941 by Goldring, entitled *We Are Canadian Citizens*. This textbook described itself on the title page as "a community civics reader for Grades VII, VIII, and IX" (1938, p. v). Covering virtually the same civics content as McCaig, Goldring proceeded into an extensive examination of home, school, community and working life. What was different was that Goldring also addressed the institutional role of civics in the form of the government institutions at the school, local, provincial, Dominion, and British Empire levels. This component of his textbook was remarkably like Jenkins' civics of the earlier Era, though more condensed, and generic enough that the same textbook could be used anywhere in Canada. Thus, Goldring's civics textbook represented the first time that a multidimensional civics content was presented to Manitoba grade 8 students, provided through an examination of community civics of the progressive education movement and an early institutional perspective of the study of government bodies from the local school to internationalism.

Grade 10 students used Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics* (1930). His definition of civics was that of institutional civics, with no community civics whatsoever. Perhaps Manitoba's Advisory Board was thinking that, if the grade 8s studied community civics, institutional civics should be the appropriate content at grade 10. In effect, Burt's civics represented an updated version of much of the same content as found in Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*. Burt began the presentation of his civics content with the study of Imperial government, with some 32 pages dedicated to the examination of the British

legislature, executive, judiciary and Imperial relations with Canada. This was followed by an institutional review of the functioning of the Dominion government that provided very basic information.

A prefatory note to Burt's civics textbook stated that the last three chapters of book were written locally, and, as a result of unforeseen circumstances, Burt did not have an opportunity to review the material. The language used by the anonymous official writer of the latter part of the text was parallel to the style and prose of Burt. The latter three chapters of this civics textbook provided institutional information on the operation of Manitoba's provincial, municipal and educational government.

In 1944, the Departments of Education in Manitoba and Saskatchewan jointly released *Citizenship: Our Democracy*. This textbook was intended for teacher use in social studies and civics that was taught in Manitoba grades 2 to 8 but was also recommended for teacher use in grades 9 and 10. Democracy, according to the official writers, was not just a matter of having the qualities of sincerity, punctuality, and honesty, it was, rather, a sharing of mutual responsibilities through the "concern of each for the welfare of all others, and the recognition that the welfare of each affects the welfare of all" (Departments, 1944, p. 4). Each democratic unit, including the home, the school, the community, the province, the Dominion, the Empire and the world must strengthen "the ideals of co-operation, of freedom, of service" (p. 4).

A combination of institutional and community civics was utilized in the text to develop this view of citizenship. Living in "our democracy" was the focus of grades 1 and 2; interdependence in our democracy in grades 3 and 4; the ideal of individual

freedom in grades 5 and 6, and the ideal of service realized in our democracy was featured in grades 7 and 8, but could also be used in grades 9 and 10.

The grades 7 to 10 section of this teacher civics textbook again stressed democracy as a way of life and a form of government, and of the importance of individual freedoms, but the main component was service: "Only through service to others is the individual able to achieve a satisfactory meaning to life; only through willing service is he able to live happily and abundantly" (Saskatchewan and Manitoba Departments of Education, 1944, p. 39). Outlined for the teachers were patriotic services; institutions for service, including the home, the school and the church; and service groups, such as the Canadian Red Cross. Services provided by the Dominion and provincial governments were detailed. Teachers were also instructed to study the organization and operation of Dominion and provincial governments. At the end of this section of the textbook, was a page entitled "Democracy vs. Totalitarianism" (p. 46). Here the authors made it clear that students needed to understand their duty to maintain the democratic way of life and, for the teacher, the best method to instruct was to compare democracy with totalitarianism. Germany and Japan were identified as totalitarian states whose people enjoyed no freedom of thought, expression, or worship. Particularly interesting was the fact that Russia was also included in the totalitarian list, at a time when Russia had been fighting with the Allies against Germany.

The Manitoba Department of Education's *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* was authorized for school use in 1956. The mode of presentation was a community civics approach in grades 1 to 4 and an institutional approach for grades 5 through 12.

Grades 1 and 2 studied citizenship at the home and the school with the end being the development in students of good citizen attributes, including patriotism, loyalty, courtesy and good manners. Grades 3 and 4 focussed on community life locally and internationally. At the local level, the Department stressed how police helped to protect the community; how it was the responsibility of boys and girls to keep the community clean and to conserve its beauty and natural resources; and how good citizens respected the law and property. Good citizenship in the community meant that “no person can rightfully expect to enjoy the many privileges of community life unless he [sic] is at the same time prepared to accept the responsibilities which good citizenship involves” (Department, 1956, p. 48). One of the activities for students was to discuss the motto: “I serve.” Interestingly, the community was not just the local level, as grade 4 students also began an elementary study of the United Nations.

In grades 5 and beyond, the focus of civics and citizenship was institutional, where students used the expanding universe concept to study municipal and school government, the provincial government, the foundations of parliamentary government, government in Canada, the judiciary, Canada and external affairs, Canada and world trade, and, lastly, in grade 12, the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Colombo Plan.

Grade 12 commercial students would have studied Dawson’s *Democratic Government in Canada* (1949, 1957) for an optional history course created for the Commercial Programme beginning in 1956. Dawson’s approach was the study of Canada’s democratic institutions at the municipal, provincial and federal levels. Other

than the examination of government, there was no community civics in these two editions of his work.

The other element in the examination of the mode of citizenship presentation was that of a static or dynamic description of the workings of government. The twelve civics textbooks presented a basically static description, based on the need to preserve centuries of work by great citizens of the past. For example, Goldring's *We Are Canadian Citizens*, outlined our debt to the past: "We inherit from our forefathers our organized laws, government, and system of living in communities" and, in return, "we must learn to be good citizens of our community, our country, and the world" (1938, p. 15).

*Range of citizenship topics.* Under this topic, I examine the issues presented in civics textbooks – from local, regional and national versus international, and a homogeneous versus diverse society. My story-line analysis clearly indicated that there was a broadening of the issues discussed in civics textbooks during the Era under study. Community civics, as described in the previous section, was a new focus of progressive education that was incorporated into Manitoba's social studies from the 1930s through the 1950s, as evidenced in McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship*, where the study of the institutions of government that had dominated the Assimilation Era was no longer included.

A common civics component of each of the textbooks analysed was the examination of education or school government. McCaig (1925) took a community civics approach to the study of education and focussed on what boys and girls learned of citizenship in schools. McCaig provided a number of reasons why the public was prepared to spend so much money on a good education system: "schools do away with

ignorance, idleness, and crime, and, therefore are necessary to the order, safety, and progress of the community;” “schools teach the pupils the necessity for obedience and the great value of self-control” and “schools teach the pupils to be punctual, orderly, industrious, thorough, and persevering, and to take a pride in their work” (p. 66). Clearly, the development of good citizen qualities and a social studies program of citizenship went hand-in-hand with social regulation.

Goldring’s *We Are Canadian Citizens* took a different approach to the study of education. In one chapter, entitled “Self-Government in a School,” he utilized a community civics concept of students learning to run their school through elections and the creation of a student council, that had, in part, the responsibility of assigning monitors for the “lining and marching of the pupils, and who supervised the pupils while in the playground and the basement” (1938, p. 21). Goldring went on to describe the similarities between student self-government in a school and the operation of the government of the nation. In a later section, Goldring provided an institutional civics study of schools, complete with the role of teacher who “is in charge of the class” (p. 155), school trustees, the Department of Education, the school inspector, and the Minister of Education.

The school system was similarly part of the study of civics in each of Burt’s *Manitoba High School Civics* as well as in the Manitoba Department of Education’s *Citizenship: Our Democracy* and *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools*.

Another feature of institutional and/or community civics was the study of various levels of government. McCaig’s (1925) *Studies in Citizenship* did not examine internationalism nor did Burt’s (1930) *Manitoba High School Civics*. The first civics textbook to take a multidimensional approach, that is, to study not only the provincial and

Dominion levels of government, but also to include the international perspective on the League of Nations, was Goldring's (1938) *We Are Canadian Citizens*. Dedicating one chapter to the League, Goldring indicated that this body was to "maintain peace and to secure a better understanding among the nations of the world" (p. 231). Although he contended at the beginning of the chapter that the League was not a form of world government but rather an organization of independent nations, Goldring concluded the chapter stating "that the establishment of the League of Nations marks a definite step forward in the development of a system of international government" (p. 241). Goldring also described Canada's involvement in the League from the signing of the Covenant in 1920 to its active participation to date. He advised that "every good Canadian should be interested in the League of Nations, and say a word in support of it when the occasion arises" (p. 241).

Goldring outlined the role of the League to prevent war and its accomplishments between 1920 and 1936. In a prophetic comment, Goldring quoted H. B. Armstrong, a political observer, who wrote in 1935 that

the League's accomplishments through conference and conciliation, and through its statistical, health, financial, intellectual and other services, are beyond dispute...regardless of whether the League is able to keep Japan out of Manchuria or Italy out of Abyssinia....The will of the League is no more firm than the several wills of the Great Powers which must be its executors. (1936, p. 241)

By the time the book was authorized in Manitoba, World War II had begun, symbolizing the ultimate failure of the League to prevent war.

The Manitoba and Saskatchewan Departments of Education (1944) *Citizenship: Our Democracy* identified the study of world peace as a topic for grade 8 and 10 civics. In point form, the authors outlined the causes of war, such as the “ambitions of dictators,” “concepts of race superiority,” and the “attempts of authoritarian states to enslave free nations” (p. 44). Again, in point form, under the header “an effort to make war impossible. The League of Nations,” the writers indicated to teachers that they should describe the League’s founding, how it worked, what was accomplished, and what was not accomplished and why. The government bureaucrats were quick to point out that teachers should examine a successful League, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the good neighbour policy between Canada and the United States.

The Department’s (1956) *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* also took a multidimensional examination of government, from school to internationalism. The textbook identified in grade 4 the study of the United Nations to facilitate world citizenship; in grade 9 the role of the Department of External Affairs in promoting international understanding and Canada’s role in the world; and, for grade 12, the study of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Colombo Plan, all of which were to “promote the interest of young people in working toward permanent peace” (p. 228). NATO was formed in 1949 as a self-defence treaty to stop “the spread of Communist imperialism” (p. 255), and included, as members, Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and, later, West Germany. Manitoba students were to learn the military structure of NATO and Canada’s involvement through the Navy, Army and Air Force. The Cold War had definitely reached Manitoba.

Dawson's *Democratic Government in Canada* (1949, 1957) was essentially a study of Canadian governmental institutions at the municipal, provincial and federal levels. No mention was made of school governance or international involvement.

The second element in the study of citizenship topics is the presentation of a homogeneous or diverse society. McCaig's (1925) *Studies in Citizenship* portrayed a homogeneous society with an unstated common language, life style, culture and a number of attributes of good citizenship. There was but one occasion where McCaig described immigration to Canada, indicating that the country particularly needed farmers. However, McCaig contended that, although Canada welcomed immigrants, society also had to be protected against those immigrants who were deemed not to make good citizens. Government inspectors sorted out those who were diseased, had insufficient money so as not to become a burden on society, criminals, the insane, and those who "hold opinions that are considered dangerous to law and order" (p. 48).

In Goldring's (1938) *We Are Canadian Citizens*, he, too, presented a homogeneous Canadian society, particularly related to urban or rural community life and to the services of government and organizations. Immigrants or ethnic groups were not mentioned. Burt's (1930) *Manitoba High School Civics* also portrayed Manitoba and Canada as a homogeneous country, using the study of government institutions at all levels from municipal to Imperial as a means of governing an entire common population. Immigrants are mentioned once, with the observation that the Minister of Colonization and Immigration "is responsible for attracting and controlling immigration and establishing immigrants in the country" (p. 57). "Indians" received brief treatment: in return for handing over their lands to the government, they received other lands as

reserves. Indian tribes “ceded to the Crown their aboriginal titles and interest in the country and promised to obey the laws of the lands and maintain peace and order among themselves” (p. 69).

In a similar manner, the Manitoba and Saskatchewan Departments of Education (1944) *Citizenship: Our Democracy* and the Manitoba Department of Education (1956) *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* portrayed a homogeneous Canadian society of good government managing the affairs of the nation of good citizens. The official writers of *Citizenship: Our Democracy* briefly stated the need to examine immigration at the grade 6 level, having pupils determine the birth place of people in their families and in their communities. Teachers were advised to ensure that “the contribution of the immigrant in the past as well as what we expect him to contribute in the future should also be discussed” (p. 36). No effort was made by the writers to identify any of the ethnic groups or their contributions to the province. Nevertheless, this was an incipient attempt to identify Canada a land of immigrants, although it appeared in the civics text that they were much like everyone else. *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* presented a single society governed by the family, the church, the community, and all levels of government. Even in the study of the institutions of the government of Canada, no mention was made of the Indians. Further, no mention was made of immigrants or of the ethnic diversity of Canada. While civics textbooks tended to become more community-oriented with a focus on internationalism, the general picture painted was one of a homogeneous society.

*Citizenship concepts.* Using Gagnon and Page's (1999) model for the study of citizenship, I analyse each civics textbook for concepts of national identity and belonging, as well as rights and responsibilities.

My story-line analysis indicated that, while the identity of citizens in the country still included some reference to the strong Imperial focus of the Assimilation Era, it was greatly diminished. In fact, in McCaig's (1925) *Studies in Citizenship*, there was no identification of any involvement of Canada in the British Empire or that the latter even existed. On the other hand, Goldring's (1938) *We Are Canadian Citizens* had one chapter dedicated to the study of the British Empire. British ideals consisted of the loyalty and the strong sentiment of every citizen in the Empire to the one King: "What a thrill every British subject feels as he [sic] listens to a message broadcast to all parts of the world from London, –a message in which he hears his King's voice as distinctly as if he were in the same room with him!" (p. 226). Goldring, quoting a German author by the name of Dr. Stoye (1935) who wrote the book *The British Empire*, stated that the British "uphold the ideals of the gentleman, the teachings of fair-play and self-control" (p. 226). Goldring indicated that it was the duty of every citizen of the Empire to uphold these great British ideals.

In grade 10, Burt's (1930) *Manitoba High School Civics* provided an institutional study of Imperial government. He began by stating that Canadians have several sets of laws to follow, British, Dominion, provincial and municipal. The only exception was Quebec, where French civil law applied, but only because a British statute permitted it. All Canadian laws, argued Burt, were derived from British law; hence Imperial government was where one should begin to study how government in Canada operated.

The 1944 *Citizenship: Our Democracy* civics textbook made reference not only to the British Empire but also to the Commonwealth of Nations, asking that teachers make a clear distinction between the two. Canada was a self-governing member of the Commonwealth, whereas countries such as India, crown colonies, and protectorates were part of the more expansive Empire. Particularly interesting, however, was that, during a time of tremendous paper shortage during the war, the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan deemed it important enough to publish a 68-page civics textbook that had a coloured Union Jack on the cover, along with 15 coloured prints of various British and Dominion of Canada flags, and the Dominion's Coat of Arms. No expense was spared in the publication of this civics title, and its strong patriotic purpose both to the British Empire and Canada was abundantly clear. Finally, the 1956 *Manual* contained not a single reference to British Empire or to the Commonwealth of Nations, despite the strong international orientation of the document.

Thus, the national identity being portrayed in the civics textbooks of the period was a mixture of Imperialism, and, in other situations, none whatsoever. Nevertheless, Canadian identity was present in all of the civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools for the period 1930 to 1960.

McCaig's (1925) *Studies in Citizenship* focused on all things Canadian, from the study of the social life of communities of the home, school, the church, and of other social institutions, to the examination of the economic life of Canada, detailing its extractive and manufacturing industries as well as its trade, transportation and communication. His approach, then, was a review, supplemented by a large number of photographs of typical Canadian scenes, of the non-political and political affairs of the

nation. Civics was a means of helping students understand their country. Goldring's (1938) textbook, *We Are Canadian Citizens*, was also strongly pro-Canadian in its approach to civics, as the title suggested and contained extensive text supported by many photographs of Canadians at work and of the operation of government of the 1930s.

As has been stated earlier, Burt (1930) took an institutional approach to the study of civics, through the detailed examination of the political institutions associated with education, municipalities, the province, the Dominion and the British Empire. His textbook was very much like Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*: both had a strong dose of Imperialism set within a Canadian governmental framework.

This mid-course approach was also used in the 1944 *Citizenship: Our Democracy*. Patriotism, for example, formed a strong component of this text produced during WWII. Common to all of the programs advocated for grades 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, as well as the combination 7-8 and 9-10, was a series of patriotic Canadian and British ceremonies. "O Canada" would be sung by all pupils at attention, male students bareheaded, at the opening of school each day; "God Save the King" would be sung by all pupils at the close of school, with males similarly bareheaded. Schools were required to have students show "love for and devotion to Canada and the Empire" (Departments, p. 12) on Empire Day and the King's Birthday, Dominion Day and Remembrance Day. Information was provided on "Our Flag," the Union Jack, and the 16 steps related to flag etiquette. Specific patriotic activities for grade 4 indicated that "there will be the progressive realization of loyalty to our Nation and Empire. The spirit of true patriotism among our children is that which regards Canada and the Empire as the dearest among many lovely lands" (p. 24).

The 1956 *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* focused entirely on Canadian identity, not only through the understanding of the operation of school, municipal, provincial and federal governments, but also through a strong community approach at grades 1 to 4. W. C. Miller, Minister of Education, stated in the “Foreword” that schools had two responsibilities: “to develop broad literacy, and, to promote the development of democratic citizenship” (p. 3). He contended that it was civics that was largely missing from the broad literacy and, with that, a good understanding of the operation of government at all levels. The *Manual* addressed these shortcomings with 288-pages dedicated to the task. The Legislative Building of Manitoba, for example, received nine pages of description and photographs so as to stress the “Spirit of Progress” and the centre of government for the province.

In addition to the increasing association to Canada, national identity continued to be explored through qualities of good character. Patriotism, as mentioned earlier, was one such attribute. There were many other qualities of good character that were enunciated in several of the civics textbooks under study in this Era. McCaig’s (1925) *Studies in Citizenship* dedicated a chapter entitled “What the Citizen Owes to Himself” to articulate the components of good citizenship. Putting this in context, McCaig indicated that Canadians came from the “same stock” that created not only the greatness of the United Kingdom but also the British Empire:

It is anything but idle boasting to say that no country in the world faces a greater future than Canada, providing that we recognize that the strength of a nation rests in the character of its people, and providing that each young citizen brings to the nation such character as adds to its strength. (p. 160)

These attributes of good citizenship included recognizing right and wrong, living cleanly, avoiding of the evils of gambling, thrift, temperance, honesty, high ambition, and reverence.

The concluding chapter to Goldring's (1938) *We Are Canadian Citizens* identified one main characteristic, the importance of an informed public opinion. The citizen was expected to vote based on his/her examination of information on the individuals running for government, stating that "a good citizen will try to be impartial and will consider a question from various angles in order that with a knowledge of all the factors involved, he [sic] may form his opinion concerning the proper procedure" (p. 248).

While Burt's (1930) *Manitoba High School Civics* did not provide any formal identification of good citizenship attributes, other than the absolute need to understand the operation of government, the Department's (1944) *Citizenship: Our Democracy* highlighted patriotism as a key factor, particularly with the demands of the war that were being placed on society. The Department's (1956) *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* addressed good citizenship attributes at grades 1 to 4, but described them as responsibilities, described in the next part of this study.

In the approach to citizenship, national identity, whether it be Imperial, Canadian or a mixture of both, was given a strong republican conceptualization, as evidenced through the elements of loyalty to the state, patriotism, law abiding and a strong institutional foundation where students were to understand the common operation of all levels of government.

While national identity formed one polar element on Gagnon and Page's (1999) axis, the concept of belonging, located on the other end of the axis, was only marginally

present. My analysis revealed that there was nothing said of the social, ethno-cultural and supranational belonging or dual nationality in any of the twelve civics textbooks under study. Nevertheless, McCaig's civics textbooks did briefly describe labour and trade unions while Goldring's textbook briefly outlined the needs and services provided to the handicapped. This republican notion of citizenship emphasized the common British national identity of Canadian society, where minorities and diversity were not issues.

Gagnon and Page's (1999) other citizenship axis is composed of rights on the one end, and political and civic participation at the other end. Except for Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics*, each of the other four civics textbooks addressed extensively the issue of rights, and emanating from those rights, responsibilities. Since both concepts were discussed at the same time in the textbooks, this approach was also used in the analysis of the textbooks.

The last two chapters of McCaig's (1925) *Studies in Citizenship*, entitled "What Government Owes to the Citizen" and "What the Citizen Owes to the Government," described the inter-relatedness of rights and duties, stressing that citizens often forgot that duties emanated from rights. McCaig stated: "We cannot take everything and give nothing in return. The good citizen is prepared to meet all his obligations to the community" (p. 147). The citizen's rights included protection to life and property, protection from disease, free speech, freedom to worship, freedom from false imprisonment, trial by jury, healthful surroundings and a good education. These rights were balanced by the duties of obedience to the law and respect for authority, "the distinguishing mark of a good citizen" (p. 153); paying taxes; military service; voting; office-holding; jury service; keeping healthy; and, as a student, doing the best one can do.

Goldring's (1938) *We Are Canadian Citizens* also addressed an individual's duties and privileges. The good citizen must be in some way involved with community and public life; even if the citizen was not able to run for office, he or she could still contribute to clubs and organizations that worked for the good of the community. The citizen must pay taxes to cover the cost of government, have loyalty to the four levels of government, vote, obey its laws and "to take an interest in his country, his province and his municipality" (p. 249). According to Goldring, privileges consisted of the safety of person or property, protection of health, attendance at free schools, use of recreational facilities, freedom to worship and speak freely.

In the Department of Education (1944) civics publication *Citizenship: Our Democracy*, the writers identified the duties and privileges of the citizens of the Dominion of Canada, a British democracy. The rights of the citizens included private property, protection of life and property, personal freedom, peaceable assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the protection of the law. The duties of the citizen consisted of obedience to the law, respect for authority, honouring the flag, loyalty, voting, military service, holding office, supporting churches, paying taxes, thrift, worthy use of leisure time, and aiding the poor and unfortunate. Interestingly, one of the duties was the preparation for efficient service, particularly during wartime, through "keeping healthy, by industry, by acquiring education, by adequate training for life's work, etc." (p. 42).

The 1956 *Manual* outlined many freedoms that were valued by citizens of a democratic country, including freedom of speech, the press, enterprise, private property, arrest, movement, worship, political affiliation, assembly and freedom from arrest. In

terms of responsibilities at home and school, the pupil was to show courtesy and good manners; show respect for property; play safe at home, on the streets, and at school; have good health; be honest and patriotic; have pride in good work; be kind; be a good sport; be loyal; and have strong moral and spiritual values. Citizenship in the community required helping one another; keeping the community clean, healthy and safe; practicing conservation; and respecting the law and property.

The republican approach to rights and responsibilities was illustrated in these civics textbooks. Language analysis revealed that, while rights were discussed, emphasis was placed on responsibilities that directly emanated from the rights. Students were required to perform community service both of a political and non-political nature. Non-political community participation was shown by supporting the fundamental institutions, values and laws, including honouring the flag; supporting churches; behaving in a moral fashion; helping the needy; and involving oneself in charities or good organizations. Political participation included voting, serving jury-duty, and holding office. The republican discourse presented in the majority of the civics textbooks identified service to the political and non-political community as key elements of citizenship.

#### *Reflections of Citizenship Inclusion and Exclusion*

Apple (1990) and Apple and Christian-Smith (1991a) contend that the knowledge included in textbooks is selective and political in nature. For social studies, this translates into a civics and citizenship focus that empowers some groups, and disenfranchises other groups in society.

This section of the study, therefore, examines issues of citizenship inclusion and exclusion. The exclusionary element witnessed in the period 1911 to 1920 was repeated

in the 40-year period presently under study, though to a lesser extent. Exclusion in the twelve civics textbooks continued for citizenship related to the French, women, Chinese, Japanese, Aboriginals, and those with communist ideologies. A strong male orientation in civics textbooks continued as before. Included in the discourse for the first time, however, was mention of the working class and the handicapped.

The Chinese, as an immigrant group to the Dominion, were not part of the story told in the civics textbooks of this Era. Discriminatory legislation to slow and ultimately prevent Chinese immigration to the Dominion during the period 1885 through 1920 was expanded during the 1920-1960 period. After the Great War, Chinese immigration to Canada began to increase, reaching some 4,333 in 1919. To deal with this “problem,” the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which came to be known as the “Chinese Exclusion Act,” terminating Chinese immigration to Canada, from 1925 through 1947. After the passage of the Exclusion Act, the federal government required all Chinese to register with authorities by June 30, 1924, just before the Act came into effect on July 1, 1924.

Since the Chinese head tax had no purpose now that there was no Chinese immigration, the federal government eliminated the tax in 1930. According to Baureiss and Kwong (1978), the message was clear: “Chinese were not welcome in Canada” (p. 6). There was to be no assimilation; these “aliens” who were now living in the Dominion would not be part of the society being created, nor would any further Chinese immigrants be permitted to land in the country. The Great Depression of the 1930s hit Chinese workers hard resulting in much unemployment. Research by Baureiss and Kwong (1978) on government relief paid to Chinese in Winnipeg could find no record that any had been

paid. Of the old-timers interviewed, none was aware of the existence of government relief programs.

With Chinese support for the Allied cause against the Japanese during World War II, attitudes towards Chinese in Canada began to change. In 1947, the federal government repealed the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923. Chinese immigration to Canada resumed. By 1961, there were some 1,936 Chinese living in Manitoba (Tan & Roy, 1985).

Japanese Canadians were also excluded from the story presented in Canadian civics textbooks during the period 1920 to 1960. Discrimination was rampant. Quotas on the number of Japanese immigrants, begun in the Assimilation Era, continued, such that by 1928 Canada set the limit of 150 persons annually. During the 1920s, British Columbia and federal government political discrimination against Japanese Canadians was extensive, including the denial of the right to vote; the exclusion of Japanese from certain professions, such as teaching; and the limitation of Japanese to menial employment and at rates of pay much lower than for other Canadians. During the Great Depression, the British Columbia government limited logging licenses to Japanese businesses and provided social relief at a far lower level than that given to others. Japanese could not become civil servants nor could they join the armed forces. Discrimination meant that prior to World War II, Japanese could work only within their communities.

However, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, abruptly changed the life of Japanese Canadians. With the urging of British Columbia officials, the federal government used the War Measures Act to effect the removal of Japanese Canadians living within 100 miles of the Pacific coast for the purposes of “national

security,” despite the fact that the RCMP and the Canadian military said that they posed no risk. Sunahara (1981), who has written extensively on the discriminatory practices faced by Japanese Canadians, described their uprooting during WWII as a continuation of abuse. Over 20,000 Japanese Canadians were moved to detention camps in British Columbia or to sugar beet farms in Alberta and Manitoba. The federal government then sold off all Japanese-owned property including homes and businesses. In the immediate post-Second World War period, the Canadian government gave Japanese Canadians two options – deportation to a near-destroyed Japan, or move to eastern Canada. Half chose to settle in Quebec, Ontario and the Prairies. The Canadian government tried to deport some 10,000 Japanese Canadians in 1946, but public outrage terminated the deportation.

Ideology was also a source of exclusion in a society that defined itself as pro-British, Christian, and democratic. The “red scare” of the 1920s, particularly the concern with the imported communism through the Dominion’s “foreign” element, resulted in the need to present to students the values of British society and democracy. The Communist Party of Canada that began in 1921 was constantly harassed by the RCMP using a section of Criminal Code that permitted the police to break up meetings, seize literature and raid offices. At times during the 1930s, the Communist Party was banned in Canada. The Cold War that started soon after WWII was a showdown between two ideological systems – Capitalism and Communism. Melinda McCracken, writing about her memories of living in Winnipeg during the 1950s, described the fear:

People were really afraid of communists not because they understood communism, or capitalism, but because they were being programmed to be afraid. Communists stood for the dark forces of anarchy, disorder, degeneracy, lack of

structure, and were thought to be infiltrating everywhere. (cited in Levine, 1994, p. 70)

The scare was ever present. In 1953, the *Winnipeg Tribune*, ran a series of articles on seven night schools in Winnipeg in which communists had enrolled over 300 students. Alderman Slaw Rebchuk, believing that this was not where good citizenship would flourish, described them as “doing nothing but breeding potential leaders to overthrow the Canadian government” (Levine, 1994, p. 71). While several of the civics textbooks talked about the freedom to choose a political party, the Communist Party was considered a hazard to sound thinking.

Aboriginals continued to be excluded during the period under study. While industrial schools had failed, the federal government instituted a new form of residential school in 1923, complete with truancy officers who, by 1930, could impose financial penalties on Indian families for not sending their seven to sixteen year old children to school. The Department of Indian Affairs believed in the critical role played by residential schools: “There is a growing conviction on the part of our wards that their children must be fitted for the future....They are turning towards education to prepare themselves for encroaching civilization” (Strange and Loo, 1997, p. 115). Not all believed this. One chief stated of the alien form of culture, language and religion being imposed on them in residential schools: “We are Indians, and we intend to remain Indians. I don’t want schools because I want the children to be happy and free from restraint” (Strange and Loo, 1997, pp. 114-115).

By the end of the Era under study, little improvement had been made in the lives of Aboriginal people. For example, 80 kilometres south of Winnipeg was the Roseau River reserve which was described in an article in the January 1959 *Winnipeg Tribune*:

The reservation had no store, no business enterprise, no industry. The homes, consisting of one or two rooms, are almost bare of furniture. Roseau's school accommodates 40 persons, and the other children are scattered throughout the province at residential schools. (as cited in Levine, 1994, p. 66)

Aboriginal people on reserves remained wards of the state, without citizenship. Those Aboriginal people who moved from reserves to Winnipeg's North End faced unemployment and discrimination. It was not until 1952 that the provincial government permitted Manitoba's status Indian people the right to vote (Manitoba. *An Act to Amend the Manitoba Election Act*, 1952, Chapter 18). Not surprisingly, Aboriginal self-government was not a discussion point during this 40-year period under study.

Noteworthy was a small section in Burt's (1930) *Manitoba High School Civics* dealing with Canadian "Indians," the first time that anything substantive had been stated about Aboriginal people. Burt's account was a patronizing but accurate description of the stance of the Canadian government: "They [Indians] are the wards of the Dominion government which seeks to advance them in the arts of civilization" (1930, p. 68).

Included for the first time was an account of capital and labour found in a chapter in McCaig's (1925) *Studies in Citizenship*. This chapter provided a liberal version of the role of capital or the owners of industry, and labor or the workers of industry, and the main causes of disputes: wages, hours of work, working conditions, and the recognition of unions. Details were provided on strikes versus lockouts, and strikebreakers. No

specific strike was described, and certainly not the Winnipeg General Strike, seen by authorities at the provincial and national levels as a challenge to the constitutional governments. One of the methods of resolving disagreements was through the use of arbitration, where disputes were submitted to arbitrators who decided the merits of the case. McCaig also described workers' compensation, where the state compensated workers for injuries received on the job, and protective legislation in some provinces that provided a minimum wage for women and girls, and regulated their hours of work.

While Goldring (1938) briefly mentioned labour disputes and trade unions, he described extensively the assistance for the handicapped and the unfortunate, for the first time in any civics textbook. Hospitals, according to Goldring, provided free treatment for those who could not afford to pay, and special mental hospitals assisted those who suffered from nervous breakdowns. In Ontario, there were old age pensions for those in need and older than 75-years of age. Mothers' Allowances were provided in Ontario to widowed or needy mothers of young children to assist in the childrens' education. Goldring also described welfare assistance for the unemployed, workmen's compensation for those injured in the workplace, worker-employee health insurance, and special schools for children who were deaf, blind or mentally challenged.

Disenfranchisement of certain groups remained a key element of the conceptualization of citizenship during the period 1921 to 1960. This exclusionary citizenship discourse remained a feature of the republican notion of citizenship. Based on gender, race, and ideology, republicanism had determined that certain citizens would continue to be marginalized or excluded from citizenship discourses. But change was beginning to take place since the handicapped and labour were included for the first time

in civics textbooks. Nevertheless, British, English-speaking, white males continued as the best examples of good citizens.

### *Summative Components*

*Historical/Ahistorical treatment.* The writers of the six civics textbooks (twelve editions) under study used history in the study of civics during this Era. McCaig (1925) began his textbook with an analysis of history, indicating that, aside from the study of the past being interesting and thrilling, it also served to teach present day citizens “lessons” about their lives and conduct. He stated: “They [stories of the past] teach us how to depend upon ourselves, how to get along with our neighbors, and how to live better and more wisely” (p. 1). But the study of history through the lives of great women and men also provided shining examples of good character to emulate, including “courage, unselfishness, loyalty, patience, and justice” (p. 1). McCaig stated that history taught us the lesson that right always won over wrong, and that we must continue to strive to do nothing but good in our lives. Lastly, McCaig explained that, by understanding the historical development of England’s customs and laws, long fought-for by their ancestors, they avoided mistakes and built their civilization. In other words, McCaig saw the study of history as important in understanding the social, legal and political life of the community. Scattered in various portions of the textbook, McCaig (1925) provided some historical background to the role in the past of the church and citizenship, the development of transportation in Canada, and the growth of trade unionism in England.

Goldring (1938), without providing any rationale for the study of history, nevertheless used historical information to set the stage for the examination of various community and institutional civics topics, such as the study of the “early days” to show

how settlers had to cooperate to survive when new lands were being opened up; the debt to the past for learning to live in communities, government, law and culture; the origins of the motto "I serve;" a description of the Roman Empire and how its government outlasted its fall; the growth of the British Empire and the strength of this single community; the work of the League of Nations since its birth in 1920; and the growth of democratic government from the time of the Greeks.

Burt's (1930) institutional examination of the study of government used history to explain how things evolved to the present. With Imperial government, he described the increasing limitations placed on British royal authority beginning in 1688 and the historical backgrounds to each of the House of Lords and the House of Commons; the origins of the British judiciary; and the growth of autonomy of the Dominion of Canada from Imperial Britain. In terms of the Dominion, Burt outlined the historical development of Parliamentary government.

Interestingly, when describing the educational system in the province, Burt indicated that Section 93 of the British North America Act had left education to the provinces but had placed restrictions on dealing harshly with minorities, particularly those that existed at the time of becoming a province in the Dominion. Injustices could be taken to the Governor-General, who might require the province to redress the grievance. If the province did not act, the Dominion Parliament could pass legislation requiring the province to protect its minorities. Burt (1930) then described Manitoba's dual system of education that operated until 1890 "when national non-denominational schools were organized" (p. 99). No mention was made of the challenge by the Catholic minority in Manitoba to that legislation, to the Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1896-1897, or to

the termination of bilingual schooling in 1916. Historical controversy was clearly avoided in the handling of these still politically and socially sensitive events.

The 1944 *Citizenship: Our Democracy* employed history to identify landmarks in the growth of democratic government in Britain and in the Dominion of Canada, to discuss the Royal Visit to Canada and Manitoba in May-June, 1939. The 1956 *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* used for the grade 4 study of the United Nations gave a brief historical treatment about the birth and role of the United Nations. A whole chapter of this civics textbook for grade 7 was dedicated to tracing the development of government in western civilizations, focussing on that of the United Kingdom, the origin of the Dominion's system of government. Readers were taken through an examination of the governments of ancient Egypt, the Code of Hammurabi, Moses the lawgiver, democracy in Greece, Roman government, and the origins and development of British government. For grade 12, the *Manual* provided some historical information on the development of international cooperation leading to the formation of the UN.

Thus, history was used as a tool in civics textbooks to address community and institutional issues. However, in no case did the historical information detail contemporary political, social or cultural problems. A critical conceptualization of citizenship was not yet envisioned.

*Counter-Hegemonic response.* Resistance to Anglo-conformity was definitely present as analyzed. The French community in Manitoba created L'Association d'education des Canadiens-Francais du Manitoba mandated to protect French interests primarily in education. Taillefer (1987) argued that L'Association provided to "French schools" in Manitoba a French curriculum, French textbooks and French examinations, in

a programme of studies that paralleled that of the Department of Education. For example, in the township of Ste Anne during the period from the 1920s to the 1960s, the community, the teachers, the school trustees and L'Association resisted Anglo-conformity, preserving both their language and religion in the classrooms through the teaching of the subject of French at all grade levels, the teaching of other school subjects in the French language, and the use of L'Association's curriculum and textbooks (Ross, 1997). All of this was contrary to the continuing Anglo-centric policy of the Department of Education.

In addition to this contested response by the French community to Anglo-conformity, Osborne (1996) addressed the political radicalism of the 1920s and 1930s in an atmosphere of non-radical, non-politically active citizenship. He cited the example of Norman Penner, a high school student at St John's High School in North Winnipeg who, during the Great Depression, described the radical nature of his fellow students:

Students, communist and non-communist radicals, used to consider it was necessary for us to point out to students where teachers were going wrong in history or literature and to put forward a radical point of view in contradiction to what the teacher was trying put across. (p. 41)

Resistance by Aboriginal students continued unabated during the period under study. Even with compulsory attendance at Indian schools and truancy officers to hunt down non-attendees, and financial penalties for parents to force students to attend school, attendance was still staggeringly low, reflecting the continued opposition of Aboriginal parents and students to the ongoing federal government's attempt at regulation through education. Aboriginal students went truant from these schools and Aboriginal parents

ignored school calendars. The 1951 Canadian census indicated that 40% of Canadian Indians had no formal education whatsoever (Axelrod, 1997).

A large number of immigrant groups also contested their discriminatory treatment. The Chinese population in Manitoba that stood at 1,331 in 1921 was only 1,175 by 1951 (Baureiss and Kwong, 1978, p. 16). Excluded as part of the Canadian community, the Chinese in Winnipeg turned inward to ensure their economic survival. Social and cultural Chinese associations, many of which were formed in the late 1910s, continued to address the needs of their members in the Chinese community in Winnipeg during the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. Baureiss and Kwong (1978) contended that both discrimination and the Great Depression created the development of a strong sense of community and solidarity amongst the Chinese in Winnipeg.

The Chinese National League worked with local government authorities and Chinese volunteers to provide soup kitchens for the needy in their community. The Chinese Benevolent Association mediated conflict between the law and family, and arranged funerals and visitations to the sick in hospitals. All of this business, as it were, was conducted in the Chinese language and, therefore, was outside of the English-speaking local bureaucracy. The Winnipeg Chinese Mission, a facility of the United Church, provided immigrants with instruction in the English language. During World War II, the Chinese Benevolent Association urged Chinese to purchase war bonds and to continue to send donations to China, financial or otherwise. The struggle within the Winnipeg community to overturn the discriminatory Chinese Exclusion Act, according to Baureiss and Kwong (1978), started as early as 1927, but grew in intensity during World

War II and in the immediate post-war period, successfully culminating in May 1947 with the repeal of the Act.

The massive discrimination faced by Japanese Canadians turned them inward not unlike the Chinese Canadians. Since the message that the Japanese were not part of Canadian society was blatantly clear, Japanese communities developed their own economic, religious and social institutions to look after themselves. Japanese Canadians actively fought against their deportation to Japan. On April 1, 1949, Japanese Canadians were given the right to vote.

*Notions of citizenship education.* McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship* and Goldring's *We Are Canadian Citizens* both used questions following each chapter to reinforce content presented in that chapter. For example, McCaig (1925), in the chapter "What Government Does for Us," asked specific questions that could be answered by using generalized content found in the chapter, by students asking their parents or, in some cases, learned through a visit to a factory or business. For example, students were asked to identify "what evidence of care for the health of the public did you find?" at a dairy, a bakery, a canning factory or a public market. The answers were, of course, that the government regulated all work places to ensure the safety of the community. In the chapter on "What the Citizen Owes to Government," McCaig asked students to write a composition on "The Good Citizen in Time of War." The correct answer was given in the section entitled "the duty of military service" where McCaig stated:

When we think of the hundreds of thousands of Canadians who took up arms during the Great War for the purpose of defending a just cause, and when we think of the work done both abroad and at home by the tens of thousands of

women who had sent their fathers, brothers and sons to the front, it seems hardly necessary to talk about our duty in regard to military service. (p. 155)

He then went on to describe the ultimate necessity of giving of one's life to defend the Dominion.

In Goldring's (1938) chapter on "Self-Government in a School," he asked students to state the aims of the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts. The answer in both cases was provided using the index to the text which directed students to a later chapter, or, since these organizations were highly subscribed to by students, they would have been able to easily give the necessary information.

No teaching or student activities were provided in Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics. Citizenship: Our Democracy* (1944); however, it was an approved textbook for teacher use with students, and had specific methods of teaching recommended by the Manitoba and Saskatchewan Departments of Education. An activity programme was identified that was cross-curricular where the student was to solve problems in a real-life situation. Group discussions, as part of language arts, were listed to encourage students to think about occupations available in the community. Students were encouraged to conduct research on the nature and operation of government, based on various subject disciplines, including history and geography. For secondary schools, debating and public speaking clubs were suggested. For individual grades, activities included reading, reporting, answering questions, and undertaking dramatizations.

Each chapter in the approved textbook for teachers entitled *A Manual for Civics and Citizenship for Schools* had a series of suggested activities and topics for discussion.

In the chapter "Government in Manitoba" for grades 5 and 6, teachers were encouraged to have their students "keep a scrapbook of pictures of civic and provincial officials," "have a poster competition on the importance of voting," "hold a mock council meeting or school board meeting to discuss a pertinent topic," and "prepare a map of your school district" (1956, p. 85). The Department also advised teachers to bring their students to council meetings and to the Legislative Building, if possible.

Thus, whether the teaching approach was memorization, writing compositions, reading, answering questions, taking field trips or conducting mock government activities, the end result of these methods of teaching and learning was that students would arrive at a common understanding of community and institutional civics.

*Typology of citizenship and citizenship education.* A number of attributes of good citizenship for students were identified in the twelve civics textbooks analysed for the Community Life and Service Era that ran from 1921 to 1960. While the content of the civics textbooks varied from the study of institutional civics to the examination of community civics, or to a multidimensional approach, the message presented to students, either directly through student approved textbooks or indirectly through teacher approved textbooks, was consistently the same throughout the Era. The republican conceptualization of citizenship dominated the 40-year period under study.

Good citizens learned about the life and function of their communities at home, at school, locally, nationally, and internationally. Good citizens actively provided voluntary service to their communities in return for receiving the benefits of their communities and assisting the less fortunate. Good citizens had a working knowledge of the operation of all levels of government from school to international so that they could function properly

and support the democratic state; they were loyal and patriotic to their governments. Voting, in an informed manner, was critical. In return for a series of rights provided by the democratic state, good citizens also had responsibilities, including good manners and obedience as well as abiding to the law and performing military service when the state needed assistance. Students learned that their national identity was increasingly Canadian, and decreasingly “British subject,” part of the British Empire. All students still belonged to a very homogenized British social and cultural society. Issues related to belonging – as a class of society, a socio-economic group or an ethnic community – were but briefly addressed. Critical thinking about the operation of the community or the government was not mentioned. With several exceptions regarding political involvement, civics textbooks did not present students or adults actively participating with their governments through the holding of political office.

The teaching methodologies identified in the civics textbooks under study included direct teacher information provision as well as students memorizing, answering questions, and having mock political meetings, all of which was associated with citizenship transmission. Sears’ (1995) conceptualized descriptors of republican citizenship, including loyalty, a common body of knowledge about the operation of the state, a single national identity, exclusivity of certain groups and individuals, lawful and voting, were all present. Citizenship education required students to become informed through reading and talking about individuals running for office; to value the political system as the best there is; and to gain knowledge of civics as transmitted through textbooks. Critical thinking and active political participation were not required.

*Congruency.* In my comparison of the official discourse and that of the civics textbooks of the period 1921 through 1960, I have determined that there were strong similarities relating to the treatment of civics and citizenship, along with one major incongruency. In terms of national identity, both official discourses focussed on community life and service with an increasing focus on a Canadian democracy and way of life. Internationalism, including both the League of Nations and the United Nations, received strong treatment in both official discourses. Imperial identity remained high in the official discourse to the end of the 1950s. A major quality of “good citizens” as found both in the civics textbooks and in the official literature of period under study was patriotism.

There was one interesting incongruency. Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics*, approved and used during the Assimilation Era, was congruent with the official discourse of a student national identity associated with Imperial Britain and its responsibilities. However, as the study of the Community Life and Service Era in citizenship history began, Jenkins’ textbook, authorized until the late 1920s, became increasingly out of touch with the changed reality of Manitoba, the Dominion and the world. This dichotomy between civics/citizenship as espoused by Jenkins, and the change in the official discourse beginning in 1919, gathered speed through the 1920s. The new national identity of the 1920s reflected in the official literature of the time had a strong community orientation; voluntary service to the community; a new Canadian focus; and an international dimension of cooperation and promotion of peace, all were absent in Jenkins’ *Canadian Civics*.

During the period 1930 to 1960, national identity, as reflected in the study of Imperial government, was greatly diminished, with McCaig's (1925) long-used grade 8 civics textbook and the Department's 1956 *Manual* making no reference whatsoever to the British Empire or to Canadian relations to the Commonwealth of Nations. Between these two textbooks, three other civics texts addressed Imperial citizenship. This confusing and evolving identity was also reflected in the official literature that continued to endorse Imperialism. But there was no confusion over Canadian identity. It was present in twelve civics textbooks and very congruent with the official literature of the day. Except for Burt's singular focus on the study of government institutions, the remaining civics textbooks all dealt with patriotism, community life and service, and international understanding and cooperation as good student characteristics, as did the literature of the day.

Belonging was of limited concern in the official literature analysed or in the twelve civics textbooks used in schools. With the exception of Burt's civics textbook, the texts and the official literature reflected limited concern for rights, with particular focus on the concomitant responsibilities. The citizenship exclusion of the French, women, the Chinese, the Japanese, and Aboriginal people in all civics textbooks was congruent with the official literature of the day. Even the marginal inclusion of the working class and the disabled in two of the civics textbooks was absent in the official discourse.

Rights and responsibilities also received treatment in both the official discourse and the civics textbooks, addressing the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Canadian Citizenship Day.

### *Summary*

The overall picture of civics and citizenship presented in the Era from 1921 to 1960 was multidirectional. Civics education's focus on community life and service was the most prevalent theme throughout the period. There was also a transition from Imperial to Canadian identity and a strong focus on the civics of international cooperation and peaceful coexistence. The study of government institutions continued as a major component of civics that had begun in the Assimilation Era. While assimilation took a step back as a focus of civics, it remained present as evidenced by the lack of treatment of belonging and the continuing homogenization and exclusion of many groups in society.

The republican conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education continued from that which existed in the period 1911 to 1920. Republicanism resulted in an educational emphasis on state patriotism, a common body of civics knowledge, the importance of informed voting, a stress on responsibilities, and a continued homogenized society, excluding many groups. The republican conceptualization of teaching used memorization and the answering of questions so all students would gain a common understanding of civics. There was still no room for critical thinking in this conceptualization of civics and citizenship.

## Chapter Six: Multiculturalism Era, 1961 – 2007

In this chapter, I outline and analyse the period from 1961 to 2007 of civics and citizenship in Manitoba – a period dominated by the theme I label the “Multiculturalism Era.” Multiculturalism refers to a Canadian society that is characterized by ethno-cultural diversity and belonging; the ideal of equality of all ethnic or cultural groups; and by government sanctioned multicultural policy at the federal and provincial levels. Canadian multiculturalism is framed within a bilingual framework. Although Canada may be described as a multilingual country, having more than 100 ethnic (Statistics Canada, 2001), and over 50 Aboriginal (Norris, 2007, p. 1) languages spoken, it has two official languages: English and French.

While multiculturalism was a predominant theme of the period under study, the Era, itself, did not begin with that idea in mind. Bilingualism and multiculturalism were trumpeted by the federal government during the decades from 1960 to the late 1990s; however, there existed a fundamental discontinuity between the official discourse and that of the approved civics textbooks. Civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools during this period largely describe a homogeneous Canadian society, exclusive of many groups, having little dialogue on human rights or citizen responsibilities.

A new textbook approval process initiated by the Department of Education in the late 1990s began to address this discontinuity. In support of the overriding theme of the Multicultural Era, there were a number of complimentary themes that have been identified in the analysis of civics textbooks. Themes emerged related to the inclusion of all groups in society, human rights and equality, belonging, active participation in

addressing local and national problems, and the need for critical thinking skills to solve societal issues.

Toward the latter part of the period, a similar but different set of civics and citizenship themes emerged. This was a focus on global citizenship and was portrayed through critical thinking skills to address earth-bound problems, living sustainably, and active participation. Global systems were addressed through the study of the interrelatedness of society, the economy and the environment.

The organizational format used in the presentation of information and analysis in this chapter is the same as that used in the previous two chapters. First, I describe the social, political and economic contexts relevant to civics, citizenship and education for this 46-year period. This is followed by an examination of the educational context, focussing on the official discourses on civics and citizenship, the authorization of textbooks, and the civics and citizenship textbooks used in kindergarten to grade 12 classrooms. During this period, seventy-six civics textbooks were approved or recommended by the Department of Education. These texts were analyzed for themes related citizenship and citizenship education. Contestation of the hegemonic control of citizenship by the state is explored. I also undertake a comparison between the official discourses on civics and citizenship in the official literature and in approved/recommended textbooks to reveal their alignment or lack thereof.

#### *The Social, Political, and Economic Contexts*

This section of the study examines the important social, political and economic factors that impacted education and citizenship during the period 1961 through 2007.

The beginning of the period witnessed a sharp change in Manitoba politics with the election of Duff Roblin as Premier. Neville (1995) described Roblin, Manitoba's premier from 1958 to 1967, as "a liberal in Tory clothes" (p. 76). Prior to Roblin's victory in 1958, the previous 40 years had been dominated by the conservative Progressives and Liberals as reflected in low taxation and minimalist government. The modernization that the Roblin government introduced in the 1960s saw the state taking a significant activist role in society, particularly in the economy, health and education.

Taking over from Roblin in 1967 was Conservative Walter Weir, a fiscal conservative with little interest in social reform, but very prepared to fight against Prime Minister Trudeau's federal Liberals and their official bilingualism. After calling an election in 1969, Weir and the Progressive Conservatives were defeated by Ed Schreyer and the New Democratic Party. Describing this victory, Neville (1995) stated that the "NDP government represented constituencies – defined particularly in terms of class and ethnic minorities – that had largely stood outside the gates in earlier times" (pp. 108-109).

The NDP had secured power, based on their electoral victories in Winnipeg and Northern Manitoba, but with virtually no support from conservative rural Manitoba. The 1969 cabinet, mainly from the city's North End and of non-British origin, represented the first time that citizens of British ancestry had not governed the province since the time of the Red River Settlement. NDP strength had been associated with the support of ethnic groups, labour, women, and students. From 1969 to 1977, the NDP introduced several new social programs and legislation, including a

new labor code that reduced standard working week from 44 to 40 hours; addressed what were deemed unfair labour practices; provided standards of safety and health in the workplace; created the Manitoba Human Rights Commission that found, in a 1971 study of Manitoba social studies textbooks, significant omissions related to race, women, trade unions and contemporary “Indians;” and reduced the age of voting from 21 to 18, thereby helping to empower the youth movement. Schreyer, born of German-Ukrainian parents, was Premier until 1977 when the Progressive Conservatives under Sterling Lyon replaced him.

Political power in Winnipeg had also shifted. Mayor Steve Juba, of German-Ukrainian parents, defeated the British elite’s George Sharpe in the election of 1956, and remained mayor until 1977. More than 70,000 immigrants came to Manitoba, mainly to Winnipeg, between 1970 and 1980. Many were refugees from Chile, Uganda or Vietnam as well as large numbers from India, the Philippines and Italy (Bumsted, 1995, p. 119). None of these countries had ever been part of Manitoba’s immigration history. Large numbers of Aboriginal peoples also migrated to Winnipeg’s inner city and faced a myriad of social problems including racism, prejudice, unemployment, poor housing and welfare.

Federally, the government of John Diefenbaker introduced the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960, the first time that human rights legislation had been enacted at the federal level. Included were the rights to freedom of speech and religion; life, liberty, security and justice; property rights; and equality. This legislation ended Canada’s immigration policy that had been based on race, gender, religion and country of origin. In 1962, new immigration regulations came into force that emphasized labour

skills, resulting in a large number of immigrants coming to Canada from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

Bruno-Jofre (1999) has argued that a number of liberating and decolonizing movements were organized in Canada, including the women's movement, civil rights, and Quebec's Quiet Revolution that demanded bilingual and bicultural equality. Responding to the growth of Quebec's growing nationalism, Prime Minister Lester Pearson established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on July 19, 1963, to identify and adopt measures to ensure equality between the two founding peoples and preserve the cultural contribution of other ethnic groups. The preliminary Report of the Commission was released in 1965 and six volumes of the Report were published between 1967 and 1970. Incoming Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau made the implementation of the Royal Commission's recommendations a priority. For example, in 1969, Trudeau introduced the Official Languages Act recognizing that Canada was officially a bilingual nation. As part of an effort to actually become a bilingual country, the federal government provided financial resources to the provinces to establish bilingual schools.

Troper (1978) argues that, while the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* had been set up largely to address issues related to the two founding peoples, the English and the French, it quickly found a well articulated and well orchestrated response from Canada's ethnic communities, arguing that "the bedrock of Canadian identity...was multiculturalism" (p. 24) not Anglo-conformity and not English-French biculturalism. Bruno-Jofre (1999) calls the period of the 1960s as one of proto-

multiculturalism, the result of demands from non-founding national groups and the growing political strength of the Aboriginal community.

On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau deviated from the recommendations of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* when he announced, in his famous speech before the House of Commons, a “multicultural policy” that recognized Canada’s ethnic diversity, within a “bilingual framework.” The *Debates* of the House of Commons record Trudeau as articulating four objectives for the multicultural policy: to assist cultural groups contributing to Canada’s cultural growth; to assist such groups in overcoming cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society; to promote exchanges between cultural groups in the interest of national unity; and to provide assistance to immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada’s official languages so as to become full members of society (as cited in Koshy and Sharma, 1992, p. 9).

The next key citizenship event occurred when the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was entrenched as part of the Constitution Act of 1982. It provided civil and political rights to all people of Canada, with application to policies and actions at all levels of government, including federal, provincial, municipal and public school boards. Enshrined in the Charter were rights and freedoms related to religion, expression, the press, peaceful assembly and freedom of association; democratic rights, including the right to vote and serve as a member of the legislature; legal rights, including the right to life, liberty and security; language rights, including English and French as the official languages of Canada and New Brunswick; and

minority language education rights that allowed minority French and English language communities to be educated in their own language.

Also included was a statement that the Charter be interpreted in a multicultural context and that rights outlined in the Charter be applied equally both to men and women. Further clauses addressed multicultural concerns related to equality rights where every individual would receive equal treatment under the law without discrimination based on ethnic origin, colour, sex, religion, age, disability or race, as well as permitting laws, programs and activities to address discrimination where it may exist.

Multiculturalism was now enshrined in the 1982 Constitution Act, thereby recognizing Canada's multicultural heritage in constitutional law. In a speech on multiculturalism in 1987, Trudeau commented that "a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians" that "will help form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all" (as cited in Koshy and Sharma, 1992, p. 8).

The next major step in the development of a federal multicultural policy came in July 1988 with the passage of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. This Act recognized multiculturalism as the foundation stone of Canadian society, enshrining the preservation of language and culture, the reduction of discrimination, and enhancement of cultural understanding.

The 1980s in Manitoba have been described as a decade of discontent due to constitutional and economic difficulties (Boyens, 1995). The economic trouble

stemmed from the huge public debt “earned” in the 1970s and a net loss of population created largely by the outflow of young Manitobans looking for employment. Despite the provincial Progressive Conservatives’ reduction in funding for hospitals and other social services and a reduction in the size of the civil service, the 1981 recession in Canada, coupled with inflation, still meant that Manitoba did not have the balanced budget that had been the goal of the Tory government. Premier Lyon called an election in the fall of 1981 but was called to Ottawa in another attempt to arrive at a deal between the provinces and federal government to patriate the constitution. The November agreement, without Quebec’s Rene Levesque, was reached and included a charter of rights and freedoms, with a “notwithstanding” clause allowing provinces to override it.

In Manitoba, the Conservatives lost the 1981 election and the NDP, under Howard Pawley, took power again. Pawley immediately changed Manitoba’s position on the Charter; Manitoba now endorsed the inclusion of entrenched rights for women.

Several years earlier, in 1976, Manitoba businessman Georges Forest contested an English-only parking ticket and, in December 1979, the Supreme Court ruled that Manitoba’s official unilingualism, begun in 1890, was unconstitutional. The consequences of this ruling would, in the 1980s, have an impact on government services and education. Conservative Sterling Lyon slowly began to translate English-written government laws into French.

When the NDP came to power in 1981, Pawley eventually struck a deal with the federal government and Societe Franco-Manitoba that recognized officially bilingualism in Manitoba; committed the province to provide government services in

French; and begin to translate a large number, but not all, of the province's statutes. This agreement was spurred on by yet another court challenge initiated in 1983 by Roger Bilodeau for an English-only parking ticket. Almost immediately there was a strong negative reaction by the English and ethnic communities to the proposal for a bilingual Manitoba. In June 1985, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of Bilodeau's case, with the result that Manitoba's English only laws were ruled invalid, granting Manitoba three years to translate them.

The Pawley government had passed the *Manitoba Intercultural Council Act* in 1984. The Council was to advise the government on matters of an ethnocultural nature, including education, immigrant settlement, cultural heritage, and human rights. On July 17, 1987, the Manitoba Human Rights Code was introduced, stating that all Manitobans "recognize the individual worth and dignity of every member of the human family, and this principle underlined the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*" (Chapter H175, p. 3). The Code prohibited unreasonable discrimination that resulted in the "differential treatment of an individual based on generalizations about a group to which they belong or are perceived to belong, rather than on personal merit" (Manitoba Human Rights Commission, 1998, p. 1).

Characteristics of unreasonable discrimination identified in the legislation included those based on ancestry (included colour and perceived race); national origin or ethnic background; sexual orientation; religion or creed; age; sex; political beliefs and activities; and physical or mental disability. Many of these discriminatory characteristics had previously been used by the state to exclude certain groups of

people, and include others, as citizens of Manitoba. The Manitoba Human Rights Commission, created as part of the Human Rights Code legislation, functioned to investigate claims of discrimination related to employment, housing, services, accommodation, and signs; to undertake human rights education; and to issue binding decisions.

Pawley went to the electorate in 1988, but citizens elected the Progressive Conservatives lead by Gary Filmon. Pawley stepped down as party leader and Gary Doer, former head of the Manitoba Government Employees' Association, replaced him.

Federally, attempts continued to include Quebec in the constitutional family, but failed both at the 1987 Meech Lake Accord and 1992 Charlottetown Accord.

The 1990 election in Manitoba saw Filmon's Tories reelected with a majority government, and, even after significant cutbacks in health and education, won another majority government in 1995. The failure of the 1992 national referendum on the Charlottetown Accord that had offered a restrictive form of Aboriginal self-government, Senate reform and the distinct status of Quebec, represented, according to Fridfinnson (1995), "a repudiation of the political elite by Canadians" (p. 184) and reflecting the anxiety of Canadian citizens over the future of Canada. The federal government began to reshape the Federal Department of Indian Affairs in the 1990s, using Manitoba as a site for the transfer of federal powers to Aboriginals in education, health and social services.

Describing Manitoba's life and identity in the early 1990s, Levine (1995) stated that, although most of the outward signs of racism and discriminatory practices

were gone, the mentality of 1900, “adapt, conform or leave” (p. 189) persisted. The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews conducted a survey (1991), finding that 72% of Canadians did not agree with the concept of a multicultural Canada. Cannon (1995), writing on racism in Canada researched through newspaper articles and interviews conducted between 1991 and 1994, stated that

we may not be calling people nigger or Chink or kike or raghead on the street but we make it clear that the values we want enshrined in our institutions are the values of the founding races – white, Catholic, Protestant, European culture, Western philosophy. (p. 271)

Winnipeg’s Susan Thompson, elected in 1992, became the city’s first woman mayor, suggesting increased gender participation in the political sphere. The provincial government reduced expenditures for education by 2% in the 1993/1994 school year, and a further reduction of 2.6% in the following year. By the mid 1990s, the economy in Manitoba had begun to improve through industrial diversification. As the province approached the conclusion of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was definitely no longer the “breadbasket of the Empire” nor was it the “gateway to the west,” as it had been at the opening of the century. Manitoba’s cultural diversity, though, had begun to have a strong impact on the prevailing early assimilationalist traditions of British culture and values.

In the election of September 1999, Gary Doer’s NDP gained a majority in the Legislature, defeating the Progressive Conservatives who had been in power since 1988. Contributing to this victory was Doer’s emphasis on social programs balanced by a firm, conservative hold on the economy. Through steady economic growth,

balanced budgets, and substantial increases in health spending, the NDP government kept a low profile and managed to avoid controversial matters. Doer took the province to the polls in April 2007 and won another mandate from the electorate.

These social, political and economic trends had an impact on citizenship and education in Manitoba. Anglo-conformity, while still present, was no longer at the core of Canadian identity during this period. The English/French, bilingual/bicultural identity promoted by the federal government during the 1960s, became a state-mandated multiculturalism within a bilingual framework in the 1970s. Schools responded quickly to these changes (Osborne, 1996). Citizenship education in Manitoba now took on a different appearance beginning in the 1960s, including the introduction of French-immersion, the development of French-English student exchange programmes, and the reorganization of the schools portion of the Department of Education into two bodies, the Program Development and Support Services unit on the English side, and, in 1975, a new and separate, Bureau de l'éducation française handling French curricula and textbooks.

In terms of specific curricular changes, Osborne (2000) expressed concern that, during the 1970s, the subject of history was being abandoned as the major purveyor of citizenship education and, in its place, were courses or units of study related to contemporary problems, "human rights, native studies, law-related education, Holocaust studies, environmental problems, media literacy, and other citizenship-oriented topics" (p. 16). Multiculturalism opened up possibilities for groups other than English and French, and, in Manitoba, both the Ukrainian and

Mennonite communities developed Ukrainian and German immersion schools in the late 1970s.

The growing concern for human rights in the education system formed a backdrop to McDiarmid and Pratt's (1971) examination of Canadian history textbooks, where the researchers determined that these texts were laden with bias and prejudice against various peoples in Canada, most noticeably Aboriginal peoples who were "the least favored of all the groups" (p. 51), including stereotyping, bias and inaccurate portrayals. This led the Department of Education in Manitoba to undertake a review of the textbook evaluation process in 1973 with the stated goal of exploring "ways and means of ensuring a reasonable limitation on bias in materials used for educative purposes" (Manitoba, 1973, p. i).

The elimination of provincial examinations in June 1970 and the conversion of Department of Education school inspectors to regional consulting field officers in 1982, resulted in a weakening of central educational regulation in Manitoba. A new provincial government philosophy of local educational control in the 1970s and early 1980s proved very popular, and was argued by many as a fitting countermeasure to the more assimilationist focus of the Department of Education. Nevertheless, provincial government hegemony in schooling continued during this period. Again, the government continued its regulation of what knowledge made its way into schools through the selection and authorization of textbooks, be they approved or recommended, the term used in the latter part of the period. The use of the Department's mandatory textbook distribution centre, the Manitoba Text Book Bureau, continued.

In the early 1980s, the Department of Education responded to federal multiculturalism and published criticisms related to the inadequacies of Canadian studies in schools, through the development of a number of initiatives. In 1983, NDP Education Minister Maureen Hemphill introduced several programs to promote heritage languages and an appreciation of multiculturalism, including teacher professional development, funding for heritage languages teaching, creation of a multicultural resource centre, and the establishment of a "Multicultural Week." The Multiculture Educational Resource Centre, housed within the Department of Education Library, was opened on March 17, 1984, to promote and loan instructional resources in the areas of heritage languages, English as a Second Language and intercultural understanding. In 1983, Ken Osborne developed the Political Education Project, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, and the Canada Studies Foundation, offering inservices for teachers grades 5 to 12, in the "Teaching of Politics." In mid-1985, Hemphill (1985) announced that a priority for the Department would be Canadian Studies, beyond social studies, to include other subject areas, stating the need to "expand students' understanding of all aspects of Canadian customs, cultures, history, regions and geography" (p. 7).

In 1986, Minister Hemphill announced the release of the *Multicultural Educational Policy Discussion Paper* that had three foci: education for cultural integration, education for cultural and linguistic development, and education for intercultural understanding. In the same year, the Department arranged for the publication of *A Multicultural Anthology for Young Readers*, consisting of three

books to be used with the kindergarten through 12 English language arts program. In 1992, Manitoba Education released *Multicultural Education: A Policy for the 1990s*.

After the election of the Progressive Conservatives in early 1988, the new economic plan, according to Black and Silver (1999), was “to cut public spending to enable tax reductions to create a more competitive environment for private investment in Manitoba; and increase exports to the large American markets” (p. 4). Undoing the previous 30 years of “collectivist orientation,” Henley and Young (2001) argue that the Conservative government undertook to reform the province’s school system, taking it away from the pluralism of the 1970s and 1980s, to the more market-driven “New Directions” of the 1990s. The “New Directions” initiatives included the development of outcomes-based curricula for all grades; the development of standards testing for grades 3, 6, 9, and 12; provision of school choice to parents; restriction on the rights of teachers in collective bargaining; and the requirement for schools to have an annual school plan. The Department of Education had demonstratively increased its regulatory powers over the province’s school system. Little mention was made of citizenship, other than the development of student entrepreneurs who could cope in the global economy.

When the NDP was elected in September 1999, the Manitoba government educational initiatives refocused attention on a number of priority areas: addressing the special needs of many students, both through a policy statement and funding; focussing on sustainable development as an integrated component across the curriculum; and emphasizing citizenship generally, but, specifically, within the new social studies curriculum. Further, the importance of citizenship was officially

recognized by the 2004 renaming of the Department of Education and Youth to the Department of Education, Citizenship and Youth. In a February 13, draft policy document, the addition of “Citizenship” to the Department’s name is explained:

Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth highlights the role of education and participation in preparing students and youth to become informed and involved members of their communities. It recognizes that the department has a responsibility to sustain an ongoing dialogue with students and youth about their responsibilities and rights as citizens. (2004, p. 2)

The NDP majority in the May 2007 election probably means a continuation of these educational priority areas for the province.

#### *The Educational Context*

This section focuses on the educational context for the 46-year period under study, primarily addressing the official educational discourse on citizenship and citizenship education found in the literature, the textbook approval/recommendation process, and the civics and citizenship textbooks used in schools in Manitoba.

#### *The Official Discourse on Civics and Citizenship*

The primary materials used in this analysis of civics and citizenship for the official discourse were secured from a number of sources, including articles found in the *Manitoba School Journal*, the *Department of Education Bulletin*, and *Education Manitoba*, covering, for the most part, the period 1961 to 2007. Further, the recently released new curriculum for *Grade 9 Social Studies: Canada in the Contemporary World: A Foundation for Implementation* (2007) was also analysed. The Department’s *Curriculum Services Bulletin* for the period 1965 through 1973 and

from June 1984 to February 1992 was examined but found to contain no relevant information. Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual framework for citizenship of national identity and belonging, and rights and responsibilities, is employed to analyse this official discourse.

National identity as revealed in the official discourse of the Multiculturalism Era was both similar and different compared with the period 1921 to 1960. To begin with, there was no community civics and service component. This theme, so pervasive in the earlier period, was gone. The strong imperial identity also disappeared. There was only one mention of Commonwealth Day when, in the Queen's Message printed in the *Department of Education Bulletin* in 1971, Her Majesty tellingly stated: "Based on shared history and certain common ideals it [the Commonwealth] is an experiment in international fellowship. Freedom, friendship, tolerance, and understanding, these are the things the Commonwealth stands for in our minds" (p. 1).

Patriotism continued as a civics and citizenship theme during the period. After Empire Day was replaced by Citizenship Day in the late 1950s, there appeared a number of articles in the official literature between 1961 and 1992 that dealt with Citizenship Day and Citizenship Week. A two-page article in the *Manitoba School Journal* provided teachers with a programme to celebrate Citizenship Day, Friday, May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961. Three lofty purposes were identified: "to stress the necessity for instilling an awareness of the virtues of our Canadian democratic system of government," "to stress the basic virtues and respect for authority, the love of neighbours and the willingness to sacrifice to God and Canada," and "to stimulate

among students the desire to assume responsibility and to co-operate toward the common good of all” (1961, p. 6). The programme consisted of developing a creed of citizenship that could be written on classroom blackboards, a discussion of the meaning of good citizenship in a school, a mock parliament, and a patriotic play.

A half-page article appeared in the March 1965 issue of the *Bulletin* (II, p. 2) that provided patriotic information for teachers on the new Canadian flag. The anonymous official writer indicated that the white and red colours were those of Canada, having been approved by King George V in 1921, while the Maple Leaf Emblem had been associated with Canada as long ago as 1700.

Interestingly, a little more than a year later, the *Departmental Bulletin* carried a short article entitled “Further suggestions for Manitoba Flag Day, May 12 and/or Citizenship Day, May 20, 1966.” The writer indicated that the *Winnipeg Free Press* had recently run a story on the history of Manitoba’s fourteen flags while the *Winnipeg Tribune* had a story on Manitoba’s new flag of 1965. Patriotic support was further encouraged through the provision of passages written by notable writers on the importance of flags. In 1980, *Education Manitoba* carried a full page Provincial Proclamation for Citizenship Week, with one clause stating that Manitobans had set aside one week each year since the 1947 Act that established Canadian Citizenship to celebrate this important event, and another clause that called on Manitobans “to give special attention to the privileges, opportunities and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship” (June, p. 4).

A patriotic article on citizenship in 1987 noted that it was the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Canadian citizenship. Teachers were encouraged to have students involved in

activities related to a better understanding of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, “to strengthen students’ concept of government and the justice system and help students to explore the richness of their culture, land and society” (*Education Manitoba*, April, p. 6). In 1990, Citizenship Week celebrated “the spirit of Canada and the values and symbols which define us as a people and a nation” (*Education Manitoba*, March/April, p. 4), and teachers were encouraged to have students research the history of the Canadian flag, attend a Citizenship Court or invite a speaker to address the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The last mention of Citizenship Week in the Department’s official discourse occurred in 1992 (*Education Manitoba*, February, p. 6) where the theme “Take Your Citizenship to Heart” was framed within the celebration of the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Canadian Confederation, the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Canadian citizenship, and the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Patriotism in Canada and things Canadians were not only celebrated through Citizenship Day and Citizenship Week, but also through Remembrance Day. Between 1961 and 1989, there were no less than twelve short pieces that reminded schools that ceremonies would take place at the opening of school in the morning and, if November 11 fell on a school day, students would then be dismissed; on the other hand, if November 11 fell on weekend, school would continue after the Monday or Friday ceremonies. No guidance was given on what the Remembrance Day ceremonies would incorporate.

There were two articles that addressed the November 11 ceremonies honouring the fallen of World War I and World War II. In the first, David Church

(1983) of the Department's Communications Branch, took excerpts from the Department of Education *Annual Reports* from 1940 through 1945. The 1940 *Annual Report*, for example, had indicated that, in support of the war effort, the Department of Education, at the request of military authorities, had turned over the buildings of the Manitoba School for the Deaf, Manitoba Home for Boys, and the Residence at the University of Manitoba. The annual report of 1945 stated that once the news of peace in Europe had reached schools via radio, the Department had instructed public schools to have short commemoration services followed by a two-day holiday.

The last reference to Remembrance Day was found in the October 1989 issue of *Education Manitoba* where the Library for Manitoba Education and Training provided a discussion of resources for teacher use that dealt with "the nature of war and the priceless gift of peace" (p. 46). For example, the videorecording, "In the Line of Duty," presenting information on Canada's role in both World Wars and the Korean War, was available for loan or duplication. The official record then went silent on Remembrance Day.

Patriotism also appeared in other symbols of Manitoba and Canada. In the May 1963 issue of the *Manitoba School Journal*, there was a full-page photograph of the Golden Boy and a patriotic poem entitled "To the Golden Boy," written by Mary Jordan of Winnipeg. In April 1970, the *Bulletin* carried an article on the "Emblems of Manitoba," including the Coat-of-Arms, the Floral Emblem, the Great Seal, the Manitoba Tartan, and the Manitoba flag. The Manitoba flag was assigned to the province by royal warrant of Queen Elizabeth in October 1965, and included the Red Ensign, the provincial coat-of-arms and the Union Jack.

Interestingly, the April 2007 new social studies curriculum for grade 9 contemporary Canadian history provided teachers with only one learning outcome relative to patriotism. Students were to learn to “appreciate Remembrance Day as a commemoration of Canadian participation in world conflicts” (Manitoba. *Grade 9 Social Studies*, p. 226). Little attention was paid to allegiance, or to the symbols of Canada as a nation. Nevertheless, the entire new curriculum focussed on things Canadian, including building a just society, strengthening democracy, recognizing diversity and pluralism, and Canada in a global context.

The state continued its strong interest in developing a national identity with a civics and citizenship theme of patriotism associated with things Canadian. Nevertheless, the internationalism of the period 1921 through 1960 continued into the early years of the Multiculturalism Era. Between 1961 and 1978, there were nine United Nations Day news items and articles in the *Department of Education Bulletin* and one in *Education Manitoba*.

Five were news items that advised principals and teachers of the date for the UN Day and that information could be acquired from the Winnipeg Branch of the United Nations Association. Four were verbatim or nearly verbatim articles (*Department of Education Bulletin*, September, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964) that provided “suitable observance” to assist teachers in recognizing UN Day. UN officials expected that teachers would undertake a UN flag-raising, have an Assembly to discuss a UN matter using speakers or the school’s UN Club, run a model UN General Assembly and address a current matter before the UN, have a Flag quiz, organize direct contact with children in other countries, and study UNICEF or

UNESCO. The 1978 article in *Education Manitoba* provided historical information on the UN and indicated that the Premier's Office was sending copies in English and French of a Proclamation for the October United Nations Week. The focus was clear – Canada was part of an international political community that had economic, social, educational, and cultural problems and a need for understanding. Nevertheless, there was no further reference to United Nations Day after 1978.

The United Nations did reappear, however, as part of a new civics and citizenship theme that emerged strongly beginning in 2004 in the official discourse of the Department of Education. National identity was now to include sustainable development as a dominant theme. A May 2006 article by Education Minister Bjornson in *Education Manitoba* indicated that Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) “involves preparing students to live sustainably and to establish life-long sustainable development practices. ESD requires learning about social, cultural, environmental, and economic factors that affect our quality of life in Manitoba and around the world” (p. 1). Minister Bjornson stated that Manitoba had led the Canadian delegation that had signed the UN Strategy for Education for Sustainable Development and the Vilnius Framework for Implementation.

The Vilnius Framework required that nations of the world work together to ensure that schools and their operations supported ESD; that their curriculum, in particular, supported the integration of ESD in teaching; and that learning resources be made available for classroom use. Minister Bjornson indicated, in the 2006 article, that sustainable development outcomes were being incorporated into the curriculum under topics such as energy efficiency, climate change and human rights.

In each of 2004 and 2005, Manitoba Education provided twenty \$1,000.00 grants to schools for innovative approaches to citizenship education. In these two years, the focus was on “activities for students to engage in participatory democracy in their communities” (*Education Manitoba*, May 2006, p. 2). One of the winners of the 2005 grant was Ecole Selkirk Junior High where students, working with the local RCMP, Probation Services, the Manitoba Metis Federation, and other local groups, learned about social action designed to build a better community.

An article entitled “Education for Sustainable Development” appeared in the May 2006 *Education Manitoba* announcing that Manitoba Education and Manitoba Hydro would jointly fund the grants for sustainable development with three objectives: assist students in learning about a sustainable future; highlight exemplary practices in sustainability; and make opportunities available for students to make personal decisions on sustainability issues. This article also discussed the Department’s role in identifying learning resources that assisted teachers and students in the implementation of sustainable development in support of the grades 5 through 12 curricula.

The February 2007 *Education Manitoba* had two articles on sustainability. The first addressed global interactions in Manitoba classrooms, stating:

When we think of the world as a system over time, we begin to realize, for instance, that the decisions our grandparents made about how to farm the land continue to influence agricultural practices today and that the economic policies we endorse today will have an impact on urban socio-economic stability when our children are adults. (p. 4)

The article went on to state that students must realize that they were citizens of a planet, part of a global community. Teachers were reminded that sustainable development was one of the integratables, as was resource-based learning, and should not be viewed as a further “add-on” to the curriculum. The second article in the February 2007 *Education Manitoba* was the announcement of the ten winning projects of the 2006 Education for Sustainable Development Grants. For example, students of Gimli High School were learning about Lake Winnipeg as an ecological system and of the impact of humans on the lake, through activities related to the role of government, the economy, health and stewardship.

The April 2007 grade 9 contemporary Canadian social studies curriculum included reference to sustainability under the cluster “Opportunities and Challenges,” and subsection “Taking our Place in the Global Village.” The document stated that students must be willing “to make personal choices to sustain the environment” (Social Studies, 2007).

But Canada’s internationalism was more than sustainable development. For the four clusters of topics making up the new grade 9 Canadian social studies curriculum, one cluster – Canada in the Global Context – focussed entirely on issues related to students living in the global village, Canada’s global responsibilities, and preparing for life in an industrialized consumer society. For example, under the theme “Canada’s global responsibilities,” students learned about Canada’s connections with other nations through trade, entertainment and the environment; Canada’s participation through international organizations like the United Nations, la Francophonie, and the Commonwealth; Canada’s contribution to international

development through aid; and examine Canada's military role in present day conflicts.

Although national identity remained a key feature of the official discourse in civics and citizenship during the period 1961 through 2007, new citizenship themes of sustainable development and global understanding were being promoted by the state. Assimilation seemed to have run its course in the official writing by the beginning of the Multiculturalism Era.

Belonging is one of the ideals depicted in Gagnon and Page's (1999) citizenship work. Multiculturalism, the preeminent theme of the period under study, presents the ideal of belonging. One of the earliest mentions of multiculturalism in *Education Manitoba* was a 1984 article written by Tony Tavares, Multicultural Education Consultant for the Department, on the Multiculture Educational Resource Centre that had been developed as part of the Department's Library. Tavares indicated that this multiculturalism initiative had been as tabled by Education Minister Hemphill "to serve both [education and multicultural community] the needs, and bring the resources of the community and education system together" (November/December, p. 17). The objectives of the Centre were many, including the acquisition and loan of multicultural resources under one agency; training library staff to assist schools and the community in the development of multicultural and heritage language programs; provision of a meeting area for the community; encouragement for the creation of resources by the community and teachers, and the provision of multicultural workshops. Tavares (1984) also indicated that a multicultural advisory board had been organized to advise the Centre on its programs and policies.

The next major announcement in the September 1992 edition of *Education Manitoba* Education Minister Vodrey announced a Multicultural Policy for education. Entitled *Multicultural Education: A Policy for the 1990s* (1992), the document provided guidance to Manitoba schools in the development of multicultural education, including the understanding and awareness of the cultural and racial diversity of students in schools. The policy was seen by Vodrey as a means of “building our economy...and social success...and bringing together all Manitobans” (p. 13). The new policy would ensure that all Manitobans take part fully in society; that there be cultural and linguistic opportunities for students; and that intercultural understanding and harmony are promoted. Other initiatives included a review of learning resources for bias and stereotyping, and the provision of programs for students with limited proficiency either in English or French. Vodrey (1992) also indicated that, by September 1992, four additional supporting policies would be released: *A Policy for Heritage Language Instruction*; *Funding Policy for Language Programs*; *Race Relations Guidelines for Schools*; and *Guidelines for Multicultural Library Services*.

In October 2003, Manitoba Education and Youth released *Diversity and Equity in Education: An Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity: For Consultation*. In the introduction, officials indicated that the Department had a long-term commitment to addressing the linguistic and cultural needs of Manitoba students. This diversity was met in the early 1980s through more inclusive schooling with ESL programming, support for Heritage language education and antiracist education, and other multicultural initiatives. More recently, the Department created a Cultural Advisory

Committee, composed of representatives from cultural and community organizations, to assist in the development of a 21<sup>st</sup> century social studies curriculum to ensure that the many voices that composed Manitoba's population were heard. The introduction to the document also indicated that Francophone and Aboriginal peoples had been involved with the social studies documents from the outset.

The guiding document, *Multicultural Education: A Policy for the 1990s*, was in need of a new agenda and focus. The *Diversity and Equity in Education* document's purpose was to set a new direction for schools that would be "committed to social justice, equality, democratic government, equitable economic opportunity for all, intellectual freedom, environment protection, and human rights" (2003, p. 2). The proposed action plan, for which feedback was sought, fell into three categories: enhance Departmental policy and capacity building; enhance school and school division capacity; and build a more inclusive teaching force. As of September 2007, no action had been taken by the Department to release the final version of the document or to implement the new direction.

Education Minister Ron Lemieux addressed the inclusiveness and citizenship focus of the new K to 8 Social Studies Framework in a May 2003 lead article in *Education Manitoba*. He indicated that the development of the Western and Northern Canadian protocol for social studies was a culturally inclusive project from the outset, where "Aboriginal, Anglophone, and Francophone representatives met as full and equal partners to create a ...framework of social studies learning outcomes" (p. 1). In the adaptation of this framework to Manitoba's social studies, the Minister also stated that there had been extensive involvement and direction given by over 60 educators

and stakeholders, including Aboriginal, Anglophone and Francophone representatives as well as input from Jewish, Islamic, Ukrainian, German, Japanese and other cultural groups. Lemieux (2003) contended that the social studies curriculum not only reflected the diversity of Manitoba and Canada, but also placed citizenship as a core concept:

The Framework identifies the skills, knowledge, and values that students need to be active democratic citizens. The Framework recognizes that the concept of citizenship within a Canadian context is not easily defined, and that students need to engage in the debate about citizenship. (p. 1)

A few months earlier, an article in *Education Manitoba* entitled “Cultural and Linguistic Diversity” spoke of Departmental initiatives of the Department in this area, identifying a review of the ESL Program and an expansion of support for International and Heritage languages. For the latter, a number of new projects were outlined: Ukrainian language arts curriculum framework for K to 9; Spanish language and culture framework for 7 to 12; and a German language arts curriculum framework for K to 12.

The term “multiculturalism” was not used in the grade 9 social studies “Canada and Contemporary World” curriculum document of 2007. Nevertheless, one complete cluster in the publication was entitled “Diversity and Pluralism in Canada.” The subtopic, “Pluralism and Integration,” addressed many issues that have adversely affected certain groups in Canada as has been presented in the history of civics and citizenship in Manitoba. The curriculum addresses the assimilation attempted by the dominant British on cultural and linguistic groups, in particular, Aboriginal

residential schools and language laws. Students were also to examine the effects of residential schools on the Aboriginal people, language and education laws on francophone communities, and the general effects of discrimination and stereotyping. Students were also to learn about injustices in the past associated with the Chinese head tax, wartime internments of specific ethnic groups as enemy aliens, the Indian Act, and the discriminatory regulations put in place to restrict Jewish immigration to Canada during World War II. Students were also asked to learn about the contributions made by cultural and social groups to Canada.

Multiculturalism, manifested in many educational forms, including curriculum guides, policy documents, library services, antiracist education, listening to long-forgotten voices of the Aboriginal, Francophone and other ethnic communities, support for ESL programming as well as heritage and international languages, all contributing to a greater inclusiveness and a greater belonging of all students within Canadian citizenship.

The other citizenship axis developed by Gagnon and Page (1999) is that of an effective system of rights, and political and civic participation. From the early 1960s to the 1990s, human rights received considerable attention in the educational discourse of the Department. A short article on World Children's Day, June 14, 1961 appeared in the *Manitoba School Journal* and called on governments of the world to institute a day on which children and members of organizations responsible for children's welfare would combine to promote the ideals of friendship and understanding between children of the world and the strengthening and broadening of the efforts made by the U.N. on behalf of

children, as the next generation of the human race. (1961, May, p. 25)

Interestingly, in 1961, only 40 countries had instituted such a day. Canada approved the day in 1962. The writer of the article indicated that, for elementary schools in Canada, a programme would consist of saluting the flag; singing *O Canada*; presenting songs, dances and stories of children from other countries; and closing with the singing of *God Save the Queen*.

Nearly twenty years later, there appeared a two-page article in *Education Manitoba* on the UN-declared International Year of the Child for 1979. The theme chosen by the Manitoba Steering Committee – “Come Share With Me” – focussed on a celebration of “the child as a person, his [sic] family, his [sic] environment, and his [sic] rights” (January/February, p. 10). The aims of the Year of the Child in Canada were to encourage schools, organizations, governments, families and communities to examine the quality of childhood for which they were responsible, and “to enhance in children the concept of their personal identity and worth as individuals belonging to a given cultural, linguistic, religious, social or ethnic group, and to the Canadian and world communities” (p. 10).

In 1986, John Lohrenz, a social studies consultant for the Department, authored an article for social studies teachers on civics and citizenship issues (*Education Manitoba*, September, 1986, p. 19). First, he described a new grade 7-12 video series entitled “Paths of Development” that addressed global development, consequences of a colonial past, justice and economic growth, and Canada’s relationship with developing countries. Second, he outlined a new 15-minute videotape produced by Elections Manitoba, entitled the “The Elections Game,” that

could be used by social studies teachers to introduce the election process. Lastly, Lohrenz described the "Charter of Rights" video tape from the Department of Secretary of State, available for loan or duplication through the Department's Library, that presented a discussion between John A. Macdonald and a student in a classroom on each of the major components of the Charter.

A year later, Lohrenz (1987) presented teachers with a model, using an understanding of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Child, to illustrate the concept of development from less developed countries where there was a failure to meet the ideals in the declarations, to one of a more developed society where the ideals of the declarations were recognized and implemented. Lohrenz (1987) claimed that many teachers had difficulty addressing development, and that this model simplified and facilitated the process. Using the model, the ideals could be expressed in terms of education, living standards, social services or, collectively, under human rights.

In the same year, a short item appeared in *Education Manitoba* that announced the availability of a *Human Rights Bibliography* from the Department's Multiculture Educational Resource Centre, containing published material on the Charter and kits dealing with anti-racist education. This was the first time that such a bibliography had been developed and represented the culmination of an active collection development process in the Library to acquire materials for loan to teachers and their students in the area of human rights.

Another article by Lohrenz (1988) outlined the piloting of a human rights program in Manitoba schools. Eleven grades 4, 5 and 6 teachers attended a human

rights orientation where they were introduced to learning resources prepared by the Canadian Human Rights Foundation. Each teacher was provided with teacher's guides and lessons on four topics: "what are human rights, human rights in a community, the right to free expression and opinion, and what is fair?" (*Education Manitoba*, October, p. 19). A month later the teachers returned and described their use of the lessons with their students. One teacher reported that her students had prepared a Charter of Rights for their classrooms, and "soon realized that important responsibilities were now theirs if they really intended to 'live by the principles' they had established" (p. 19). Another teacher indicated that students were taking greater responsibility for their actions in and out of the classroom, and "felt freer to express their own opinions and thoughts – an environment where critical thinking was a part of 'what happened in the classroom' each day" (p. 19).

In 1989, Tony Tavares, the multicultural curriculum consultant for the Department, wrote an article on the need for multicultural education, wherein he indicated that Canada, like other nations of the world, dealt with racism and discrimination, past and present. To this end, he stated, that multicultural education "strives to ensure equality of opportunity and outcomes for all students" (*Education Manitoba*, May/June, p. 10). Tavares elaborated that schools can make a difference in achieving justice, fairness, respect and equality for all. He described the role of Multicultural Week and how schools can increase awareness and knowledge on our multicultural heritage and people, and celebrate in our diversity.

The last item on human rights appeared in the January 1990 issue of *Education Manitoba*, wherein staff of the Multiculture Educational Resource Centre

described a new multimedia kit, *Human Rights in Canada*, produced by the National Film Board of Canada, that was available for loan from the Library. The kit, according to the writer, focussed on what human rights were, how human rights legislation developed in Canada, and examined racism and sexism in Canadian history.

Thus, for some 30 years, official articles appeared in *Education Manitoba* on human rights, including learning resources for students, curricula, the Multiculture Educational Resource Centre, and workshops. After 1990, the official discourse on human rights went silent until the emergence of the new social studies curriculum in the 2000s.

The grade 9 “Canada in the Contemporary World” implementation document, released in April 2007, had a section on human rights under the cluster “Diversity and Pluralism in Canada,” indicating that students would provide examples of various kinds of human rights emanating from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, outline the work of Canadians who have promoted human rights, identify significant dates in the development of human rights in Canada, describe the development of the status of women in Canada in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and identify examples of how the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms impacts on themselves and their communities.

Rights and participation, citizenship components on Gagnon and Page’s (1999) axis, received strong attention in the official discourse during the 2000s. The first article, albeit short, outlined some of the research regarding how schools promoted student participation in citizenship activities while students were still in

school. Good practice in citizenship participation at school included “student planning and decision-making in school improvement activities,” “student-led activities,” “school-oriented community service,” “mentoring younger students,” and “engaging students as researchers” (*Education Manitoba*, May 2004, p. 2). The official writer went on to state that social studies was the primary vehicle, but other subjects were utilized too. Also discussed in the article was the New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People (2001) report entitled *Taking Participation Seriously*, where both schools and organizations were urged to give students a voice in decision-making, to feel comfortable in taking part in discussions, to be involved with the project from its origin to completion, to enjoy the participatory experience, and to have participation be rewarding both for the student and the school or organization.

In May 2005, an article appeared in *Education Manitoba* regarding the Department’s 2004 Manitoba Grants for Innovation in Citizenship Education, designed to provide students with practical experiences in an active, democratic society. Each grant was for \$1,000. and was to be directed at the implementation of the citizenship-in-action project. Ten innovative citizenship projects were selected, including John M. King School where students created a video that described positive changes in their community and exemplary practices in local citizenship, and Cranberry Portage Elementary School where elementary students examined climate change in their region and then discuss the results with elementary students in Winnipeg. The 2005 Grants for Innovation in Citizenship Education focussed on participatory democracy in the students’ local communities. For example, students

from Cecil Rhodes School spent time on Lake Winnipeg, accompanied by scientists, with the purpose to study the Lake and create a video documenting environmental issues (*Education Manitoba*, May 2006, p. 2).

A few months earlier, in March 2006, a two-day conference entitled “Citizenship Education Seminar for Social Studies Teachers” was sponsored by the School Programs Division, Bureau de l’éducation française Division, and MB4 Youth. Some 24 teachers participated, and “heard more than twenty presenters, many of them youth.” Sessions ranged from “defining citizenship education...to addressing the challenges of engaging youth” (*Education Manitoba*, October 2006, p. 6). The closing address by Education Minister Bjornson announced the publication of *Youth Making a Difference*, that included 16 stories of youth involvement and their citizenship projects ranging from local issues to global challenges.

Most recently, the Manitoba Ombudsman (January, 2007), in conjunction with the Department of Education, released a substantive publication, entitled *Joining the Herd: A Handbook on Participating in Manitoba’s Government*, for use by social studies teachers in grades 6, 9 and 11 in Canadian history. The document focussed on learning activities and curriculum outcomes related to government and active, democratic citizenship. This very civics publication, without once mentioning civics, dealt with the nature and operation of municipal, provincial and federal governments, by addressing student motivation for participation in government. The unidentified writer stated:

Some students will be content with little or no direct involvement in government, while others will discover that the activities of government are

of great concern to them. In order for students to make an informed decision on their level of participation in government, it is important that they learn that whether they participate directly or not, they are involved and affected by government on a daily basis....Citizens should feel empowered to participate in government by understanding how government works, what their role in government is and what they can ask of their government.

(Manitoba Ombudsman, p. 1.6)

The 2007 grade 9 *Canada in the Contemporary World* social studies implementation document also addressed participation. The learning outcomes were described in terms of responsibilities and rights, stating that students will be able to describe their local community, Canada and the world; that Aboriginal and francophone students describe their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a local community, Canada and the world; and that students be prepared to exercise these rights and responsibilities. The examples given were freedom of speech, freedom of association, and citizen involvement in the political process and in government. No direct mention was made of civic participation, although teachers were given a list of examples of school supported citizenship, including environmental activities and community service projects.

One new citizenship element not addressed by Gagnon and Page (1999) was that of critical thinking. Callan (1994) has spoken about the dangers of sentimental civic education where students learn the greatness of our government and its institutions, rather than question its operation for the purpose of improvement. The 2002 *Common Curriculum Framework for Social Studies*, addressed for the first time,

a set of skills and processes not previously identified in social studies curriculum, under the header “Creative and Critical Thinking.” The *Framework* document stated that, through the use of creative and critical thinking, students would be able “to make observations and decisions and to solve problems” (2002, p. 12). More specifically, critical thinking “involves the use of criteria and evidence to make reasoned judgements. These judgements include distinguishing fact from opinion, evaluating information and ideas, identifying perspectives and bias, and the consideration of the consequences of decisions and actions” (p. 12).

The Specific Learning Outcomes related to “critical and creative thinking skills,” as found in the grade 9 *Canada in the Contemporary World* document, indicated that students be able to analyse prejudice, racism, stereotyping found in informational sources; identify innovative solutions to problems; and “evaluate information from a variety of sources to determine reliability, validity, authenticity, and perspective” (2007, p. 66). While no direct reference is given to the critique of civics and citizenship themes, it is, nevertheless, implied that such scrutiny would take place.

In conclusion, then, thematic analysis of the official educational discourse of the very recent past has strongly addressed participation, one of Gagnon and Page’s (1999) key elements of citizenship. Strong civics themes of internationalism, sustainability and global understanding; belonging, as represented by multiculturalism or pluralism; and human rights appeared in the official record. Only patriotism seemed to fade in the latter part of the period under study. Critical thinking

skills, as a stated objective of the new social studies curriculum, was identified for the first time as an element of good citizenship.

#### *Textbook Authorization*

Beginning with the 1959 school year, the Department of Education began to cover the costs incurred by school divisions for the purchase of approved textbooks, provided that the books were provided free to students. School divisions were required to place their textbook orders with the Manitoba Text Book Bureau that, in turn, provided the textbooks without charge. In the 1959-1960 school year, the volume of business at the Bureau increased some 76% over the previous year (Manitoba. *Annual Report*, 1959-1960, p. 15). This was the first time in the history of education in Manitoba that the Department had offered, literally, to fund a school's complete requirement for official school knowledge as found in approved textbooks.

Beginning in 1960 and continuing to the early 1970s, the province's curriculum was completely revised, including the creation of new guides for most subjects, the development of a new General Course, and a new or updated program for University Matriculation Course, resulting in the need for many new textbooks, funded completely by the Department of Education. The government introduced a new education finance Foundation Program in 1967 that included a Textbook Grant, provided the books purchased were prescribed by the Minister and given free of charge to students (*Public Schools Act*, Cap. P250, 520(1)). Through regulations, the amount per eligible student could be set annually. The Deputy Minister of Education described the change from free textbooks to a grant for textbooks as "keeping with the trend to greater local autonomy" (Manitoba. *Annual Report*, 1970-1971, p. 9).

Using a textbook grant structure also meant that there was a limit as to how much the Department would fund for textbooks in any given year.

In addition, a further amendment to the *Public Schools Act* (Chapter 49, 240(ii)) in 1967 gave the Minister the authority to make regulations and prescribe courses of study to carry out proposals. The specific proposal was the use of French as a language of instruction and the French textbooks necessary for the program.

In the *Revised Statutes of Manitoba* (1970), the *Education Department Act* brought together the powers of the Minister, the Manitoba Text Book Bureau and the Advisory Board. Under section 6.1, the Minister had the power to prescribe textbooks to be used in schools; arrange the printing and publication of textbooks for pupils in schools; purchase textbooks for free distribution to students or for free distribution after purchase; and to make regulations. Under section 12, the Manitoba Text Book Bureau was authorized to sell textbooks to schools, and, under section 14, the Advisory Board had the power to prescribe and regulate the patriotic exercises to be used in schools, and to assess the curricula and textbooks to be used. The one major change in the powers described above was that the Advisory Board no longer had to review and approve every textbook.

In the *Revised Statutes of Manitoba* (1970), the *Public Schools Act* gave school trustees the power to purchase textbooks that could be sold without profit, or given to pupils, or be loaned to them with or without charge. School trustees were required to provide suitable storage for textbooks and maintain records regarding their receipt and distribution, and ensure that no unauthorized textbooks were used in schools. Teachers were required to use only authorized textbooks, and “no portion of

the legislative grant shall be paid in respect of any school in which unauthorized books are used” (P250, 271). Any teacher willfully challenging the authorized textbook regulations “is guilty of an offence and is liable, on summary conviction before a justice of the peace, to a fine of not more than ten dollars” (P250, 306). Finally, a teacher was not permitted to act as an agent for the purpose of selling textbooks to schools. The powers of the Minister, the Advisory Board and the Manitoba Text Book Bureau continued to regulate the prescribed knowledge found in textbooks and ensured that textbook records were maintained. In 2007, these powers remain unchanged.

In 1971, the Textbook program of 1967 was changed to a Print and Non-Print Instructional Materials Grant of \$12.00 per pupil, provided the materials were purchased through the MTBB (Manitoba. *Regulations*, P250, 17). This change in grant structure was designed to accommodate resource-based learning where teachers were encouraged to use not only textbooks, but also a vast array of support materials.

In March 1972, the Department announced the introduction of multiple textbooks and support materials for kindergarten through grade 12, indicating that the multiple texts for given subjects would be listed in the MTTB catalogue and would require school boards (i.e. teachers) to make the determination in their choice of authorized materials to be used in the classroom. This program of listing multiple texts was particularly apparent in social studies. However, this was already the case at a much earlier time for subject of history, as revealed in the Manitoba Text Book Bureau *Teacher's Guide and Price List 1958-1959*, where, for the social studies II Canadian history course, there were three authorized history textbooks from which

teachers could choose: Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation*; Reeve and MacFarlane's *The Canadian Pageant*; and Chafe and Lower's *Canada, A Nation*.

In 1973, Minister of Education, Ben Hanuschak, created a provincial Task Force on Text Book Evaluation, chaired by Caroline Cramer of the Manitoba Human Rights Commission, with members from the Department of Education, and Colleges and Universities Affairs. The main recommendation coming from the Task Force was to ensure that textbooks selected for use in schools were evaluated for discrimination and bias. The Task Force also recommended that

illustrations and written material must not perpetuate stereotypes about people based on race, religion, sex, creed, color, age, culture, nationality, ancestry; and the use of 'value-loaded' words or labels should be avoided. Illustrations should reflect the wide variety of differences found in present-day society.

(Manitoba. *Bulletin*, 1974, pp. 4-5)

A few Manitoba social studies textbooks had already seen controversy several years earlier. The grade 5 social studies textbook, *Manitoba: Its People and Places*, had been criticized for containing discriminatory information about Aboriginal peoples. The Department of Education required that all copies of the textbook have pages 167 and 168 removed. Further, the Department would, as soon as possible, either revise or replace the textbook in 1971-1972 school year. The article went on to indicate that a replacement study of an Indian community would be ready in early 1972 (Manitoba. *Bulletin*, 1971, p. 5).

Also in 1971, the Manitoba Human Rights Commission report, *A Study of Social Studies Text Books for Use in Manitoba Schools*, charged that the civics

textbook by Ricker and Saywell, entitled *How Are We Governed?* and approved for use in history 300, had high negative scores for its treatment of women, race, civil rights, Japanese Canadians and French-Canadians. It was also criticized for its focus on non-controversial matters and lack of historical context in its description of the governing process (Commission, 1971, p. 101).

The Print and Non-Print Instructional Materials Grant became the “Curricula or Curricular Materials” Grant in the 1987-1988 school year, reflecting the need by the Department for a more simplified description of the grant. This change to simplify the grant’s name is supported by the fact that the definition of the grant between 1986-1987 and 1987-1988, as stated in the MTBB catalogues, was exactly the same. Regardless of the name, the grant could be used for the purchase of textbooks and any other instructional materials. Throughout the 1980s and well into the 1990s, the approved textbook remained the primary resource material for teaching a particular course and had the approval of the Minister of Education for use in schools. Other materials identified by curriculum committees were considered support materials, and lacked the approved designation. This approach became very evident when civics textbooks were examined during the first four decades of the period, as there were only a few approved civics textbooks, but many support materials.

With the “New Directions” philosophy introduced in 1998, a new textbook review process would be undertaken by teacher-evaluators either through the Manitoba Protocol or the Western Canadian Protocol, later becoming the Western and Northern Canadian Protocol (WNCP). As new curricula were released, learning resource reviews took place, and included selection criteria to be met by publishers in

their submission of textbook titles to the Department. These criteria had a strong social orientation, particularly for social studies textbooks, focussing on citizenship and diversity as well as addressing the loss of citizenship rights experienced by certain segments of Canada's population. Multiple titles were also selected if they met the demanded criteria. Further, only textbooks with copyright dates not more than five years old were to be submitted for social studies reviews. Finally, an "evergreening" process was initiated that resulted in frequent resource calls addressing only newly released titles in specific subject areas.

Recommended learning resources were those that had been authorized for use in Manitoba classrooms through formal review processes. Approved textbooks had existed in Manitoba between 1871 and 1998; as of September 1998, however, they were now "recommended learning resources." This proved to be an asset for civics textbooks because many of the titles moved from the designation of "support" to that of "recommended." Furthermore, the Department's Curricular Materials Grant could be used by schools to purchase the recommended titles, be they textbooks or other learning resources. In 1999-2000, the grant was \$50.00 per eligible pupil and, in 2007-2008, it was \$60.00.

Learning resources reviews, the purpose of which was to identify recommended materials for all subjects in the kindergarten through grade 12 programme, took place in support of the existing social studies curricula as well as the new social studies curricula introduced in the early 2000s. Annotated bibliographies were also released for social studies that provided detail as to the

breadth and depth of curriculum match for recommended history, civics and geography resources.

A number of other developments took place with textbook authorization related to civics textbooks. Until the late 1990s, the civics textbook had remained the purveyor of curriculum content and teaching methodology, as it had been since 1911. It was only with the post 2000 period that the Department actively sought out multiple civics textbooks so as to implement the broad range of outcomes that were being identified in the new social studies curriculum. Further, where no reasonable matches could be made, the Department called on publishers to modify or develop new civics textbooks to match curricula. In addition, the Department now demanded that civics content and civics teaching methodology be separated into two volumes, with the recommended student content appearing in one, and the recommended teaching methodology in another.

#### *Approved and Recommended Civics Textbooks*

In the examination of civics textbooks for the period 1961-2007, I focus only on those civics textbooks that are either approved by the Minister of Education or, recommended by Department of Education. Both approved and recommended resources carried the authorized banner of official and legal sanction to use these textbooks or other specified learning resources in the classroom as the primary material for teaching and learning any given subject. This study, however, focussed on printed civics textbooks. While there were many other civics texts identified as support materials, these titles and authors, although acknowledged, were not studied. Except where citations so indicated, all of the information in this section related to

textbook titles and authorization periods was obtained from the Manitoba Text Book Bureau annual catalogues of resources issued between 1959-1960 and 2007-2008 and learning resources bibliographies issued by the Department's curriculum unit between 2001 and 2007; I have not, therefore, provided citations to any one catalogue or bibliography.

Approved civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools at the beginning of the period under study in this chapter represented a curious mix of the past and the present. By the end of World War II, all of the civics textbooks used in the preceding 20 years had gone out of print. Faced with no new civics textbooks or appropriate school texts from which to select and approve, the Manitoba Department of Education was forced to take several different approaches to the problem. First, the Department decided to write and publish its own civics textbook, authored by a committee of teachers and civil servants, for use in all schools of Manitoba. It would appear that Curriculum Director John Brown, the highest-ranking Department of Education official on the committee, actually wrote the entire text, as it is consistent throughout in terms of style and citizenship content.

The textbook written and created by the Department of Education contained only the official knowledge of civics as was derived through the officials of the Department. *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* (1956) was printed and sold by the provincial government's publisher, the Queen's Printer, and was approved for use in schools to teach civics and citizenship during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although declared out of print in 1962, authorization must have continued until at least September 1964, when the *Manual* was again identified in the *Bulletin*,

the official organ of the Department, as being out of print, but available through the school library (*II*(2), p. 2). The *Bulletin* then identified five “useful references” for the study of government: Dawson’s *Democratic Government in Canada*; Ward’s *Government of Canada*; Ricker and Saywell’s *Nation and Province: The History and Government of Canada and Manitoba Since Confederation*; Baker and Brown’s *Civics and Citizenship*; and McGrath’s *Youth and the Law*. Although no further reference was made in the official record of the Department to the *Manual*, civics, as evidenced through the use of support materials, was clearly still a priority of the Department.

The Manitoba Text Book Bureau catalogues made no reference whatsoever to the *Manual* as it was sold through the province’s Queen’s Printer. Nevertheless, the Bureau did list “references,” which translated to supplementary or supporting resources, that addressed civics. The MTBB *1958-1959 Catalogue* listed for grades 1 and 2 social studies, Baker and Brown’s *Citizens at Home: A Text-Workbook: Grade 1* and their *Citizens at School: A Text-Workbook: Grade 2*. For grade 3 “community living,” Baker and Brown’s *Citizens in Our Community: A Text-Workbook: Grade 3* was identified. As supporting material for the grade 8 Canadian history textbook, Garland’s *Canada: Then and Now*, four civics texts were listed: Tanser’s *Citizens of Canada: Book 1: You and Your Community* and *Book 2: You and Your Province*; Edmonson’s *Civics for Youth*; and McDougall’s *Commonwealth of Nations*. The Department of Education was unlikely to authorize these supporting civics books when teachers were to be using the province’s very own *Manual*.

For grade 11 Canadian history in 1958-1959, there were six civics titles listed as references for the course: Dawson's *Democratic Government of Canada*; Ferguson's *How We Govern Ourselves*; Burt's *Manitoba High School Civics*; Rowat's *Your Local Government*; and the federal government Bureau of Statistics' *Canada 1958 Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent Progress* and the *Canada Year Book*. Two other social studies titles were listed as teachers' reference books: Baker and Brown's *Civics and Citizenship*, and Ricker and Saywell's *How Are We Governed?*. Further civics reference materials were added to the 1965-1966 MTTB Catalogue including Ward's *Government in Canada* and the federal government's *Our System of Government*. To supplement the four authorized textbooks for social studies III modern civilization in 1958, two civics titles were identified: Hornby's *The United Nations* and the *United Nations Study Kit*. Thus, the Department not only had its core authorized civics textbook, *A Manual*, for kindergarten to grade 12, but also sold many other civics books through the Bureau to support the social studies program.

Another extremely creative solution was devised by the Department to solve the lack of a history and civics textbook for the new general course Canadian Democracy 201. Clarke, Irwin & Company, working with the Department and its new curriculum, designed and published a new textbook in 1963, specifically for use in the 201 course. The new textbook – John Ricker and John Saywell's *Nation and Province: The History and Government of Canada and Manitoba Since Confederation* – was the adaptation of Ricker and Saywell's (1961) civics textbook *How Are We Governed?*, with the inclusion of certain portions of Ricker, Saywell and

Rose's (1960) *The Modern Era*, and newly-written material for the period 1867 to 1900; and some additional history dealing with Western Canada that the Department believed was necessary "to fill out what seemed to be touched upon rather lightly" (Manitoba. *Curriculum Development*, 1964, p. 34). Approved for use in 1963 in Canadian history 201, students were provided with a slightly-modified study of Ricker and Saywell's federal, provincial and municipal institutions as had been found in their *How Are We Governed?*.

In 1976, *Nation and Province* was removed from the list of authorized textbooks for history 201, leaving the two earlier authorized history textbooks *The Canadian Experience* and *Canada: Colony to Centennial* as prescribed. Neither of these two history textbooks had the civics content found in *Nation and Province*. Approved in 1976 were three additional civics textbooks, presumably replacing the civics content in *Nation and Province*, with Barry Riddell and John Lynch's "Canadian Political Studies Series": *Ideology* (1973), *Issues Facing Political Parties* (1973), and *Urban Politics* (1972). These three books were identified in the MTBB catalogue as out of print in the school year 1981-1982 and were deauthorized the following year.

For the 1956-1957 school year, the Department created for the Commercial Programme an optional grade 12 history course entitled Democratic Government in Canada 3. The authorized textbook used between 1956 and 1967 was Robert MacGregor Dawson's (1949, 1957, 1963 and 1964) *Democratic Government in Canada*. When the 1964 edition went out of print in the school year 1964-1965 and the Commercial Programme was revised in 1966-1967, the course, Democratic

Government in Canada 3, was eliminated, ending the authorization of *Democratic Government in Canada* in 1967. Each of the four authorized editions of Dawson's civics textbook had been an institutional civics study of federal, provincial and municipal governments.

The revised social studies 301 course introduced in 1968 started with eight approved textbooks: six history texts, one economics, and one civics title. The latter, the United Nations Office of Public Information *Basic Facts About the United Nations* (1967, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1983) continued in use until the deauthorization of the many editions in 1984. In 1971-1972, two newly authorized civics textbooks, Gwendolen Carter's *The Government of the Soviet Union* (1967) and Ricker and Saywell's *How Are We Governed?* (1971) were authorized for the modern civilization 300 course. In 1977, the Department approved the 1972 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of *The Government of the Soviet Union*, that went out of print in 1982-1983, and was deauthorized in 1984.

In 1978, the 1977 edition of Ricker and Saywell's *How Are We Governed?* was approved for history 300 and, in 1981, so too was their 1980 edition. The 1971, 1977 and 1980 editions were deauthorized in 1983-1984, and replaced with John Ricker, John Saywell and Alan Skeoch's (1982) *How Are We Governed in the 80's?*. In 1986-1987, the comparative systems 300 and modern world problems 301 courses were identified as being terminated in the near future and replaced by world issues 300/301. The old courses were replaced in 1989-1990 school year. *How Are We Governed in the 80's?* authorization ended in 1986 and became one of many support

materials available for the 300/301 courses. Interestingly enough in 1987-1988, the Bureau stocked a supplement (1985) to *How Are We Governed in the 80's?*

For the first time, in 1972, the Department approved a specific civics textbook to be used in association with grade 9 British history. Terry Thomas Ferris and Gerald Alfred Onn's (1966) civics textbook, *Civics for Canadians*, addressed the federal and provincial governments, the Canadian judicial system, revenues and expenditures, and provided a comparison of British, American and Canadian governments. It is logical to assume that a Canadian civics textbook amongst five British history textbooks was warranted based on the fact that Canadian institutions of government were modelled on those of Britain. After Ferris and Onn's *Civics for Canadians* went out of print in 1983-1984, its authorization ended in 1984. In 1984-1985, this British history course had been changed to "Canada Today."

*Civics for Canadians* was replaced in 1984 not by a single civics textbook but rather by a myriad of support materials, including *You, and Your Government* (1979), *Government and You* (1984), *Politics is Simply a Public Affair* (1982), *Rights & Responsibilities* (1979), *Rights and Responsibilities in the Law* (1982), and *The Structure of Government* (1981). This listing of numerous support materials in civics and other topics for the grade 9 Canada Today course in the MTBB catalogue represented the impact of the educational philosophy of resource-based learning on social studies. It also reflected the Department's distinction between Ministerial-approved textbooks and support materials.

For the school year 1981-1982, the Department authorized two new civics textbooks for grade 5 "Lifestyles in Canada Today" social studies course. Alex

Carlton's (1978) *Here's How It Happens: How Governments Work in Canada* traced the story of two children involved with issues at the local, provincial and federal governments. The second newly-approved civics textbook was Edward Marchand's (1979, 1984, 1986) *Working for Canadians: A Study of Local, Provincial and Federal Government*), again taking the institutional approach to the study of civics. Though not authorized, a 30-page *Teacher's Manual* (1979) for *Working for Canadians* was also for sale from Prentice-Hall, and stocked and sold through the Bureau in the 1984-1985 school year. This teacher's manual represented the first time that such a support document for teachers was made available for a textbook for the subject of civics.

At the beginning of the 1990s, there were only two approved civics textbooks, both for grade 5 Canadian history, as well as a myriad of civics support materials for the remaining social studies program. For the school year 1992-1993, Carlton's *Here's How It Happens* was declared out of print and deauthorized in September 1993. *Working for Canadians* (1986) was deauthorized for the school year 1997-1998. Thus, beginning September 1997, there were no approved civics textbooks, but there continued to be many supplementary civics titles.

For the school year 1998-1999, the Department eliminated the designation "approved" and replaced it with "recommended." There would now be recommended learning resources for student use and for teacher use. This new designation of "recommended" still carried the authority of the Department as authorized for use in classrooms, and included not only textbooks, but also educational kits, CD-ROMs and other forms of learning resources. The material from 1998 to 2007 is presented

chronologically within each grade where civics was part of the social studies program. A complicating factor in the early 2000s was the presence of existing curricula and new curricula side by side for individual grades in social studies.

For the existing kindergarten to grade 4 social studies courses, the Department recommended, in 2003-2004, for teacher use the text by Roland Case, Mary Abbott and Mara Coward (2003) entitled *Rights, Roles and Responsibilities at School: A Unit Exploring the Responsibilities of Various School Roles, Including Students' Own Responsibilities, in Helping to Meet Other Students' Needs*. In 2006-2007, this text was recommended for teacher use in the new social studies grade 1 curriculum "Connecting and Belonging."

Recommended in 2005-2006 for the new grade 4 social studies course "Manitoba, Canada and the North," was a series of student civics texts. The "All About Canadian Citizenship" (2004) series, by Jessica Pegis, included ten recommended student books: *Becoming a Canadian Citizen, Canadian Celebrations and Traditions, Children's Rights and Responsibilities, Citizen Participation, Conflict Resolution, Local Government, Making Laws, The National Anthem, The Prime Minister, and Voting*, along with the recommended teacher's text by Maryrose O'Neill (2004) entitled *All About Canadian Citizenship: Teacher's Guide*.

Recommended in 2005-2006 for teachers was John Bejermi's (2005) *How Parliament Works*. Linda Granfield's (2001) civics textbook, *Canada Votes: How We Elect Our Government* was recommended for student use in grade 4 in 2003.

For the existing grade 5 social studies course "Lifestyles in Canada Today," the recommended student texts for 1998-1999 were Ernest Baydock, Peter Francis,

Ken Osborne, and Bernard Semotok's (1984) *Politics is Simply a Public Affair* and Linda Granfield's (1990, 1992) *Canada Votes: How We Elect Our Government*.

Granfield's text was removed from the grade 5 course in 2003. The text *Politics is Simply a Public Affair* was deauthorized in 2000. In 2003-2004, the old curriculum was renamed "Life in Canada Today." In 2006-2007, two civics texts were

recommended for teacher use in the existing social studies courses for grades 5 to 8:

John Bejerimi's (2005) *How Parliament Works* and Roland Case, Cliff Falk, Neil

Smith, and Walt Werner's (2004) *Active Citizenship: Student Action Projects: A*

*Framework for Elementary and Secondary Teachers to Help Students Plan and*

*Implement Responsible Social Action*. The new grade 5 course, "People and Stories of Canada to 1867," had no civics textbooks attached to it.

For the existing grade 6 Canadian history "Lifestyles in Canada's Past," a recommended resource from 1998-1999 for teachers was Edward Marchand's *Working for Canadians: Teacher's Manual* (1979) and the student text *Working for Canadians* (1986). The recommended teacher text went out of print and was deauthorized in 2002-2003, while the student text was declared out of print and removed from the MTBB catalogue in 2004-2005. The existing grade 6 course was renamed "Life in Canada's Past" in 2003-2004. The new course for grade 6 entitled "Canada, a Century of Change" had no civics texts associated with it.

The new grade 7 social studies curriculum, "People and Places in the World" replaced the existing curriculum entitled "Spaceship Earth." While the existing grade 7 curriculum had no civics materials, the new curriculum did. For the school year 2004-2005, a new "Global Citizenship" series by Susan Watson (2004), was

recommended with eight titles: *Being Active Citizens, Improving the Quality of Life, Living Sustainably, Making Global Connections, Protecting Global Environments, Respecting Cultural Differences, Understanding Human Rights, and Valuing World Heritage*. On July 16, 2005, two civics titles in the “Critical Challenges Across the Curriculum” series were recommended for teacher use for the grade 7 social studies program: *Caring for Young People’s Rights: A Unit for Elementary and Secondary Students on the Rights of Young People Around the World And What Can be Done to Secure These Rights*, authored by Jan Nicol, Dan Kirk and Roland Case (2004), and *Active Citizenship: Student Action Projects; A Framework for Elementary and Secondary Teachers to Help Students Plan and Implement Responsible Social Action*, by Roland Case, Cliff Falk, Neil Smith and Walt Werner (2004).

For the existing grade 9/senior 1 “Canada Studies” social studies course, there were a number of recommended student civics textbooks identified in 1998-1999, including Linda Granfield’s (1997) *Canada Votes*; Derald Fretts’ (1992, 1992, 1992) *Canadian Citizenship in Action*, the teacher text *Canadian Citizenship in Action: Teacher’s Guide*, and the teacher support package *Canadian Citizenship in Action Media Package*, containing three filmstrips; Charles Kahn and Richard Howard’s (1989) *Government and You*; John Ricker, John Saywell and Alan Skeoch’s (1991) *How Are We Governed in the 90’s?*, with an *Update* (1966); John Bejeremi’s (1996) *How Parliament Works*; and two titles in John Calder, Derek Hounsell, Barry Kilpatrick, Bernie Sisk, and Enos Watts’ (1986, 1986) “Understanding The Canadian Environment” series, *Canada: Human Rights and the Law* and *Canada: Human Rights: Foundations for Freedom*. In 2002, two civics textbooks – Lynn Flaig and

Kathryn Galvin's (1997) *Finding Your Voice: You and Your Government* and Patricia Shields' (1998) *Finding Your Voice: You and Your Government: Teacher's Resource* – were recommended. In 2007, *How Parliament Works; Canada Votes; Government and You; How Are We Governed in the '90s?* and *Update; Canada: Human Rights and the Law; Canada: Human Rights: Foundations for Freedom; Canadian Citizenship in Action: Teacher's Guide; Government: Participating in Canada; Government: Participating in Canada: Activities;* and *Finding Your Voice: You and Your Government: Teacher's Resource* were all de-authorized. The MTTB probably chose not to reorder these titles that would be eliminated the following year with the planned demise of the old grade 9 course.

The new social studies curriculum for grade 9/senior 1, entitled “Canada in the Contemporary World,” also contained recommended civics textbooks. The new texts recommended in 2004 were Don Wells' (2005) “The Canadian Government Series,” including *Canada and the Global Village; Canada's System of Government; Canadian Citizenship; Canadian Unity;* and *The Canadian Identity*. From the “Canadian Heritage Collection,” there was one recommended civics student textbook by Rick Homan (2004), entitled *Primary Documents of Twentieth Century Canada: Citizenship and Government* and the accompanying *Teacher's Guide*, by Miriam Bardswich and Thomas Wright (2004). Alan Skeoch, Peter Flaherty and D. Lynn Moore's (2000) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society* and Alan Skeoch, Chris Delaney and David Hopkins' (2001) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society: Teacher's Resource*, along with Marc Kielburger and Craig Kielburger's

(2002, 2004) *Take Action! A Guide to Active Citizenship* and their *Take More Action* were also listed as recommended civics learning resources.

Most recently, the Department initiated a project with the publisher Emond Montgomery of Toronto to convert the John Ruypers and John Ryall's (2005) civics textbook, entitled *Canadian Civics*, written for the then new Ontario grade 10 half-course in civics, into a more issues-oriented grade 9 Manitoba text with a non-civics title. Tooth (2006), reviewing *Canadian Civics* for *CM: Canadian Review of Materials*, found that the text addressed well some current citizenship themes including responsibilities, participation, diversity, government, public decision making, and human rights. Publisher Emond Montgomery released *Canada in the Contemporary World* (2007) by John Ruypers, John Ryall, Linda Connor, and William Norton, recommended by the Department of Education for student use in grade 9 social studies, during the summer of 2007. The accompanying teacher's guide is expected to be released shortly.

For the existing grade 11/senior 3 Canadian history, "Canada: A Social & Political History," there were, in June 2001, three newly-recommended student and one teacher's text. They were: Don Quinlan, Mary Jane Pickup and Terry Lahey's (1999, 1999) *Government: Participating in Canada* and *Government: Participating in Canada: Activities* and the recommended student text by Nick Brune and Mark Bulgutch (2000) *Canadian by Conviction: Asserting our Citizenship* and teacher text by Jill Colyer (2001) *Canada by Conviction: Asserting our Citizenship. Teacher's Resource Binder*. The new grade 11 Canadian history implementation curriculum is expected in late 2008, and will be followed by Manitoba Calls for learning resources.

This is likely to result in many new civics textbooks recommended for student and teacher use.

Civics and citizenship textbooks in the social studies program remained an important area of concern for the Department of Education, Citizenship and Youth.

*Reflections of Citizenship and Citizenship Education in  
Approved and Recommended Civics Textbooks*

In this section of the study, I review the authorship of seventy-six civics and citizenship textbooks used in schools between 1961 and 2007, focussing on the social interests reflected in the various authors' interpretations of civics. I also analyse each civics textbook used in Manitoba schools for its reflections of citizenship and citizenship education.

*Whose and What Knowledge is of Most Worth?*

The unacknowledged author of the kindergarten through grade 12 civics textbook, *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools* (1956), a government document published and sold through the province's Queen's Printer, was Dr. John Brown, at the time, Director of Curriculum for the province. As the official representative of the government, Brown was obligated to write the civics that was wanted by state authorities. However, as the elite academic, educator and scholar described in Chapter Five, his own social interests would have been very much in tune with those of the government – both endorsed the objective of national character development that welcomed a good number of civics responsibilities. The typology was very much republican in nature. The student was expected to learn about government, and not question or critique the nature or operation of government. The

*Manual*, in fact, represented the last time that a government official in the Manitoba Department of Education wrote an approved textbook for social studies, as the ultimate version of official knowledge in civics and citizenship.

John Ricker and John Saywell (1961) contributed their civics textbook *How Are We Governed?* to the creation of the new combined history and civics textbook, *Nation and Province* (1963) for the new general course in Manitoba, Canadian democracy 201. Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, *How Are We Governed?* and *How Are We Governed in the '80s?* stood as stand-alone civics textbooks for history 300, and, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, *How Are We Governed in the '90s?* as a grade 9 social studies textbook. John Ricker was Assistant Professor of Methods of History at the Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, during the 1960s, before becoming the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto. He was also the author of another authorized Manitoba history textbook, entitled *The Emergence of Europe* (1976). Ricker collaborated with John Saywell in the writing of several educational and history textbooks, particularly *How Are We Governed?*, that went through many editions, and *Nation and Province*. Saywell received his doctorate from Harvard University, became the Associate Professor of History at York University, and was the author of many books and articles that dealt with Canadian public affairs and history. Both Ricker and Saywell were university professors and writers, and brought with them the social interests of the elite in Canada and its corresponding republican conception of citizenship.

With the deauthorization of *Nation and Province* in the mid-1970s, Barry Riddell and John Lynch's "Canadian Political Studies Series" was authorized as the

civics component of the 201 history program. Little is known of either author.

However, we do know that, at the time of the writing of the three textbooks in 1972-1973, both Riddell and Lynch were high school social studies teachers. Riddell was a teacher at Winston Churchill Collegiate in Scarborough, Ontario, and Lynch at Pleasant View Junior High School in Willowdale, Ontario. This was the first time that Manitoba had approved civics textbooks that were the product of high school history teachers who were not academics, scholars or civil servants.

In the opening chapter of *Ideology*, Riddell and Lynch (1973) examined the political culture in Canada, indicating that Canadians generally support its democracy and traditions. However, they went on to explain that the focus of the text was “current ideological conflicts in Canadian society” (p. 5). This was a new orientation to the study of civics where high school teachers were trying to bring a different, more contemporary approach, to the study of civics and citizenship. Sentimentalism was set aside for the critical examination of controversial political concerns, such as political alienation and issues dealing with the Canadian worker and senior citizens, all of which were new to the study of civics.

As was mentioned in Chapter Four, Robert MacGregor Dawson, 1895 to 1958, was the author of *Democratic Government in Canada* (1949, 1957, 1963, 1964), the editions of which were used as a civics textbook for the optional grade 12 history course for commercial programme students. Dawson was one of Canada’s leading political scientists, having been educated at Dalhousie University, Harvard, the University of London School of Economics and Political Science. He taught at Dalhousie, Rutgers, the University of Saskatchewan, and then the Department of

Political Economy at the University of Toronto in 1937. *Democratic Government in Canada* presented a classical, republican-oriented study of the operation of the Canadian government at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Dawson, an elite academic, educator and scholar, wrote a text that was factual and understandable, and representative of his social interests in stability and reverence of our democratic institutions.

Gwendolen Carter's *The Government of the Soviet Union* was used during the 1970s and early 1980s as a civics text for the modern civilization 300 level course. This civics textbook was approved in 1971, early in the mandate of the first NDP government in Manitoba. Never before had a textbook been approved that focussed on a government other than that of Canada and Great Britain.

Carter was born in 1906 in Hamilton, Ontario, and received her education at Toronto (B. A., 1931), Oxford (B. A., 1931; M. A., 1935), and Radcliffe (M. A., 1936; Ph. D., 1938). She taught at many universities in the United States, including Wellesley and Tufts Colleges, Northwestern University and Indiana University. She actively published in the 1940s through 1970s, focussing on European governments. She passed away in 1990. One of her publications was *The Government of the Soviet Union* (1967). Carter, then, was an elite academic, scholar and educator, whose social interests were heavily grounded in democracies. In the introduction to her work on the Soviet Union, Carter indicated that the text would not only serve to better understand the Soviet system of government and its satellites, but also pointed out how it varied with the principles of our form of democratic government (1967, p. 2).

Carter's social interests supported the republican model of citizenship, illustrating that liberal democracies had much to offer the citizen as compared to communism.

The first edition of *Basic Facts About the United Nations* (1967) was approved for student use in grade 12 social studies 301 in 1968. Four additional editions were stocked by the Bureau and sold to schools, until the de-authorization of all editions in 1984. The authors of this textbook were the staff of the United Nations Office of Public Information. Their social interests, as employees, were the interests of the UN, and they were required to present the UN in its best possible light. The unnamed individuals who wrote the texts portrayed a republican model of citizenship, albeit at the world level, that was uncritical and very descriptive of the many "effectively-operating" organs of international government.

Terry Ferris and Gerald Onn, authors of the grade 9 textbook *Civics for Canadians* (1966), were both high school teachers – Ferris was the principal of G. A. Wheable Secondary School, London, and Onn, the head of the history department, Westminster Secondary School, London. Not unlike the approach taken by Riddell and Lynch (1973) in their textbook, *Ideology*, Ferris and Onn, too, produced a different student-oriented civics textbook. They were not only concerned with ensuring students had a basic knowledge of the political organization of their society, but also were equally concerned that it address "practical issues in the hope that the student will come to feel the immediacy of the subject matter" (p. v). The authors used case studies to address significant issues in addition to the identification of problems "that are part of the contemporary scene and to the way in which they bear upon the lives of all citizens in a democratic society" (p. v). Again, a far less

republican and far more liberal, relevant and interesting interpretation of citizenship was presented to students by Ferris and Onn.

In the early 1980s, two new civics textbooks were approved for the grade 5 social studies programme. Alex Carlton's (1978) *Here's How It Happens: How Governments Work in Canada* was one of the titles. While nothing in print is available on Carlton, it is clear in reading the text that it was written by a teacher, probably from an elementary school setting. The core civics material, including the examination of the municipal, provincial and federal governments, was presented in an engaging story-line format. For each of these three chapters, two children and their parents engaged in active involvement in government: in the local government chapter, the students simulated problem-solving in the planning of a city; in the provincial chapter, students role-played the positions of party leaders and premier; and, in the federal government chapter, they addressed the difficulty of coordinating the affairs of the nation. The very clear message to students by Carlton was that civics was everyone's affair and that students had to prepare themselves for their active involvement in government. Overall, the text took the social interests of the middle class where teachers were asked to prepare students for a more active, liberal citizenship.

The second civics textbook approved for grade 5 was Edward Marchand's (1979, 1984) *Working for Canadians*; the 1986 edition was recommended in 1998 for grades 5 through 8 social studies. Marchand was a teacher in Calgary, with an M. Ed., who stated that his students and fellow teachers provided many good ideas on how to make the book better through many revisions to the activities in the book. In his

“preface” to the text, Marchand took a proactive approach, indicating that it was difficult teaching issues of power, equality and government from the content of a textbook; rather, learning was through participation – an active engagement of students in the activities in the text and through students working cooperatively with their classmates. Marchard’s approach to civics and citizenship was definitely a more liberal problem solving approach. Not surprisingly, Marchand’s (1979, 1986) *Teacher’s Manual* to the student text used in grades 5 to 8 also took a similar liberal citizenship conceptualization.

Linda Granfield’s (1990, 1997, 2001) text *Canada Votes: How We Elect Our Government* was used in grade 5 social studies during the 1990s, and for grade 9 beginning in 1998. Granfield’s education was in English studies, with a Master’s from Northeastern University and a Ph. D. from the University of Toronto. She held a teacher’s certificate from the United States and has written numerous books of juvenile non-fiction. In an article on Linda Granfield in *CM: Canadian Review of Materials*, David Jenkinson (1999) quoted her as stating that Kids Can Press asked if she could write a book on voting that would be interesting (p. 4). Her research revealed not only boring government publications that were sent to schools, but also content that even she did not understand.

Granfield can be described as representing the social interests of the middle class and her civics text *Canada Votes* reflected a very liberal citizenship conceptualization that not only stressed the importance of the right to vote but also addressed how, in the past, many Canadian groups, including Chinese, Japanese, Aboriginal peoples, women and Mennonites, had been denied the right to vote.

John Bejermi's 1996 edition of *How Parliament Works* was recommended for student use in 1998 and continues to be recommended in grade 9 social studies. The 2005 edition was recommended for teacher use in 2005 and, in 2006, was recommended for teacher use for grades 5 to 8 social studies. Bejermi's educational background was in political science and business administration. He created and taught a course at Algonquin College in Ottawa on how Parliament works, and became a federal employee working in the House of Commons. Although the book was written on Bejermi's own time, its value was that it presented the nature and process of the federal government in a straightforward manner. His social interests were very much of the elite of Parliament, and, therefore, his textbook did not present a liberal conceptualization of citizenship; rather, his quasi-official text represents a republican conception of citizenship where a good, up-to-date knowledge of federal government institutions and its linear processes would lead to a better understanding of the operation of Parliament and permit citizens to make greater demands on their representatives. No explanation was made about how the latter concept would work.

Charles Kahn and Richard Howard's (1989) *Government and You* was also recommended in 1998 for the grade 9 social studies programme. Whereas, Bejermi focussed only on Parliament, Kahn and Howard addressed all levels of government. Little is known of either Kahn or Howard, although this text reads much like a student text written by teachers, including probing, often critical questions at the end of each chapter, where the writers challenged students to address interesting but difficult civics activities. The social interests represented in this textbook appeared very middle class and liberal in citizenship orientation.

Ernest Baydock, Peter Francis, Bernard Semotok and Ken Osborne (1984) were the authors of the Canada Studies Foundation civics textbook, *Politics Is Simply a Public Affair*. Emanating both from Hodgetts' (1968) scathing attack on the teaching of Canadian history in schools in the book *What Culture? What Heritage?* and the work of the Canada Studies Foundation set up in 1970 to address the problems, the authors of this student civics textbook focused on the study of politics through the use of case studies of issues in a typical community and "stresses participation and critical inquiry" (Preface, p. iv). The project to write the book originated at the University of Manitoba, Faculty of Education, through educator Ken Osborne, and three Winnipeg high school teachers. The social interests of the four writers were definitely not elitist, and appear to have focussed on a liberal conception of citizenship where, through an examination of political issues in local case studies, students could learn about citizen participation and critical inquiry.

The two works of John Calder, Derek Hounsell, Barry Kikpatrick, Bernie Sisk and Enos Watts (1986, 1986), entitled *Canada: Human Rights and the Law* and *Canada: Human Rights: Foundations for Freedom*, were both recommended in 1998 for the grade 9 social studies course. These textbooks, too, were an outgrowth of the activities of the Canada Studies Foundation. All of the writers were teachers: Calder, Sisk and Kikpatrick were from New Brunswick; Watts and Hounsell from Newfoundland. Both titles were the product of the social interests of middle class teachers addressing a liberal conceptualization of citizenship, with their complete focus being human rights in Canada, a case study of the Japanese Canadians during World War II, and provocative questions or assignments for students to address.

Derald Fretts, Pamela S. Perry-Globa, Martin Spiegelman and Reginald C. Stuart's (1992, 1992) *Canadian Citizenship in Action* and *Canadian Citizenship in Action: Teacher's Guide* were recommended in 1998 for grade 9 social studies. There was nothing in print of a biographical nature on the authors of these two civics textbooks; however, the very nature of the text strongly suggested that they were teachers. Their social interests, while middle class, were very change-oriented. Fretts et al. stated in their student text:

Although all Canadians are entitled to equal rights, freedoms, and power to make decisions, their actual opportunities may be limited by their age, gender, ethnic background, wealth, state of health, education, and where they live. Throughout Canada's history, individuals and groups have taken action to change conditions and attitudes that kept them from enjoying the rights and freedoms of full citizenship....Active citizenship means participating...to help change and improve society. (1992, p. 5)

Through their focus on rights and the denial of rights to certain groups in Canadian society, the authors of the text definitely exhibited a very liberal conceptualization of citizenship.

Further grade 9 social studies student textbook materials were recommended in 2001, including Don Quinlan, Mary Jane Pickup and Terry Lahey's (1999, 1999) *Government: Participating in Canada* and *Government: Participating in Canada: Activities*. Don Quinlan, the senior writer, was described as a history teacher for 31 years in the Toronto District School Board, although retired at the time of the writing of the book. There is no mention of either Pickup or Lahey, although it is highly

likely that he teamed up with other high school history teachers. Their middle class social interests translated into two student civics textbooks that focussed on a liberal interpretation of citizenship where active student participation was encouraged in each of the 36 short chapters of the two texts.

Lynn Flaig and Kathryn Galvin's (1997) *Finding Your Voice: You and Your Government* and the teacher text by Patricia Shields (1998) entitled *Finding Your Voice: You and Your Government: Teacher's Resource* were recommended in 2001 in support of the grade 9 social studies programme. All three of these authors were teachers. Flaig and Galvin were elementary school principals in Calgary. Flaig had a B. A. from the University of Calgary and Master's from San Diego State University, while Galvin had a Bachelor and Master's degree from the University of Calgary. Both had taught elementary school and had extensive experience writing educational resources. Shields, author of the teacher text, had also worked as a teacher and as an educational consultant, previously receiving her undergraduate degree from the University of Calgary with graduate work from the Universities of Portland and Oregon. The three authors were very much middle class teachers who chose to articulate a liberal conceptualization of citizenship in the two recommended texts by focussing on something new in the study of government, that being to encourage students "to find, build, and express their own voices" (Shields, 1998, p. 1). Until these two textbooks were recommended in 2001, student voices had largely been muted in civics textbooks.

In June 2001, Manitoba Education recommended for student use in grade 11 Nick Brune and Mark Bulgutch's (2000) *Canadian by Conviction: Asserting our*

*Citizenship* and, for teacher use, Jill Colyer's (2001) *Canadian by Conviction: Asserting our Citizenship. Teacher's Resource Binder*. Brune, at the time of the writing of the text, had been teaching for some 20 years, and was then at Iroquois Ridge High School in Oakville, Ontario. He also co-authored several elementary and secondary school history textbooks. Bulgutch was a long-term employee of CBC television having been a writer, reporter, editor and executive producer, and was then teaching journalism part-time at Ryerson Polytechnic University. Largely reflecting middle class social interests, both authors developed active learning strategies for their interpretation of civics through communication, collaboration, critical thinking, decision-making and conflict resolution. As has been the case with other civics texts, a liberal conceptualization of citizenship was presented.

*All About Canadian Citizenship* was recommended in March 2004 for student use in grade 4 social studies. It consisted of ten 30-page texts by Jessica Pegis (2004) dealing with specific citizenship and democracy topics, along with a recommended *Teacher's Guide* written by Maryrose O'Neill (2004). Pegis lived in Toronto and, at the time of the writing of the series, had been in the publishing industry for some 21 years. No printed information on O'Neill was available. A liberal conceptualization of citizenship was presented. The student texts included topics dealing with citizen participation, conflict resolution, and children's rights and responsibilities, while the teacher's guide provided suggestions for the integration of creative thinking and critical thinking.

In 2004, Manitoba Education recommended a series of eight student books for grade 7 social studies that were entitled *Global Citizenship* by Susan Watson (2004).

First published in Australia in 2003, the series was republished a year later by Smart Apple Media located in North Mankato, Minnesota. There was no printed information available on Susan Watson, either from the Australian or United States publishers. Nevertheless, after reading the texts, it is very evident that Watson represented the social interests of a global citizen, as one cannot find any evidence of a nationalistic focus in any of the books. These civics texts represented the first time that Manitoba Education had recommended a series with a clearly global conceptualization of citizenship, including a global view of being active, living sustainably, improving the quality of life, connecting globally, protecting global environments, valuing world heritage and understanding cultural differences.

Don Wells' (2005) series *Canadian Government* was recommended for student use in grade 9 social studies in November 2004. Five of six titles in the series were recommended by Manitoba Education; the sixth title, on the history of the development of Canada's government, was not. No printed information was available on Don Wells, although the nature of his writing strongly suggests a teacher. His social interests were very middle class and his interpretation of citizenship was liberal in nature. For example, in one of his titles, *Canadian Citizenship*, Wells dealt with the development of human rights in Canada; the rights and responsibilities of the government and its citizens; the Charter of Rights and Freedoms; and discrimination toward minorities, women and Aboriginal people as well as how Canada has addressed this social problem of inclusion of all.

Also recommended in November 2004 for grade 9 social studies was Rick Homan's (2004) student text *Citizenship and Government* and Miriam Bardswich and

Thomas Wright's (2004) *Citizenship and Government: Teacher's Guide*. In 2001, Homan was one of 12 finalists for the Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History. Describing his approach to the teaching of Canadian political history, Homan stated that "I try to give them hands-on experience and the opportunity to get involved in something that they can relate to" (University of Lethbridge, New Release, November 1, 2001, p. 1). At that time, Homan had taught in Lethbridge for 26 years, 20 of which were at Lethbridge Collegiate Institute. His undergraduate program was taken the University of Lethbridge. As a middle class teacher, Homan's social interests were very much liberal in nature, as evidenced by the fact that he traced how Canadian democracy was not so democratic, and followed, through the use of primary documents, the denial of voting rights to Aboriginal peoples and women, the internment of many Ukrainians and Italians during World War I, and the suspension of civil liberties of Quebecers thought to be sympathetic to separatism during the 1970 October Crisis in Quebec. Homan (2004) concluded his introduction stating that "we have an obligation to be involved, whether we act as individuals by voting or by writing letters of concern to an elected politician, or as a part of groups that either advocate policies we want implemented, or protest policies we oppose" (p. 5).

Miriam Bardswich (2004), one of authors of the *Teacher's Guide*, retired as head of the history department Lorne Park Secondary School, Peel Board of Education. She entered the publishing world writing schoolbooks and teacher's guides for McGraw Hill and Rubicon Publishing. As a middle class teacher and writer of school texts, she strongly represented the social interests of a liberal conception of

citizenship based on Homan's liberal textbook. Her focus in the teacher's guide was to provide student activities that would lead to a critical examination of the documents, so as to develop student skills in analysis, problem-solving, and decision-making. No information is available on Thomas Wright, co-author of the *Teacher's Guide*.

Further recommended titles were announced by the Department in November 2004 for grade 9 social studies, including Alan Skeoch, Peter Flaherty and D. Lynn Moore's (2000) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society* and the *Teacher's Resource* written by Alan Skeoch, Chris Delaney and David Hopkins (2001). Skeoch retired from the position of History Department head at Parkdale Collegiate Institute, Toronto, in 1999, after some 33 years of teaching, and, in the same year, won the 1999 Governor-General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History. Skeoch was a prolific writer, with several books to his name. Skeoch, as senior author, and his co-authors, Peter Flaherty, a teacher at Runnymede Collegiate, Toronto, and D. Lynn Moore, a teacher at Forest Hill Collegiate Institute in Toronto, shared the social concerns of the middle class, and produced a liberal civics textbook that was first approved for use in Ontario's new civics curriculum and later as a recommended title in Manitoba. The authors' liberal interpretation of citizenship is portrayed in the "Acknowledgements" page where Skeoch stated that

at the heart of citizenship is the recognition that we are not alone, that we do not want to be alone, and that we can join one another as informed, purposeful, and active citizens to blend individualism with the public good. Every citizen knows that the two seemingly contradictory human values,

competition and co-operation, can be harmonized. (2000, p. iv)

The *Teacher's Resource* was also written by Skeoch (2001) along with David Hopkins, Head of History at Forest Hill Collegiate, Toronto, and Chris Delaney, a lawyer and writer, in London, Ontario. This recommended teacher text expanded on the liberal interpretation of citizenship presented in the student text. The authors indicated that students would learn critical and creative thinking, problem solving, collaborating and decision-making related to civics.

Grade 9 social studies, in November 2004, was provided with even more civics materials by Manitoba Education. Marc Kielburger and Craig Kielburger (2002, 2004), authors of the *Take Action!: A Guide to Active Citizenship* and *Take More Action* student textbooks, were social activists on a global scale. Marc Kielburger was a Harvard graduate and Rhodes Scholar pursuing a Ph. D. at Oxford University. Active in human rights related to child labour abuse, Marc was a director of International Projects for Free the Children, running some 100 primary schools worldwide, and co-founder of Leaders Today, an international organization that focussed on leadership for youth and social action, at the local, national and international levels. Craig Kielburger was a child rights advocate and co-founder of Free the Children, with a degree in peace and conflict studies from the University of Toronto. His career has focussed on empowering youth, through leadership and education, so as to make positive social change.

The social interests represented by the two brothers were activist, global and directed at social change. Their citizenship was a world citizenship that focused on social action, advocacy, volunteerism, and the political participation of youth. Their

conceptualization of global citizenship was akin to the work of Susan Watson's series entitled *Global Citizenship*. The Kielburgers addressed steps to social action, writing petitions, raising public awareness and support, tackling social issues, and getting involved at home, school, community and working with government, nationally and internationally.

Recommended in July 2005 were three civics textbooks, one for teacher use for grade 1 social studies and two for teachers in grade 7 social studies. Each was part of the "Critical Challenges Across the Curriculum" series, published by the Critical Thinking Cooperative/Consortium of Richmond, British Columbia. Roland Case (2003, 2004, 2004) was an author and editor of the three teacher-focussed titles. The first title, *Rights, Roles and Responsibilities at School: A Unit Exploring the Responsibilities of Various School Roles, including Students' Own Responsibilities, in Helping to Meet Other Students' Needs*, was written by nine teachers and three teacher editors for grade 1 use. The second title, *Active Citizenship: Student Action Projects: A Framework for Elementary and Secondary Teachers to Help Students Plan and Implement Responsible Social Action* was written by four teachers and one teacher editor for grade 7 teachers. The third title, *Caring for Young People's Rights: A Unit for Elementary and Secondary Students on the Rights of Young People Around the World and What Can be Done to Secure These Rights* was authored by two teachers and one teacher editor, again for grade 7 teachers. These teachers were middle class whose social interests were change-oriented through students learning critical thinking in all school subjects, but certainly including rights and

responsibilities at school, social action, and children's rights. A liberal conceptualization of citizenship was again presented in these titles.

The last civics textbook to be recommended by the Department appeared in the August 2007 learning resources listing, namely John Ruypers, John Ryall, Linda Connor and William Norton's *Canada in the Contemporary World* designed for student use in grade 9. This textbook was reconstructed from Ruypers and Ryall's *Canadian Civics* (2005) based on requirements stipulated by Manitoba Education. Both Ruypers and Ryall, the primary writers of the textbook, were teachers in Ontario Catholic school boards while Connor was a teacher with the Gray Academy of Jewish Education in Winnipeg. Norton taught geography at the University of Manitoba. Interestingly, the book was reviewed and revised by not less than fourteen educators in various Manitoba school divisions, First Nations schools and the University of Manitoba.

Through the use of many Manitoba-based illustrations and photographs, this textbook outlined civics issues related to democracy and governance in Canada, diversity and pluralism, rights and responsibilities, Canada in the global context and student critical thinking. All of this material represented the social interests of middle class teachers and their presentation of a liberal orientation to citizenship and citizenship education.

In conclusion, the interests of the authors of civics titles described in this section of the study had an impact on the conceptualization of citizenship presented in their textbooks. Early in the period under study, the scholarly, elite orientation of several writers resulted in an uncritical, republican conceptualization of citizenship

being presented to students and teachers. Middle class teachers and textbook authors, then, became the main source of most of civics textbooks published during the period under study. Their focus was a liberal conceptualization of citizenship, focussing on rights, critical thinking and social action in the national interest. Global citizenship was represented by only three civics authors and textbooks where the authors' interests were based on a global, not nationalistic focus, dealing with social action, the environment, health, and human rights.

*Notions of Citizenship: The School Subject of Civics*

In this section, I analyze the seventy-six civics textbooks that were either approved or recommended by Manitoba Education during the 46-years under study. Based on my analysis, I identify themes found in the textbooks with supporting evidence taken from representative examples of the textbooks involved. Mode of citizenship presentation, Range of citizenship topics, and Citizenship concepts are the focus of the analysis.

*Mode of citizenship presentation.* Mode of citizenship presentation addresses two main factors: a governing, institutional approach versus the study of the social or political roles of citizens, and the portrayal of a status quo versus a dynamic vision of government.

My story-line analysis indicated that the authors of some 39 civics textbooks chose to study civics using the institutional approach where government institutions and operations were the focal point of the mode of citizenship presentation. This theme was particularly dominant in Manitoba's civics and citizenship textbooks during the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. For example, Ferris and Onn's (1966)

*Civics for Canadians*, authorized for use for twelve years in grade 9 British history, examined civics as the study of “the basic features of Canadian government” (p. v) and how it differed from that of the United Kingdom and the United States. While federal and provincial governments, the judicial system, and revenues and expenditures were discussed, little mention was made of municipal government, and no mention at all of school governance. The very issues that were most local to students were the issues not addressed in the Ferris and Onn text.

Ricker and Saywell’s (1963, 1971, 1977, 1980, 1982, 1991) *How Are We Governed?*, updated and expanded over time along with name changes for their textbook, was used in civics throughout the period under study. Its use diminished over time, with deauthorization coinciding with the projected termination of the old grade 9 social studies program in 2008. All of the editions of Ricker and Saywell’s textbooks had a solidly institutional approach. For example, in the “Introduction” to the *How Are We Governed in the ‘90s?* (1991), the authors reasserted that this textbook “remains as firmly based as ever in the substance of the structure and workings of the Canadian political system – the law, the institutions, and the political parties” (p. vii). While local government was discussed, school governance was not.

Beginning in the late 1990s and continuing today, there were two groupings of civics textbooks: first, there were 23 civics titles that presented a combination of institutional study but accompanied by the social and political roles of citizens in society; and second, 16 civics titles articulated a citizenship in which the key features were citizens with political or social roles to play in society, with little or no reference to the operation of government.

The earliest civics textbook to present the role of the citizen, and not to focus on the institutions of government, was Baydock, Francis, Osborne, and Semotok's (1984) civics textbook – *Politics Is Simply a Public Affair* – that was recommended in 1998 for grade 5 social studies some 14 years after it was published. It can only be surmised that Manitoba Education's focus on the institutional mode of citizenship presentation that had existed from 1911 and perpetuated by a highly limited internal textbook review process, evolved into another mode of presentation, liberated by a new learning resources review process that addressed social issues for the first time and applied resource-based learning to the recommendation of many textbooks at any given moment. The focus of Baydock et al. was the political role of citizens through the use of case studies at the community level, where students actively participated in finding the solution to political problems. The authors stated of the text: "It stresses participation and critical inquiry and therefore concentrates on the 'how' of political education" (1984, p. "Preface").

Calder, Hounsell, Kilpatrick, Sisk and Watts' (1986, 1986) civics textbooks *Canada: Human Rights: Foundations for Freedom* and *Canada: Human Rights and the Law* both addressed the issue of human rights and represented for the first time that a single focus had been taken in civics textbooks. Manitoba Education authorized this material in 1998, 12 years after publication. *Foundations for Freedom* addressed human rights: how they have been violated; the role of the media; the causes of prejudice; and changes made by citizens in support of human rights.

More recently, in 2004, Manitoba Education recommended a series of eight Australian books by author Susan Watson (2004) in the "Global Citizenship" series as

part of the new grade 7 social studies programme. Each text focussed on a specific citizenship issue and on the social and political roles and responsibilities of students in addressing issues such as global environments, sustainability, human rights, and improving the quality of life. For example, the text *Living Sustainably* dealt with global citizens and how global citizens can live sustainably. The key issue throughout was Watson's question "What can I do? – a young person's way of taking action as a global citizen" (2004, back cover). Volunteering, talking to friends, thinking, learning and taking part in community events were described as the means by which students could play a role in affecting the sustainability of earth – the environment, society and culture, and economic activity.

Other civics and citizenship textbooks took a mid-course approach including the discussion of government institutions as well as addressing the role of the citizen. The first civics textbook to take this mode of citizenship presentation was the grade 9 social studies text by Fretts, Perry-Globa, Spiegelman and Stuart's (1992, 1992) *Canadian Citizenship in Action* and *Canadian Citizenship in Action: Teacher's Guide*, recommended by Manitoba Education in 1998. In the introduction to the student textbook, the authors clearly stated their position: "*Canadian Citizenship in Action* goes beyond the study of government structures and activities....It also shows how you can react to and sometimes change the way government affects your life" (p. 5). The authors stated that active citizenship meant participation. The approach used in the text was a novel one, integrating of government and citizenship issues, stressing current problems related to power, the political process, rights and responsibilities, and the changing nature of democracy.

Another civics title took the same approach by integrating the study of government with a discussion of the informed, purposeful and active citizen of Canada and the world. This was Skeoch, Flaherty and Moore's (2000) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society*, recommended for student use in the grade 9 social studies programme in 2004. In the chapter that dealt with decision making in Canada, information was provided on the role of the federal and provincial governments and on political parties. Interspersed throughout the chapter was the student as an active citizen, debating the future of the Senate; using lobbying as a means of influencing government, including its many forms of emailing, writing, presenting petitions, telephoning government officials, inviting officials to a conference; identifying lobbying groups in a school and learning how they operated; and operating a mock court case where student judges ruled on student-led issues related to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Thus, the mode of citizenship presentation during the Multiculturalism Era adapted from one of a study of government and its operations, to one of the examination of government and the social and political roles of the citizen, to one that focussed solely on the role of the citizen in Canada or the world.

The other component for mode of citizenship presentation addressed the portrayal of government as a static or dynamic operation. The process of law-making at the provincial and federal levels of government was examined as this is portrayed as a key element of democratic decision-making. Story-line analysis indicates that, during the first decades of the period under study, there was a strong static presentation of government. For example, in the history and civics textbook *Nation*

*and Province* by Ricker and Saywell (1963), approved for grade 11 Canadian history between 1963 and 1976, a static view was presented to students. Part One of the Ricker and Saywell's textbook, entitled *How Are We Governed?*, described and illustrated, using a chart, the passage of a bill in the House of Commons and Senate in a lock-step fashion, speedily passing through three readings in each House. None of the typical behind-the-scene negotiations or compromises or additions and deletions was discussed. Similarly, Marchand's (1984) *Working for Canadians: A Study of Local, Provincial and Federal Government*, approved for use in grade 5 social studies between 1986 and 1997, presented students with a chart-like visual along with descriptive information illustrating the passage of a bill in provincial legislatures and the federal Commons and Senate. All of this was covered in one page, and once again presented students with an unlikely portrayal of the passage of a bill, not showing the real behind the scenes activities that alter and make bills possible in a democracy.

This lock-step presentation of the law-making process began to change. Interestingly, this was first noticeable in the civics textbook of Ricker, Saywell and Parsons (1991) *How Are We Governed in the '90s?*, recommended in 1998 for grade 9 social studies and deauthorized in 2007. The lock-step chart found in the 1963 text was gone, and, in its place, a narrative on law-making was provided. The authors indicated that, during second reading, a standing committee could bring in outside experts to present their views on a bill, and "there may be amendments made to the bill as long as they do not affect its general objectives" (p. 91). While Ricker, Saywell and Parsons did make reference to the amending of bills, they made no mention of the fact that it was sometimes possible, based on the degree of opposition to the bill, to

send it to committee between the first and second readings. At this stage, it is, in fact, possible to bring new issues to the bill, rather than amending a bill's existing content during second reading. Again, while the authors presented to students a more complete picture of the role of the opposition to amend legislation, there was no reference made to adding new elements to a bill. Students were provided no opportunity to understand the full complexity of a bill's passage in to Canadian law.

A recently recommended series "All About Canadian Citizenship" by Jessica Pegis (2004) included a title *Making Laws* for student use in grade 4 social studies. This 29-page text had only one page entitled "making laws" where students were informed that "Parliament carefully reads every part of the bill" and "Members of Parliament and Senators talk about what is good and bad about the bill, and suggest changes" (p. 16). Certainly a very watered-down version of law-making for young students but at least a simplified process was described and students could see that a bill could be changed. The new series "Canadian Government" by Don Wells (2005) for grade 9 social studies students included a text *Canada's System of Government*. In the section on "how a bill is passed" (p. 35), Wells indicated that, at second reading, amendments could take place, but failed to mention that it was possible to go to committee between first and second readings if there were significant outstanding problems not addressed in the first reading of the bill.

In summary, civics textbooks have evolved during this 46-year period from a lock-step version of law-making, to one where the mode of citizenship representation is portrayed in a more detailed, complex and complete version of the passage of a bill. While textbook authors had begun to portray a more changeable process in law-

making as envisioned for a truly democratic system of government, it still remained an incomplete picture.

*Range of citizenship topics.* In this section, I analyse two elements found in civics textbooks: from a local, regional and national versus international view of citizenship and government; and a homogeneous versus diverse portrayal of society.

The study of schools, school governance and the role of the Department of Education that was so much a part of the Assimilation Era, and Community Life and Service Era was substantially lost during the Multiculturalism Era. Dawson's (1964) civics textbook entitled *Democratic Government in Canada* used for the commercial programme from 1956 to 1966 had essentially one line that cautioned students that school government was normally quite separate from that of municipal government, to which he dedicated an entire chapter. Neither Ricker and Saywell's (1963) *Nation and Province*, containing their *How Are We Governed?*, nor Ferris and Onn's (1966) textbook, made any mention of school government.

It was not until the late 1990s that school governance gained some attention in civics textbooks. Baydock, Francis, Osborne and Semotok's (1984) civics textbook *Politics Is Simply a Public Affair* used between 1998 and 2000 for grade 5 social studies had one chapter dedicated to an educational simulation game entitled *Boardtalk* that presented students with the politics of decision-making related to the better use of school facilities in a mock school division. This chapter presented the most extensive discussion of school governance for the 46 years under study. Another civics textbook – Fretts, Perry-Globa, Spiegelman and Stuart's (1992) *Canadian Citizenship in Action* – was used in grade 9 social studies between 1998 and 2007.

This textbook addressed democracy in a school, specifically referring to the possible roles of student government and the preparation of a school constitution.

The last textbook to deal with school governance was Wells' (2005) *Canada's System of Government* that was recommended for the new grade 9 social studies. Wells addressed schools as part of municipal government, stating that "municipal governments form school boards to make decisions about education" (p. 29). This might have been true in some provinces, but it was inaccurate for Manitoba.

School governance is a significant component of local democracy but received very little treatment in civics textbooks over the 46 years, including the most current grade 9 textbook that provided students with inaccurate information regarding school boards as they operate in Manitoba.

While the study of school governance was not well done, what of the treatment of other levels of government – municipal, provincial, federal and international? The institutional study of civics, so prevalent in the Community Life and Service Era, also appeared throughout the Multiculturalism Era. Civics textbooks through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, such as Ricker and Saywell's *How Are We Governed?*, Ferris and Onn's *Civics for Canadians*, and Marchand's *Working for Canadians* all focussed on the federal and provincial governments, with limited attention being paid to the municipal level.

Two civics titles from the 1970s and 1980s looked outside the study of Canada's municipal, provincial and federal governments. Approved for use in grade 12 social studies were Carter's (1967, 1972) *The Government of the Soviet Union* and the United Nations Office of Public Information's (1967, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1983)

*Basic Facts About the United Nations*. Carter's text on the government of the Soviet Union represented the only time in which the province authorized a textbook that dealt only with government of another country. The United Nations summary account of the nature and working of the UN was the only time that a civics textbook focussing purely on international government was approved in Manitoba.

The newly-recommended institutional study of civics for the new grade 9 social studies, Wells' (2005) "Canadian Government" series, had four titles that presented issues of national interest. One further title, *Canada and the Global Village*, took students to global issues, examining international government through the Commonwealth of Nations, international organizations, the United Nations and Canada's role in Korea, Cyprus, Africa and the Gulf War. Skeoch, Flaherty and Moore's (2000) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society* took a multidimensional approach through the examination of systems of government in Canada as well as addressing citizenship in a global community. This textbook also considered the role of the informed, active, purposeful student in each of the levels of government. At the international level, *Civics* addressed the Canadian government's role in international organizations and the Canadian citizens' role in non-government organizations, such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace and the Red Cross.

The study of civics as the examination of the institutions of government at the municipal, provincial, national and international levels continued throughout the period under study. Interest in school governance, the most local form of democratic government in Canadian society, was marginalized to brief commentaries or to completely inaccurate portrayals, however.

For the second component under the range of citizenship topics, I examined the presentation of a homogeneous or diverse society. As has been illustrated in the context section of this chapter, this was the era of immigration to Canada from countries around the world and of the state's acknowledgement of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework as national policy.

In the early decades of the era, civics textbooks presented the same homogeneous society as had been described during the Community Life and Service Era. For example, Ricker and Saywell's (1963) *Nation and Province*, with Part One dealing with *How Are We Governed?*, made no mention of post-war immigration to Canada and Manitoba that had already fundamentally changed the standard presentation of the homogeneous Canadian. There was also no mention of bilingualism or biculturalism in their 1963 textbook. Ricker and Saywell's 1980 text *How Are We Governed?* included a new chapter entitled "Quebec and Canada," where the authors addressed bilingualism and biculturalism, but failed completely to address state-acknowledged multiculturalism or diversity. Thus, English Canadian students reading this approved civics textbook would have seen only the French and English segments of Canada's already multicultural population. In the last edition of Ricker, Saywell and Parsons' (1990) text *How Are We Governed in the '90s?*, authorized for social studies in Manitoba, the authors removed the chapter on Quebec and Canada and included information on Federal-Provincial relations. There was a new chapter on the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* where the authors detailed the meaning of the various clauses. Astonishingly, they made no reference to the fact that the Charter stated that it should be interpreted in a

multicultural context, with equality rights for all ethnic groups, and with programs to address discrimination.

Thus, between 1963 and 1990, the authors of *How Are We Governed?* and its associated revisions, made a slow transition from the homogeneous Canadian scene, to a bilingual and bicultural society, to one with a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but not set within the multicultural context as was intended by the Charter.

Beginning in the latter part of the 1990s, Manitoba Education and civics textbook authors began to acknowledge the diversity in Canadian society. Published in 1992 and recommended for grade 9 social studies in 1998, Fretts et al. *Canadian Citizenship in Action* addressed, in one section, power and culture in Canada, explaining that, with the European conquest of Canada, Aboriginal peoples had lost political power and decision-making authority, the majority of their lands, their culture and their languages. Fretts et al. went on to describe how, in the past thirty years, Aboriginal people had been working to retrieve what they had lost. The authors also described equality rights for Aboriginal people, French-speaking people and women. Under the banner of "Canada: A Multicultural Country," the textbook presented the immigration of many peoples to Canada during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This open dialogue on multicultural Canada as well as on Aboriginal self-government was the first time that such citizenship topics had been discussed in a recommended textbook.

In 2001, another civics textbook was recommended for grade 9 social studies, Quinlan et al. (1999) *Government: Participating in Canada*. This student text outlined Canada's multicultural origins, official multiculturalism, bilingualism, and

the demands by Aboriginal people for self-government. Unfortunately, no mention was made of the important issue treaties and treaty rights. In 2004, Wells' (2004) "Canadian Government" series of five civics textbooks for use in grade 9 social studies was recommended. One title, *The Canadian Identity*, portrayed the diversity in Canadian society, emphasizing Aboriginal peoples, immigration, bilingualism, and multiculturalism.

In terms of the topics studied as part of citizenship during the 46-years under study, students initially were faced with the homogeneous Canadian scene, but by the late 1990s, they began to see a multicultural and diverse society presented in civics and citizenship textbooks.

*Citizenship concepts.* In this section, I use Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual model for the study of citizenship to analyse civics textbooks for their portrayal of national identity and belonging, and for rights and responsibilities.

National identity remained a key focus of attention for Manitoba's civics and citizenship textbooks during the Multiculturalism Era. This focus was no longer Imperial, and dealt only marginally with the Commonwealth of Nations. The emphasis was now on the study of Canadian municipal, provincial, and federal government that has already been discussed in this chapter. The strong international portrayal of Canada as an independent political, social and economic player on the world scene was also strongly emphasized in the latter part of the period under study. Good citizen characteristics including abiding by the rule of law and patriotism to the state continued as part of the republican conceptualization of citizenship. Further, the global conceptualization of citizenship brought to civics textbooks a new element for

the good citizen where a global perspective was to be taken not only as citizens of Canada but also as citizens of world. Sustainability was a new citizenship element that came with the global perspective.

In the early decades of the Multiculturalism Era, civics textbooks, including Ricker and Saywell's (1963) *Nation and Province*, Carlton's (1978) *Here's How It Happens*, Marchand's (1979, 1986) *Working for Canadians*, Ricker and Saywell's (1980) *How Are We Governed?*, Kahn and Howard's (1989) *Government and You*, and Ricker, Saywell and Parsons' *How Are We Governed in the '90s?* all focussed attention on the structure and operation of municipal, provincial and federal governments, strongly presenting a common "you must be informed" republican approach to students. This trend of a common knowledge of government continued into the 2000s through civics textbooks such as Brune and Bulgutch's (2000) *Canadian By Conviction*; Skeoch, Flaherty and Moore's (2000) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society*; and Wells' (2005, 2005) *Canada's System of Government* and *Canada and the Global Village*.

Added to the study of Canadian government was international government. For example, internationalism, world peace and socio-economic progress for all were the focus of the United Nations publication, *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, with new editions being released every two to three years. The 1967, 1969 and 1972 editions were prescribed as textbooks for history 301. Each edition was similarly organized but updated, and included the origins of the UN; its main organs; the work of the UN for world peace, for economic and social progress, for groups needing special help, for human rights, for the independence of colonized people; and inter-

governmental agencies related to the UN, such as UNESCO and the World Health Organization.

An Australian civics textbook series – Susan Watson’s (2004) “Global Citizenship” recommended for the Manitoba grade 7 social studies – took civics beyond the realm of the national government and citizenship to one where students were global citizens. Watson’s conceptualization of global citizenship, in each of the eight texts in the series, started by informing students that everyone was a citizen of neighborhood, province, country, and the larger world. After this, each text focussed on a specific world issue, such as valuing world heritage or protecting the world’s environments, with virtually no reference to government. A global citizen, according to Watson (2004) in her text *Protecting Global Environments*, was one who “develops a sense of their own role in the world” (p. 4) but who also related well to those in the family, community and country.

Watson (2004) also addressed sustainability through protecting the environment, addressing the pressure of living in cities, and reducing our collective footprint on the world. In terms of economics, she only briefly mentioned world trade, the World Trade Organization, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the effects of globalization. No mention whatsoever was made of the international World Bank. The World Bank, headquartered in Washington DC since its conception in 1944, has an official agenda of providing loans to developing countries for the purpose of reducing poverty, with some 185 member countries, including both Canada and the United States (World Bank, *About the World Bank*, Retrieved January 28, 2008). Criticism of the World Bank is extensive, arguing that, rather than

reducing poverty, the World Bank actually increases poverty and the purpose of the institution is to support US business interests. Further, the World Bank has been detrimental to public health, the environment and has led to cultural destruction in developing countries (Editorial, *The Ecologist*, 2000). Eric Toussaint, President of the Belgian Committee for the Abolition of Third World Debt and author of many articles and books on the subject, contends that “the World Bank is a despotic instrument in the hands of an international oligarchy (a handful of major powers and their transnational corporations) who bolster an international capitalist system that is detrimental to mankind and the environment” (2006, p. 2).

Patriotism was another element common to civics textbooks during the period. This was expressed directly and indirectly. In Marchand’s (1979, 1986) *Working for Canadians*, students were presented with government at the municipal, provincial and federal levels as meeting the needs of citizens through public services. Explicit in the discussion of what government did for you, was the patriotic support of the institutions and people who provided these services.

Canadian symbols were also used in civics textbooks to promote patriotism. Brune and Bulgutch (2000) in their text *Canadian By Conviction* presented the proud symbols of the Canadian nation with images and narrative on the Beaver, which appeared on coins; the Maple Tree which represented the importance of forests to Canada and now the tree emblem for Canada; the Maple Leaf, which appeared on Canadian pennies and now a symbol of Canadian citizenship on its national flag; the National Flag, “a symbol of the nation’s unity representing all the citizens of Canada without distinction of race, language, belief, or opinion” (Bourget, Speaker of the

House of Commons, p. 7); and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Wells' (2005) *Canadian Identity* informed grade 9 students that national symbols "tell the story of its history and diversity" (p. 8). Aside from the patriotic narrative on the Canadian flag and national anthem, *O Canada*, Wells did address the fleur-de-lis, as proclaiming Canada's French-speaking heritage. Similarly, Pegis (2004) dedicated one of her ten volume series "All About Canadian Citizenship" series to *The National Anthem*. Pegis presented the history of the development of *O Canada!* and indicated that, when Canadians sang the national anthem, they showed that "they love Canada, they are proud to be Canadian, and they share history and traditions with other Canadians" (p. 20).

Another common element of national identity throughout the 46-years under study was the law-abiding citizen. Civics texts made it abundantly clear, through narratives on the judicial system in Canada, that the laws were created by a democratic Canadian government for the safety and protection of its citizens and, for those who offend the law, there were consequences, be they civil, financial and/or penal.

For example, Ferris and Onn's (1966) *Civics for Canadians* had an entire chapter dedicated to the Canadian judicial system where they discussed the legal rights, the process of law, the sources of the legal system, the administration of law, law enforcement agencies, types of law courts, and concerns with the legal system. Good citizens obeyed the law, not only for their own well being, but also to safeguard future generations. Ferris and Onn made no reference to the fact that students might want to change the law. Flaig and Galvin's (1997) *Finding Your Voice* addressed laws

and the changing of laws, using as an example corporal punishment in schools, where, at one time, it was thought that misbehaving would be reduced by the infliction of pain, to today where corporal punishment is against the law in most provinces.

Brune and Bulgutch's (2000) *Canadian by Conviction* had an entire chapter addressing the Canadian legal system. Aside from the usual legal information dealing with legal fundamentals and divisions of law, the authors also detailed various punishments that were court-ordered as well as the nature of the Young Offenders Act (1984), its strengths and weaknesses. According to Brune and Bulgutch (2000), laws "defined what we can and cannot do" (p. 133) and, in so doing, defined the difference between the good citizen and the bad. Pegis' (2004) *Making Laws*, after providing basic information about municipal, provincial and federal laws, made it clear to students that "when a new law is passed, everyone must obey it, including Canada's leaders" (p. 28).

National identity presented a mix of republican, liberal and global conceptions of citizenship. The liberal conceptualization focussed on the understanding and examination of things Canadian. The republican conceptualization of citizenship was expressed in terms of a common knowledge about the operation of municipal, provincial, federal and international governments and the importance of being law-abiding and patriotic. Finally, a global conceptualization of citizenship was presented to students where their role was not so much national in character, but global. Interestingly, the global conceptualization of citizenship did not address the need for

a critical examination of globalization nor the corporate order that oversees this international activity.

National identity is at one end of the axis for Gagnon and Page's (1999) conceptual model of citizenship; belonging is at the other end of this axis. During the period 1921 to 1960, belonging was not addressed; rather, singularly British-oriented civics textbooks tended to focus on the homogeneous British citizen. This portrayal continued into the Multiculturalism Era with civics textbooks approved for use in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. Despite what Bruno-Jofre (1999) called the proto-multiculturalism of the 1960s, the politically sanctioned multiculturalism of the 1970s to the 2000s, and the strong likelihood that liberal classroom teachers promoted multiculturalism, Manitoba's civics textbooks showed little such characterization.

Gagnon and Page's (1999) diversity of belonging refers to the many poles of belonging for social, ethno-cultural and geographical groups. According to Gagnon and Page, this diversity of belonging can be seen in national minorities, cultural and linguistic minorities, religious minorities, and regional belonging. The authors indicate that one needs to examine belonging outside the national context, to a broader supranational belonging and dual nationality. Gagnon and Page also state that another indicator of diversity of belonging is the relative importance attached to diversity and, therefore, of the political and economic power received by particular groups. Many, but not all, of these elements of citizenship belonging appeared during the Multicultural Era as were reflected in civics and citizenship textbooks.

However, the diversity of belonging did not appear in civics textbooks during the initial decades of the period under study. For example, Marchand's (1979, 1984)

*Working for Canadians: A Study of Local, Provincial and Federal Government* used in Manitoba during the 1980s and early 1990s for grade 5 social studies discussed the role of the federal government in providing certain services, but never from the point of view of establishing social or cultural policy for the nation. Despite the passage of the federal Official Languages Act in 1969, the announcement of a “multicultural policy” in 1971, and the passage of the Constitution Act in 1982, with its multicultural oriented Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Marchand in his presentation of a non-diverse society in Canada ignored all of these factors.

By the late 1990s, civics textbooks used in Manitoba’s classrooms had started to address the diversity of belonging in Canada. The 1992 civics text *Canadian Citizenship in Action* by Fretts et al., recommended in 1998 for grade 9 social studies, represented the first time that multiculturalism was described in a Manitoba civics textbook. Under the header “Canada: A Multicultural Country,” the authors stated that, with the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the country’s multicultural heritage was preserved through ensuring that ethno-cultural groups were to receive equal protection under the law. Since none of the history of the development of multiculturalism was presented, the authors of this textbook must have assumed that students intuitively understood the past 20 years in Canada.

In their description of languages, Fretts et al. indicated that Canada was not only an officially bilingual country, but also a multilingual nation, with many Aboriginal languages as well as many other languages spoken by immigrant groups. Another short chapter addressed how to organize a multicultural festival where ethnic groups could celebrate and promote their cultures. Fretts et al. also spoke to gender

where they indicated that women as a sociological group had struggled in Canada to achieve gender equality. Fretts et al. also examined other sociological minorities who were experiencing greater challenges, both real and attitudinal, to their full participation in Canadian society, explaining issues related to the treatment of people with mental and physical disabilities, senior citizens and children, but failing to mention the poor. Further, the authors of *Canadian Citizenship in Action* addressed the need for all citizens to respect the religions of others. Canadian Hutterites in Alberta were used as an example of societal tensions to a deeply religious group having very different beliefs from mainstream society. The authors also spoke to the issue associated with equal education for children and young adults with mental disabilities, citing a case in Nova Scotia where a legal case brought against a school board resulted in the integration of a child with a mental disability into a mainstream classroom.

Recommended in 2004 for grade 9 social studies was Skeoch et al. (2000) textbook *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society*. In a chapter that dealt with Canada as a country of many beliefs, perspectives and values, the authors addressed diversity both as a strength and as a tremendous challenge. Trudeau's government was credited with officially adopting multiculturalism in 1971, establishing a cultural mosaic to be celebrated, in contrast to the American assimilationist melting pot. In 1988, the first Multiculturalism Act was passed, recognizing "the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada" (Skeoch et al., p. 140).

For the first time in civics textbooks used in Manitoba, there was extensive discussion of regionalism and regional diversity, with the authors indicating that it was difficult for government to determine policy to satisfy individuals in geographically different regions with very different perspectives. Skeoch et al. presented an extensive description of the colonization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Aboriginal claims for self-government were also described by Skeoch et al., emphasizing the treaty negotiated by the Nisga'a in northern British Columbia and Canada. Interestingly, Aboriginal peoples were described as the founding peoples of what is now Canada. Different perspectives were also given on the role of Quebec in Canada, the importance placed by Quebec on the protection of culture and language, and the question of national unity.

In the grade 4 series entitled "All About Canadian Citizenship" recommended in 2004, Pegis (2004) discussed multiculturalism as part of the titles *Becoming a Canadian Citizen* and *Canadian Celebrations and Traditions*, where she stated that many of the thousands of immigrants coming to Canada became Canadian citizens take part not only in civic holidays such as Canada Day and Labour Day, but also celebrated their heritage and traditions such as the annual National Ukrainian Festival in Dauphin. Aboriginal peoples celebrated their community through powwows.

Citizen rights are discussed in the next section of this study but form an important link to the understanding of belonging just examined. The liberal conception of citizenship presented a dialogue on belonging that focussed on the equality of all citizens, particularly those who, in past time or in contemporary society, have been oppressed or marginalized. Belonging was certainly reflected in

the contemporary civics textbooks analyzed as evidenced by their treatment of multiculturalism, regional association, Quebecers, Aboriginal peoples, the disabled, and religious minorities as well as sociological minorities including women, seniors and the young. Nonetheless, little, if anything, was made of citizenship issues related to dual nationality or transnational belonging. Civics textbook authors, expressing their liberal interpretation of citizenship, advocated that Canada was a land of equality through its diversity with many cultures, traditions and languages, all of which had legal protection under the law.

Gagnon and Page's (1999) other axis has citizenship rights at the one end and responsibilities at the other. To examine the concepts of rights and responsibilities in this section of the study, I separated these two citizenship concepts for the purpose of clarity, since both elements have become fundamental to contemporary civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools.

At the beginning of period under study, the concept of rights received only basic treatment. For example, Ricker and Saywell's (1963) "How Are We Governed?" section of *Nation and Province* indicated that the right to vote was a key element in universal suffrage, and then spent considerable time explaining how women won the vote in Manitoba. Under the header of "civil liberties," Ricker and Saywell (1963) addressed the 1960 Bill of Rights indicating that, while it was a giant step forward, its weakness was that it had no mechanism of enforcement.

Ricker and Saywell's (1980) version of *How Are We Governed?* had the same section on voting and universal suffrage but updated the content on the Bill of Rights. The 1991 version of *How Are We Governed in the '90s?* repeated the same section on

voting and universal suffrage, but also included one chapter on the topic of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Without addressing the relevance to multiculturalism, Ricker and Saywell (1991) discussed each of the major sections of the Charter, including equality rights, indicating that all Canadians should have equality and protection “regardless of a person’s race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion...sex, age, or mental or physical disability” (p. 139).

In 1998, there was a major shift in recommended civics textbooks. Human rights became a major focus of attention. This was coupled with the simultaneous recommendation of several civics titles, albeit with far earlier copyright dates and in a catch-up mode, for the same social studies grade. Two 1986 textbooks – *Canada: Human Rights: Foundations for Freedom* and *Canada: Human Rights and the Law* – published through the Canada Studies Foundation, addressed what human rights were and then provided examples through the use of short stories, followed by exercises, where students were able to see the meaning of freedom of the press, the causes of prejudice, and human rights violations associated with the treatment of Japanese during World War II. Case studies and simulations were also used to present human rights conflicts. These grade 9 social studies textbooks were the first dedicated to the promotion of human rights.

Also recommended for use in grade 9 in 1998 was *Canadian Citizenship in Action* where Fretts et al. (1992) addressed the issue of rights throughout their textbook. For example, on the question of voting, they stated that the most effective way of changing or influencing government was through the political act of voting, adding that the right to vote had not always been granted to every citizen in the past.

The authors cited the fact that not until 1960 were Aboriginal people permitted to vote. Fretts et al. also examined fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of religion and conscience as well as equality rights in Canada. They addressed the protection of rights through legal human rights acts and human rights commissions. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms was discussed through the use of examples, including the right of a girl to play hockey in a “boys” league. Fretts et al. also examined the rights of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples. No discussion of treaties was presented.

Pegis’ (2004) grade 4 civics textbook, *Children’s Rights and Responsibilities* presented an interestingly appropriate view of rights pertaining to children and not to adults, indicating that “all Canadians have rights, including children” (p. 2). Rights listed included to be safe and happy, attend school, and choose friends, as well as laws to protect the child’s rights. Pegis also addressed equality rights, stating that children cannot be discriminated against based on disability, gender, age or religion: all were guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. No mention was made regarding the right to nutritious food, adequate shelter, or poverty in Canada.

In addition, Pegis talked to the abuse of children’s rights in other countries, suggesting that many other children did not enjoy the same protection as Canadian children. They were unable to go to school, or were forced to fight as soldiers in war, or had to work to bring home money for their impoverished families. This discussion then led to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child where the United Nations was described as working for co-operation and human rights and wanting “children to grow up with understanding, tolerance, and friendship” (p. 26). This exploration of

children's rights outside Canada was a first for Manitoba's civics and citizenship textbooks.

A year later, the Department recommended a civics title for teacher use for the new grade 7 social studies programme. Nicol, Kirk and Case's (2004) *Caring for Young People's Rights* addressed the human rights of youth world-wide, recommending that, through the use of blackline masters, suggestions for activities and representative examples of children in other countries, the teacher would guide the students' understanding of issues related to the rights for shelter, food, safety, education, medical care and clean water.

Thus, individual citizenship rights, both at home and world-wide, were expressed extensively in Manitoba's contemporary civics textbooks and were representative of the strong liberal discourse on citizenship conceptualization.

The responsibility of community service, a citizenship theme that arose as a result of world wars, had its beginning in the post-war 1920s but was over by the 1960s. As my analysis of civics textbooks revealed, there was limited reference to citizen responsibilities in authorized civics textbooks until the 1990s. After this period, participation became the new focus and, in effect, was presented as a virtual obligation of democratic citizenship. Story-line analysis revealed that this liberal model of citizenship appeared in recommended civics textbooks in the late 1990s and early 2000s where there was an active, participating citizen role with decision-making at all government levels and involvement with communities locally, nationally and worldwide. My analysis also indicated that sustainable development was a new state-mandated citizen responsibility and was portrayed in a significant manner in civics

textbooks in the post-1998 period. However, the underlying issue of corporate domination of globalization went unaddressed.

Civics titles published in the 2000s portrayed a liberal conceptualization of citizenship where citizens actively participated in their communities and in their government. Brune and Bulgutch (2000) stated: "As active citizens, we must apply our knowledge in a meaningful and constructive manner. We must know how to participate effectively within our communities and how to influence government most directly and effectively" (p. 5). Pegis' (2004) *Citizen Participation*, recommended for grade 4, addressed student participation in the local community and in Canada, and by voting and volunteering. In the "introduction" of this civics text, Pegis (2004) made it abundantly clear to students that "in Canada, all citizens are responsible for getting involved in their country" (p. 2). In a section on young Canadians participating in world issues, Pegis referred to Craig Kielburger who started the organization Free the Children when he was twelve years old, with the result that some 350 schools were built in Haiti and India.

Marc Kielburger and Craig Kielburger's (2002) civics book *Take Action!: A Guide to Active Citizenship*, and Marc and Craig Kielburger and Deepa Shankaran's (2004) *Take More Action* were recommended for student use in 2004 for the grade 9 social studies course. In their *Take Action!* text, the Kielburgers addressed the process of social involvement; how to use the phone, meetings, letters, public speaking, petitions, public awareness and fund raising to address an issue; involvement at home, school, community and with government; and how to track a social issue related to human rights, poverty and peace. *Take More Action* took on issues related to global

citizenship with participation described through steps to social action and the global citizen's toolbox using such devices as public speaking and the media.

Yet another civics text, Case, Falk, Smith and Werner's (2004) *Active Citizenship: Student Action Projects*, was recommended for teacher use in grade 7 social studies. According to the authors, "action projects prepare students to identify, plan and carry out solutions to problems within their school, community or beyond. The goal is active citizenship learned through thoughtful, cooperative and responsible action" (p. v). The authors indicated that school projects have consisted of cleaning playgrounds; community projects have consisted of slowing down traffic on a road adjacent to the school; and international projects have involved the provision of school supplies for schools in Central America and building hand-operated water pumps for use in rural Kenya. Participation became a basic component of citizenship.

The theme of active participation was coupled by another new citizen responsibility, sustainable development. Watson's (2004) "global citizenship" series addressed global citizens and their relationship with a sustainable world. In the text *Living Sustainably*, Watson informed students that living on Earth was like a "stool" with three legs: economic activity, the environment, and society and culture. According to Watson, all three elements must be kept balanced for the Earth to be sustainable, and only through participating global citizens could actions to address world problems be implemented. Watson presented students with information on how people were consumers and consumed the Earth's natural resources through such activities as farming, transportation, and urban sprawl. She went on to describe the need to reduce the ecological footprint of people on Earth through reducing, reusing,

repairing, replacing, and recycling; through the use of alternative energy sources such as solar power, wind power, wave and tidal power, geothermal power, and biomass burning; and through the recognition of indigenous knowledge from people who have long lived in a particular area. Again, there was no discussion of corporate domination driven by the motive of profit.

While participation and sustainability became key responsibilities of citizens, there was a multitude of others. Story-line analysis of Manitoba's civics textbooks revealed that citizen responsibilities consisted of voting, jury duty, and fighting for one's country during war. In addition, citizens were responsible for respecting the rights of other citizens, obeying laws, showing stewardship towards Canada's heritage, and supporting multiculturalism and equality. As citizens, young students were expected to do their best at school, to recycle, to reduce garbage, to not litter and to protect the environment.

Thus, even though citizen responsibilities could be viewed as a shopping list of duties, the major feature of this period was the liberal model of citizenship that developed later in the period under study, and was expressed as an active citizen participating in local and national affairs. Global citizenship, however, was also present when students were asked to transcend their own national interests and address world issues as global citizens. Sustainability was found both within the liberal and global conceptualizations of citizenship. Corporate control of economies for the purpose of profit was not part of the globalization discussion.

*Reflections of Citizenship Inclusion and Exclusion*

The systemic process of ignoring, excluding and mentioning oppositional voices as articulated by Apple (1990) and Apple and Christian-Smith (1991a) that have been analyzed in the approved civics texts of two periods of 1911 to 1920 and 1921 to 1960, continued in the early decades of the Multiculturalism Era as was evidenced by the treatment of groups of people in the Manitoba government's (1956) civics *Manual*. Throughout the 288-page textbook, the government writer or writers excluded completely any mention of females, Aboriginal peoples, immigrants, class dynamics, minorities, French-Canadians, Franco-Manitobans, the disabled and faiths other than Christian. Government driven hegemony and Anglo-conformity continued to play out through authorized textbooks in perpetuating the mythology of homogeneity in Manitoba's population.

At the federal level, government hegemony, via federally controlled Indian schooling, continued during the earlier part of the period under study. The federal *White Paper on Indian Policy* (1969), released by Jean Chretien, the then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, had been developed without Aboriginal consultation and had called for the complete assimilation of Aboriginal people into mainstream Canadian society, reflecting Canada's long-held policy of Aboriginal colonization. Gustafson (1978) indicated that, after the federal government was forced to withdraw the *White Paper*, there started to be a change in federal colonization practices for "Indian" schools.

When the federal government adopted the National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) policy on native education, entitled *Indian Control of Indian Education*,

Ottawa began to slowly turn over educational control of reserve schools to band councils, citing the positive situation in three reserve schools – Peguis, Fort Alexander and Sandy Bay – which, by the latter part of the 1970s, had full control of their schools within the contours of the Indian Affairs regulations. The policy outlined the importance to the local community to improve the quality of education, to increase the number of native teachers, to develop curricula and learning resources, and to teach native language and community values.

Nevertheless, while the 1970s multiculturalism within a bilingual framework had recognized Canada's ethnic diversity and its two founding peoples, the French and the English, it had failed to recognize the special status of Aboriginal peoples as one of Canada's founding nations. It was not until the Constitution Act of 1982 that Aboriginal peoples were recognized as a unique entity within the nation. Kymlicka (1992) has described multiculturalism in terms of ethnic rights but stated that the Quebecois and Aboriginal peoples have national rights.

Most federally-funded, church-run, Indian residential schools in Manitoba had closed by the late 1960s. But the tragic legacy of residential schools in Manitoba, and in Canada, including allegations of the physical and sexual abuse of children in these institutions, ultimately led the federal government to open negotiations for an Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. By the end of 2006, some 10,000 elderly former residential school students across Canada had each received some \$8,000.00, as part of an advance payment program. Some two billion dollars in "common experience" payments will be made to approximately 78,000 living Aboriginal people who attended residential schools. An additional two to three billion dollars will be

paid to those who can show that they were sexually or physically abused while attending residential schools (CBC Online News, March 30, 2007, p. 1; CBC Online News, September 19, 2007, p. 1).

Citizenship inclusion, along with the addressing of exclusions in Canada's historical past, was a dominant theme in the citizenship discourse appearing in Manitoba's civics textbooks recommended for use with the social studies programme. Earlier commentary on belonging, multiculturalism, official bilingualism and multilingualism found in civics textbooks supported the inclusion of all in Canadian society.

The first civics textbook to address inclusion was Fretts et al. (1992) *Canadian Citizenship in Action*, recommended in 1998. Groups that were marginalized or silenced were now recognized. The authors discussed gender inequality related to women and politics, women's struggle for leadership roles, and the actions of women to reduce violence against women, as spurred on by the massacre of young women at Montreal's Ecole Polytechnique on December 6, 1989. Further, Fretts et al. addressed the barriers to full citizenship faced by contemporary citizens who were physically or mentally disabled, children and young adults, and senior citizens. The denial of citizenship rights were also pressed regarding the use of immigration laws and head taxes to prevent the entry of Chinese immigrants into Canada at the turn of the twentieth century and the internment of the Japanese Canadians during World War II. An extensive dialogue on Aboriginal people was presented that highlighted self-determination and self-government. Canada's multicultural nature was also fully discussed.

In a more contemporary work, Wells' (2005) grade 9 recommended text, *Canadian Citizenship*, opened with a general statement on citizenship, indicating that all citizens have rights and responsibilities, then stated that "a look at the history of prejudice and discrimination in Canada reveals how the rights and responsibilities of Canadians have changed dramatically throughout the twentieth century" (p. 5). In a section of the book entitled "violated rights," Wells described Canadian immigration policy designed to stop Asians from immigrating to Canada. As an example, he described the immigration policy of 1908 that required immigrants to land in Canada without having stopped at any other port on the way, a policy tested in 1914 when, after a two-month trip directly to Canada from India, a ship arrived in Vancouver with 376 Indians. The ship was eventually forced to return to India with all aboard.

Contemporary discrimination against Aboriginal peoples was also addressed by Wells (2005) in his textbook *Canadian Citizenship* through an in-depth examination of the case brought by two Aboriginal women – Jeanette Lavell who lost her native status after marrying a non-Aboriginal man and Yvonne Bedard who was evicted from her reserve after marrying a non-Aboriginal man. The case resulted in a complaint to the UN Human Rights Commission in 1981, which ruled that Canada's Indian Act violated the rights of Indian women. Wells indicated that it was not until 1985 that the Indian Act was amended to restore full native status to anyone who had been born with it. Wells also addressed the use of provincial human rights laws to protect citizen's rights against discrimination in the workplace and against certain disadvantaged groups, including discrimination based on colour, physical disability, race, ancestry, gender, and place of origin, as a process to ensure the inclusion of

minorities and women. Human Rights Commissions were also discussed where complaints of discrimination were researched and efforts to settle the complaints were proposed.

Ruypers, Ryall, Connor and Norton's (2007) *Canada in the Contemporary World*, a student social studies textbook recommended in 2007, was the first student text to address multiple citizenship "memberships." The authors indicated that, prior to 1977, Canadians had to renounce their Canadian citizenship if they moved to another country, and then pointed out that today the *Canadian Citizenship Act* "is inclusive, not exclusive" (p. 8) permitting "a Canadian citizen to be a citizen of another country, or countries." No further information or examples were provided to give reality to this inclusive concept of citizenship. The authors followed this dual nationality concept with the observation that "as global connections increase, so do the number of people with dual, or multiple citizenship" (p. 8). This was the closest the authors came to presenting transnational belonging. No discussion was provided on the inclusive rights of gays and lesbians.

In the same chapter defining citizenship, Ruypers et al. (2007) described bilingualism and the founding of Manitoba, indicating that, in 1870, language rights for French and English speakers were guaranteed as were two systems of education: one Protestant and English-speaking, and the other Catholic and French-speaking. When, in 1890, Manitoba's French population had fallen to less than 10% of English, the English-dominated government abolished official bilingualism. The authors then described in detail the Manitoba Schools Question, the first time it had been included as part of the official discourse in a civics textbook.

Inclusion was also addressed in relation to schools. Pegis' (2004) grade 4 recommended civics text *Children's Rights and Responsibilities* stated that all children in Canada, including those with disabilities, not only had the right to attend "a school space that is accessible" but also the right "to learn in their own way and to have help if they need it" (p. 18), a discussion that previewed the present-day inclusive education policy of Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth.

An inclusive society is very much reflective of the liberal conceptualization of citizenship where all citizens, particularly those marginalized, excluded and silenced, enjoy the benefits of life in a democratic society. Manitoba's civics textbooks had come a long way from the exclusionary republican orientation of the beginning decades of the Multiculturalism Era.

#### *Summative Components*

*Historical/Ahistorical treatment.* During this period, history was used by civics textbook authors not only to help describe the evolution of government and its institutions, as it had done in the Community Life and Service Era, but also to put into perspective contemporary civics and citizenship issues in Canada. A number of examples selected from civics textbooks illustrated this development through history.

Skeoch et al. (2000) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society* documented the history of Canada's social safety-net, or welfare state, at the federal level from the development from Prime Minister King's Unemployment Insurance Act in 1940; the introduction of family allowances in 1944; and the Medical Care Act of 1966 that guaranteed medical care to all citizens, regardless of their ability to pay. The purpose of illustrating what Canadians have today was clear; students needed to

understand that the social rights associated with our present-day social safety-net had origins in the past. No mention was made of the possibility of having to fight to save the existing social safety-net.

Skeoch et al. (2000) later discussed the many perspectives and beliefs held by Canadians and how these have change over time. Through the use of a “case study” on enemy aliens, the authors went back in time to discuss the treatment of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada at the outbreak of World War II. Not trusting Ukrainian immigrants that had arrived from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, now at war with Canada, the Canadian government required approximately 80,000 Ukrainians who had become British citizens to report regularly to local police stations.

Historical information was also provided on the treatment of Aboriginal peoples, perspectives on the role of Quebec in Canada, and Canadian constitutional reform.

Homan’s (2004) *Citizenship and Government* was recommended in 2004 for the new grade 9 social studies. Using graphics, original photos and clips from primary documents, this text was a history of civics and citizenship from 1860 to the present. Homan showed that “Canadian democracy was not all that democratic” (p. 4) during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries by tracing the history of the right to vote that had been denied to many in Canada during various times. He also presented information on human rights in Canada and included original excerpts from individual citizens, entitled “A Citizen’s Voice,” that reflected particular citizenship issues and concerns. Homan’s goal was to present, through original documents, the uncensored and

originally-spoken or written words of citizens on citizenship over the near 150 year period that he chose to study.

The first two of eight chapters in Flaig and Galvin's (1997) *Finding Your Voice: You and Your Government*, recommended for grade 9 social studies in 2002, addressed the historical development of modern government from that of China, Ancient Greece, and feudalism of the Middle Ages in England. Chapter two examined the development of governments in Canada. Beginning with the forms of government used by Aboriginal people, the authors examined, as an example, the federation of the Iroquois nations around 1400 CE. Direct rule used by the French and English colonies in North America was described, followed by representative, and then responsible government. Lastly, the authors described Confederation and parliamentary democracy. After this history lesson, Flaig and Galvin (1997) followed with chapters that dealt with the nature and role of federal government and focussed on municipal government.

*Counter-hegemonic response.* The new state conceptualization of citizenship – multiculturalism – was contested. Further, there remained a strong core of Anglo-conformity and assimilation that continued to play out during the entire period under study. For example, it was not until 1982 that ethnic Canadian demands for multicultural rights were federally acknowledged in the constitution. Described below are examples of the contestations by Aboriginal peoples, Quebecers and Franco-Manitobans.

Aboriginal communities demanded self-government rights and greater control over education. The Aboriginal response to the 1969 federal *White Paper* on Indian

policy was negative and immediate. First, Aboriginal peoples had not been consulted in the drafting of the paper, and, second, they viewed the *White Paper* as the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into Canadian society with the status of an ethnic minority. Assimilationist devices included the repeal of the *Indian Act*, the transfer of Indian affairs to the provinces, and the repeal of Indian rights received under various treaties made with the Crown. The Department of Indian Affairs was forced to withdraw the *White Paper* on Indian policy.

Of Indian control over Indian education, the National Indian Brotherhood claimed before the House of Commons in 1971:

Until now, decisions on the education of Indian children have been made by anyone and everyone, except Indian parents. This must stop. Band Councils should be given total or partial authority for education on reserves, depending on local circumstance, and always with provisions for eventual autonomy.

(as cited in Gustafson, 1978, p. 195)

The 1970s, and continuing today, witnessed a strong negative reaction by the political leadership of the Aboriginal community to multiculturalism. Garcea (1979), for example, contended that Aboriginal peoples perceived the multicultural policy as a “negation of that tenuous and/or illusory ‘special status’ when included under the rubric of a multiculturalism policy which threatens to place them on equal footing with immigrants” (p. 17).

The Aboriginal resistance to continuing federal colonization led the National Indian Brotherhood to issue the *Indian Control of Indian Education* in 1972, demanding greater control over Indian education and, ultimately, increasing demands

for Aboriginal self-government. In Manitoba, there were 16,000 status Indian students attending schools in 1974, of which 9,500 were on reserves: 6000 attended Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development schools; 3,500 attended other schools on reserves, mainly operated by the Frontier School Division, and administered by the Department of Education. Approximately 7000 students attended schools that had school boards, mainly in Winnipeg, which had no Aboriginal representation (Gustafson, 1978). Gustafson pointed out that, for most of the 16,000 Indian students, there was limited or negligible Indian input in and control over education. To be successful, Indian schooling must be removed from its present federal colonialism and given to the local level of Indian control, argued Gustafson. Band Council controlled Indian education began to appear on reserves in Manitoba in the latter part of the 1970s.

More recently, the recognition by the federal Conservative government, in November 2006, of the Quebecois as a nation within a united Canada, was denounced by Canada's indigenous peoples. Chris Henderson, grand chief of the Southern Chiefs Organization in Manitoba, stated: "It once again perpetuates the historic and legal mythology that Canada was founded by two nations, the British and the French, when, in fact, indigenous people have been here since time immemorial" (Cash, 2006, December 1, p. A7). Ron Evans, grand chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, commented:

the government of Canada has proven again that it does not possess the political will or integrity, beyond symbolic gestures, to address the concerns of the people of Quebec any more than they possess the honour or will to

recognize the rightful place of the indigenous peoples of this land. (p. A7)

As of August 2007, the Assembly of First Nations was set to file a human rights complaint with the Canadian Human Rights Commission against the federal government. Meanwhile, Chief Phil Fontaine argued that “systemic discrimination” in the form of underfunding Aboriginal child-welfare services has put Aboriginal children at risk. Fontaine contended that one in ten Aboriginal children was in foster care, whereas, it was one in 200 for non-Aboriginal children. In addition, Aboriginal child welfare agencies received 22% less funding compared to non-Aboriginal children. Fontaine stated that 27,000 Aboriginal children were currently in foster homes (Fontaine, 2007, p. 1).

Aboriginal struggles against the federal government were further accelerated with Canada’s vote of “no” to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in September 2007. This non-binding Declaration set out human rights standards for indigenous populations and was adopted by the international community, with the exception of four countries with large numbers of indigenous peoples and all formerly British colonies – Canada, United States, New Zealand and Australia. Indian Affairs Minister Chuck Strahl argued that the Declaration was unbalanced and contrary to Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Chief Phil Fontaine condemned Canada’s dissenting vote at the UN, arguing that the Declaration is “an inspirational document, neither convention nor treaty.... We’re talking here about minimum standards that relate to our right to self-rule of our territories” (CBC Online News, September 13, 2007). Aboriginal resistance to federal government activity continues unabated.

Franco-Manitobans continued their fight for language rights in schools, bolstered by the new official bilingualism in the federal government. In 1970, through Bill 113, both English and French were declared the languages of instruction in public schools in Manitoba, permitting a French-speaking student to complete twelve years of schooling in the French language.

Not unlike the response of the Aboriginal community to multiculturalism, French Canadians responded negatively to the policy, arguing, for example, that multiculturalism jeopardized continuing bilingualism and it could not be the foundation stone for a modern nation state, when equal status was given to every ethnic group (Rocher, 1976). Likewise, Quebecers responded either negatively or uneasily to the federal government's policy of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was viewed as another federal intrusion into the internal affairs of Quebec. Dewing and Leman (2006), in their analysis of attitudes towards multiculturalism, wrote that Quebecers viewed multiculturalism "as an attempt to dilute the French fact in Canada, weakening francophone status and threatening the dual partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians" (p. 6).

During the 2007 Quebec provincial election, Liberal Premier Charest was forced to address the issue of multiculturalism in Quebec, agreeing that he would appoint two Quebec professors – Charles Taylor and Gerard Bouchard – to examine and report on the question. Taylor is a respected philosopher and political scientist at McGill University and had written on the topic, with his most recent work *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (1994). Taylor argued that there was nothing wrong with Quebec nurturing its own Quebecois culture, provided

that the province also protected the basic rights of other individuals in Quebec who did not subscribe to Quebecois culture. Gerard Bouchard, a sociologist and historian at the Universite du Quebec, advised, just before the work of the commission began, that sovereignty was the solution to the question.

Many English-speaking Canadians also had uneasiness with multiculturalism. During the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future in 1991, it was found that, while there was little animosity towards the increasing ethnic diversity in the country, there was discomfort with the government policy of multiculturalism. It was found that many English Canadians believed that it was more important to stress commonalities to ensure that Canada remained united:

Overwhelmingly participants told us that reminding us of our different origins is less useful in building a unified country than emphasizing the things we have in common. These [federal multicultural programs] are seen as expensive and divisive in that they remind Canadians of their different origins rather than their shared symbols, society and future. (as cited in Dewing and Leman, 2006, p. 6)

More recently, an editorial by Tom Ford (2007), managing editor of *The Issues Network*, addressed multiculturalism as not being impervious to criticism, despite the fact that it is a "key building block of Canadian society" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, April 9, 2007, p. A11). Ford contended that academics and leaders of special interests argued that multiculturalism increased Canadian society's tolerance. Now, Ford contended, ordinary people were becoming multicultural critics, arguing that "religious fundamentalists are using multiculturalism to make Canadian society more

rigid and less tolerant” (p. A11). For example, Ford indicated that some Muslims want women and men separated in public swimming pools; that men should be banned from prenatal classes; and that women should not have to raise their veils to identify themselves during voter registration. The issue, Ford argued, was to what extent the majority should compromise its beliefs for that of the demands of the minority.

*Notions of citizenship education.* Evidence for the notions of citizenship education during the period under study came from textbooks recommended for student use and others for specific teacher use. In addition, a new phenomenon in educational publishing that occurred during this period was the development and sale of substantive teacher’s guides, recommended by the Department of Education for teacher use to accompany the recommended student textbooks. Publishers realized that the teacher’s guide would assist in the sale of the student textbook. Further, the Department of Education demanded, particularly for social studies, that teacher’s guides be developed; otherwise, the student textbooks might not be recommended.

In the early decades of the Multiculturalism Era, citizenship education continued as it had from the previous era. Ferris and Onn’s (1966) *Civics for Canadians* represented a good example of the teaching approach of civics textbooks of this time. Each of the seven chapters was followed by “for discussion and further information” questions. The majority of the questions were of a factual nature and could be answered by reading the text. For those questions that required research, the authors provided a bibliography of titles, which presumably would/should be in the students’ school library. Nevertheless, the answers were all predictable, with the

result that students were directed to common understandings of civics and citizenship through the teacher's use of student reading, memorizing and answering questions related to governance by the federal, provincial and municipal governments. All of these teaching techniques were consistent with a republican approach to citizenship education.

Several new themes dominated civics and citizenship education as reflected in civics textbooks recommended in the post-1998 period. First, students were to be knowledgeable and show understanding about the broadly-based civics issues – both institutional and societal – that they were investigating; second, they were to understand their role as citizens; and, third, students were to be active participants in changing government and society, nationally and internationally, for the better.

A good example of this teaching approach was Skeoch et al. (2000, 2001) *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society* and *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society: Teacher's Resource*. Recommended for grade 9 in 2004, the student textbook was organized on the above three teaching principles. The first four chapters of the student text focussed on student understanding “of the key civics questions, concepts, structures, and processes fundamental to informed citizenship in local, national, and global contexts” (2001, p. 4). The purposeful citizen was defined in three chapters, and, according to the teacher's guide, was “to develop an understanding of the role of the citizens and the personal values that guide citizens' thinking and actions in local, national, and global contexts” (2001, p. 4). The key educational theme, however, was the active, participating citizen. The educational strategies used for teaching active citizenship were “critical and creative thinking,

decision making, resolving conflicts, and collaborating” (2001, p. 4). Teaching strategies in the teacher’s guide promoted debating, co-operative learning, student discussion, presentations and the development of critical thinking skills. This very liberal model of citizenship education – understanding the issue, understanding the student’s role, and a critical decision-making process leading to citizen action and social change – was a recurring theme in contemporary civics textbooks.

The *All About Canadian Citizenship: Teacher’s Guide*, authored by Maryrose O’Neill (2004), a recommended teacher civics textbook in 2004, was designed largely to assist the teacher in using the content found in Pegis’ (2004) ten recommended grade 4 books on Canadian citizenship. On the teaching of responsible citizenship in social studies, O’Neill stated that the emphasis of citizenship education was “developing active, responsible, and informed citizens in a pluralistic and democratic society” (p. 5). O’Neill also indicated that the teaching and learning strategies identified in the *Teacher’s Guide* assisted the integration of creative and critical thinking into the social studies classroom. While this may be true, none of the activities listed for using Pegis’ ten Canadian citizenship textbooks had any direct connection with critical or creative thinking, forcing one to conclude that the teacher was to initiate such student thinking.

On the other hand, Case et al. (2003) *Rights, Roles and Responsibilities at School: A Unit Exploring the Responsibilities of Various School Roles, Including Students’ Own Responsibilities to Meet Other Students’ Needs* did provide critical and creative thinking strategies. This recommended grade 1 teacher civics textbook had a focus similar to the series to which it belonged, the “Critical Challenges Across

the Curriculum.” The series editors stated: “Our approach is to embed critical thinking by presenting focussed questions or challenges that invite critical student reflection about the content of the curriculum” (Case et al, 2003, p. iv). In addition to teaching critical thinking specific to the content being taught, the authors also determined to teach students “a full range of tools for critical thinking” (p. iv), including sufficient background knowledge for thoughtful reflection; the development of judgement criteria for determining the best approach; the use of a critical thinking vocabulary; the use of thinking strategies such as models, procedures and organizers that assist in thinking-through a problem; and understanding habits of mind that led to “values and attitudes of a careful and conscientious thinker” (p. vi). For example, through one of the topics in this civics textbook, teachers helped students to understand their responsibilities at school, not only to look after their own needs, but also to assist others. The authors presented the teacher with an overview of the critical task; lesson objectives, including the teaching of the critical thinking tools; five sets of lesson plans; and information on teacher assessment and student self-assessment.

A third conceptualization of citizenship education also emerged during the Multiculturalism Era. A large number of civics textbooks recommended in the post-1998 period took the approach of presenting global citizenship issues after extensive discussions of topics related to their local, municipal, provincial and federal levels. Only after this did students learn about global issues. Skeoch et al. (2000), in the early chapters of the textbook *Civics: Participating in a Democratic Society*, presented the informed student with knowledge of the operation of the various levels of government in Canada followed by Canadian government involvement in the international

community. The last chapter of this civics text examined citizenship in a global community, focussing on immigration and refugees, international conflicts, human rights, the global economy and the global environment. All of this, however, was within the context of student as citizen of the state of Canada.

It has been argued by scholars (Bottomore, 1992; Kniep, 1989, as cited in Sears, 1995) that global education in the context of local and national citizenship was not helpful to the student's understanding of world citizenship issues.

Only one series of civics textbooks recommended for student use in Manitoba schools presented global education in the context of world citizenship. Transcending a national focus was Susan Watson's (2004) series "Global Citizenship" and the eight titles dealing with issues such as human rights, quality of life, global connections, sustainable development, and global environments. Watson's citizenship education, in each of the books, started by reminding the student that a global citizen is "a person who lives in a large group of people who they mix with" (p. 4) including family, friends, communities and country. After this short introductory piece, Watson presented global education and, in the case of *Understanding Human Rights*, spoke to issues common to humanity; no one group was better than another; all people had needs; many people had needs that were not being met; the global citizen had to be concerned where needs were not being addressed; and that students had to be active in addressing these needs. Watson asked students the question "What can I do?" At the same time, issues associated with the negative effects of the economics of globalization were ignored.

In Watson's approach to global citizenship education, the student learned about global systems and issues, developed skills related to sustainable development and diversity, and actions based on critical, reflective and knowledgeable problem solving. No debate was recommended regarding the effects of globalization.

In the early decades of the Multiculturalism Era, citizenship education based on writing compositions, answering questions and memorization were all strategies that were common to the previous republican teaching model of the Community Life and Service Era. Towards the latter part of the Multiculturalism Era, a strong liberal conceptualization of citizenship education emerged where a focus was placed on learning about a civics problem, understanding the student's role in addressing that issue, and critical thinking for action and change. Whereas the liberal conceptualization of citizenship education focussed on local, provincial and national issues, global education for citizenship presented global systems and issues and students were encouraged to use critical thinking and problem solving that aimed to bring about social change worldwide. Notably, students were not encouraged to investigate in depth international trade organizations and international capitalism, the World Bank, and American imperialism that is associated with global education.

*Typology of citizenship and citizenship education.* The Multiculturalism Era introduced three different conceptualizations of citizenship and citizenship education: republican, liberal, and global.

While the republican conceptualization had dominated civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools from 1911 to the late 1980s, the latter part of the Multiculturalism Era witnessed a substantial change in orientation. The new and

dominant liberal conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education refocused the concepts of the good citizen as one who was knowledgeable of Canada as a nation-state; who belonged to a multicultural and bilingual country; who had many rights and privileges; who respected the rights of all the citizens of the country; and who actively participated in the local and national government and the community. Citizenship education included teaching strategies that involved students becoming informed on a civics topic; reflecting, discussing and critically examining the issue; and identifying their active, participatory role in bringing about change for the better in society and in government.

The global conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education that emerged at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was derived from the liberal conceptualization. Global education was viewed as either within the context of being a Canadian citizen or within the context of a non-nationalistic, global citizen. In either context, the world was a main focus of attention and students were to learn, through education for global citizenship, the operation of global systems; to understand the world's great diversity and need for sustainable development; and to participate actively in addressing global needs through reflective and critical thinking. However, very limited attention was paid to the negative economic, social and cultural effects of globalization and what the student could do to address these issues.

*Congruency.* During the decades from 1960 to the late 1990s, there existed a fundamental discontinuity between the official discourse of the period as expressed in Department of Education-published periodicals for teachers, and that of civics textbooks approved for use in Manitoba schools. An illustrative example of this

disconnect was Ricker and Saywell's civics textbook. The 1980 revised edition of *How Are We Governed?*, approved in 1981 for student use in grade 12 social studies, portrayed the discontinuity between the real world and approved textbook content, in a fashion not unlike that of the government's *A Manual of Civics and Citizenship for Schools*.

The 1980 edition of *How Are We Governed?* described the operation of the government at all levels, in a manner similar to earlier civics textbooks, for the purpose of instilling political literacy as a key citizenship characteristic. What was new in this textbook, however, was the analysis of the relationship and struggle of the 1960s and early 1970s between Quebec and Canada. Interestingly, there was no discussion of the Canadian government's 1971 policy of multiculturalism as a political, social or cultural phenomenon; it had not happened in the 1980 edition. The legitimated knowledge of the approved grade 12 textbook in 1981 instructed students that the good citizen was the 1960s bilingualism and biculturalism portrayal. The 1980 *How Are We Governed?* was also exclusive of many people in Canadian society, including the ongoing silencing of Aboriginal peoples, immigrants, minorities and labour. Gender had found a place through a discussion of the women's suffrage movement and of women's contributions to Canada.

This discontinuity had its origin the Department's textbook approval process that failed to address adequately the changes in society and allowed textbook writers and publishers to recycle out of date textbook content. With no pressure to address the changes in Canadian society, civics textbook publishers were able to avoid the expense of developing new publications. Limited textbook funding at the school level

exacerbated the problem. Even with the approval in 1983 of the 1982 *How Are We Governed in the '80s?*, financially-starved school textbook budgets could hardly afford to discard the two year old 1980 edition for the new 1982 edition when other subject areas were also demanding new textbooks. There was a discontinuity between the official literature reflecting the political and social actions of the period, and the official knowledge presented to students in approved civics textbooks.

Recommended civics textbooks of the post 1998 period finally began to address the discontinuity. The liberal and global conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education as reflected in the official literature and in recommended civics textbooks increasingly matched one another as the Department of Education undertook measures to ensure that textbooks conformed to public education policy. These mechanisms included a socially focussed textbook review process, a system of multiple recommended textbooks, and a learning resources review process that addressed only titles with copyright dates not more than five years old.

### *Summary*

The Multiculturalism Era, running from 1961 through 2007, was characterized by changing citizenship themes and conceptualizations.

During the period lasting until the late 1990s, thematic analysis of civics textbooks revealed a strong emphasis on the study of government institutions; presentation of government as the best it can be; a description of society as homogeneous; a limited treatment of human rights; limited citizen responsibilities; and exclusion of certain groups in society. These themes reflected a basic republican conceptualization of citizenship.

Beginning in the late 1990s, there occurred a fundamental change in civics and citizenship themes in recommended civics textbooks. Multicultural themes included the examination of government-sanctioned bilingualism and multiculturalism; cultural and ethnic diversity; belonging; human rights and equality; active participation in solving local and national citizenship problems; inclusion of most groups in society; and a citizenship education focussed on the need for a student's critical thinking skills to address societal problems. This was supported by other citizenship elements including a national identity based on the importance of things Canadian, accompanied by a strong international orientation; knowledge of the governance of the country; patriotism; and abiding by the law. These themes were closely connected to a liberal conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education. The liberal conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship marks a step toward addressing the issues of inclusion, pluralism and diversity, rights and belonging, as well as critical thinking and active participation. Nevertheless, the liberal conceptualization of citizenship in civics textbooks described the current struggle of Aboriginal peoples in Canada who are portrayed requesting recognition as a founding people and for self-rule.

My story-line analysis of civics textbooks also revealed that, toward the latter part of the period under study, other citizenship concepts were present in civics textbooks. A global conception of citizenship and citizenship education was reflected in several civics textbooks and was portrayed by themes related to student critical thinking skills for solving problems dealing with issues pertaining to the Earth, participation, living sustainably, and global systems and understanding based on an

interrelatedness of the environment, the economy and society. While I view global citizenship as an outgrowth from the liberal conceptualization that had a national focus and an international interest, there remains a need for further exploration of global economics and the negative consequences of globalization.

While the citizenship element of belonging was addressed by civics textbook authors in the form of the acknowledgment of national, cultural, linguistic, and religious minorities, and regional association during the latter part of the period under study, there was only brief mention in two recommended civics textbooks (Watson, 2004; Ruypers et al, 2007) of a more contemporary and ever-expanding mode of representation of belonging through dual nationality and transnational belonging. Further, more recent concepts of citizenship, such as those addressing issues related to the importance of intimate citizenship (Faulks, 2006) are conspicuously missing from Manitoba's civics textbooks.

## Chapter Seven: The Future of Citizenship Education in Manitoba

In this concluding chapter, I summarize the findings of the study as they relate to each of the first five research questions identified in Chapter One. These questions were: What civics textbooks were used in Manitoba schools from 1911-2007? What notions of citizenship and citizenship education are reflected in these textbooks? How do the notions of citizenship and citizenship education found in the official literature endorse or deviate from those found in the civics textbooks? How have the meanings of citizenship and citizenship education evolved and what social, political and economic influences account for this evolution? What are the limitations on the notions of citizenship and citizenship education found in the civics textbooks?

Based on the findings, I attempt to answer the sixth question: How can a reconceptualized understanding of citizenship and citizenship education more effectively respond to the demographic changes occurring in Manitoba society? My goal here is to explore the omissions/limitations/weaknesses in the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education found in the social studies/civics textbooks and curriculum, and theorize citizenship and citizenship education attuned to Manitoba's contemporary demographics. I conclude with suggestions for future research in citizenship education.

### *Summary of Findings*

*Question 1) What Civics Textbooks Were Used in Manitoba Schools From 1911 to 2007 for Teaching and Learning Citizenship and Citizenship Education?*

My contention in this thesis is that the approved or recommended textbook, the state's officially sanctioned content and prescribed teaching methodology, represents a fundamental and critical research tool that had not been fully explored. In particular,

civics textbooks, which define the "good citizen," have only been briefly examined by scholars for the notions of citizenship and citizenship education they contain. In Manitoba, the focus of this study, the official knowledge in the authorized civics textbooks represented a source of sanctioned knowledge about what "good" or "ideal" Canadian citizens are like.

Ninety civics textbooks were identified as either approved or recommended for teaching and learning citizenship in Manitoba schools during the period 1911 through 2007. The ninety books have been listed alphabetically by the textbook author's surname in Appendix A. The chronological order by authorization dates appears in Appendix B. Although ninety civics textbooks used during a 96-year period appears reasonable, it should be kept in mind that only two editions of one civics book were approved in the period 1911 through 1920; twelve books were approved during the period 1921 to 1960; and seventy-six books were approved or recommended during the period 1961 through 2007. Moreover, within the period I have called the Multiculturalism Era, sixty-eight percent of the civics titles were authorized in the post 1997 period, reflecting the refocusing of the state's attention on the value of civics in the teaching and learning of citizenship and citizenship education in contemporary Manitoba.

From 1911 to 2000, civics textbooks represented the content of civics, the teaching methodology, and, in effect, the curriculum. Only in the post 2000 period did the Department of Education identify social studies curricula first, provide publishers with learning outcomes that had to be met in civics textbooks, and recommend curriculum-matched textbooks as implementation devices. The result of this post 2000

approach was two-fold: first, textbooks were recommended from already existing stocks of civics titles that publishers had on hand; and, second, the Department of Education signed contracts with specific publishers for the development of new civics textbook titles.

Beginning in the later 1990s and increasingly so in the post 2000s, civics textbooks were released in two parts: a recommended civics content textbook for student learning, and a recommended teacher's book in support of the student text. This move resulted in a combination of two factors: first, textbook publishers viewed teacher materials not only as a useful teacher support to their textbooks, but also as a means of furthering sales; second, Manitoba Education now required that student texts be supported by accompanying teacher resources/texts. These teachers' texts provided social studies educators with substantial support related to teaching methodologies, assessment and quality student handouts.

*Question 2) What Notions or Meanings of Citizenship and Citizenship Education Are Reflected in Approved and Recommended Manitoba Civics Textbooks From 1911 to 2007?*

During the course of the research and writing of this dissertation, I developed a comprehensive set of "Criteria for the Analysis of Civics Textbooks" (Appendix C) and utilized these criteria to establish the context in which civics is presented and reflective of the notions of citizenship and citizenship education found in civics textbooks. Significant themes were identified and analyzed for three historical eras which I called the Assimilation Era (1911-1920), the Community Life and Service Era (1921-1960), and the Multiculturalism Era (1961-2007).

The educational context of textbook authorization has been a fascinating exploration of unrelenting government control over official knowledge from the conception of the education system in Manitoba 1872 to the present day. This control was not only of the curricula, but also of the textbooks. In the early period 1911-1920, student civics books authorized for use in Manitoba schools were the embodiment of both curriculum content and teaching methodology. In analysing civics textbooks for this period, I addressed the critical question surrounding English philosopher and sociology theorist Herbert Spencer's famous question: "What knowledge is of most worth?" Following Michael Apple's analysis of the relation between school knowledge and cultural power, I argued that Spencer's question should be expanded by also asking "Whose knowledge is of most worth?" to show how schools' valorized the knowledge and cultural values of some citizens and excluded those of others. During the Assimilation Era, Jenkins, the author of the two editions of *Canadian Civics*, represented the social, political and economic interests of the elite class of Canadian scholars, academics and educators who generated a republican notion of citizenship and citizenship education. This notion represented an uncritical maintenance of the status quo in government, politics and society, and of the importance of understanding and supporting democratic institutions as they were portrayed. Learning was through reading, memorizing, and answering questions that were designed for students to arrive at similar understandings of civics and citizenship.

The mode of citizenship presentation reflected a strong focus on what I called the institutional approach. Here, the focus of civics education is the study of multiple levels of government, from school, municipal, provincial, national, to international. This

approach was accompanied by a view of government that was static rather than dynamic, and the portrayal of Manitoba society as homogeneous, based on British norms and culture. Excluded from this discourse of citizenship were the French, women, Aboriginal peoples, Asians, and the disabled, to name a few of the groups that actually comprised the heterogeneous make up of Manitoba's society at the time.

National identity was portrayed as British, English-speaking, and Imperial for all students, with a strong emphasis on a character of temperance, Christianity, discipline and duty, along with a passive political and limited civic participation, and an uncritical view of the problems of government and society. Little reference was made to the citizen concepts of belonging and rights.

During the Community Life and Service Era, 1921-1960, the twelve approved civics textbooks continued to represent the social, political and economic interests of the elite class who generated a republican notion of citizenship and citizenship education. The state itself became involved in the writing of civics textbooks, with two approved civics textbooks having been written by Department of Education civil servants.

A significant change took place during this Era where the institutional approach to teaching citizenship education was replaced, or became heavily augmented by, community civics and service, and the examination of the roles of individuals in society. Nevertheless, government continued to be portrayed in civics textbooks as static, taking on a republican notion that it was the purpose of the citizen to preserve that which our ancestors had worked so hard to achieve in the creation of democratic government. The range of citizenship topics continued to include the study of government at all levels and the portrayal of the myth of a homogeneous British society.

However, this was the post World War II period and there was a reorientation of national life from Imperial British to increasingly Canadian, and good citizenship now focussed on attributes, such as patriotism, honesty, living cleanly, and understanding right from wrong. In the post World War period, internationalism received far greater attention, focussing on cooperation and peaceful coexistence. Citizenship rights and responsibilities were tightly tied together, particularly during the World War II period. The right of enjoying life in a democracy, counter-balanced with Canadian soldiers who had died during the war, meant that students had to do their part, including community service and preparation for possible enlistment. Amidst this changing understanding of citizenship and citizenship education, the portrayal of Manitoba as a homogeneous society and the disenfranchisement of groups based on gender, social class, race, disability, language, religion, age and political beliefs continued unabated.

Civics textbooks in the early decades of the Multiculturalism Era, 1961-2007, continued to represent both the curriculum and the teaching methodology. It was not until the post 2000 period, after the introduction of curriculum outcomes, a new social studies curriculum, and a new learning resource review policy, that the Department began to identify multiple civics textbooks in order to implement social studies outcomes and to place calls for the development of civics textbooks to specifically match grade level outcomes. Further, in the post 2000 period, the Department began to demand a new notion of civics and citizenship, where civics content was to be separated from teaching methodology, with the result that publishers then produced a student text and a complimentary teacher text, both of which were identified as recommended textbooks.

Textbook authors from the first four decades of the Multiculturalism Era continued to represent mainly the social, political and economic interests of the elite class and an uncritical acceptance of the status quo in government, politics and society, in support of the democratic institutions they portrayed. Learning was through reading, memorizing, and answering questions, designed for students to arrive at common understandings.

Beginning in the 1970s, and increasing during the 1990s and 2000s, schoolteachers began to write civics textbooks that were used in Manitoba schools. The interests portrayed in these textbooks were far less republican, and far more liberal in their notions of citizenship and citizenship education. Middle class teachers articulated a liberal citizenship and citizenship education that involved students taking on a more active, problem-solving role in government and society, where critical inquiry and collaboration played key roles. The liberal conceptualization also focussed on the citizenship notions of rights and belonging, notions that had previously not been addressed in textbooks on citizenship education.

Evolving from the liberal notion of citizenship and citizenship education was global education which first appeared in recommended civics textbooks in 2004. The authors of these texts were neither scholars/academics nor schoolteachers; rather, they represented the interests of social activists who had a worldwide, as opposed to national orientation, directed at global change related to the environment, health, the economy, global society, and promotion of human rights.

The Multiculturalism Era, the period from 1961 to the late 1990s, saw a continuation of the notion that civics was the study of institutions and operations of

democratic government. However, in the late 1990s, this notion changed. Civics textbooks provided not only an institutional study, but also the examination of the social and political role of citizens in society. In 2004, several newly recommended civics textbooks moved from these liberal notions to a global view of the citizen of the world and his/her social and political role in dealing with global issues such as the environment, sustainability and improving the quality of life. There was a change from a fixed notion of government and its operations in the period 1961 to the 1990s, based on the premise that government had reached a point that it was the best that it could be, to a new notion that, in the 2000s, government operations and procedures needed improvement.

While school governance had been addressed during the period 1911 to the 1960s, it had virtually disappeared as a notion of civics and citizenship during the Multiculturalism Era. This finding is significant because the most basic form of democratic government is an understanding of the operation of the school, the school board and the Department of Education in the delivery of education in a democracy. While it could be argued that curriculum documents empower teachers to present material not directly in the social studies curriculum under the guise of teaching municipal government, the reality is that in an outcomes-based curriculum that excludes school government, there is very little likelihood that time or effort would be expended on addressing outcomes not already specified in the K-9 social studies.

The other component of the range of citizenship topics found in civics textbooks relates to the portrayal of a homogeneous society versus diversity. During the Multiculturalism Era from 1961 to the late 1990s, Manitoba's civics textbooks reflected

a notion of citizenship that was largely homogeneous, based on British norms and culture. Minority groups during this period were largely excluded. The post 2000 period witnessed the inclusion of almost all groups in Canadian society, reflecting the actual diversity and multicultural nature of the nation. However, Aboriginal peoples still receive token treatment in the textbooks and gays and lesbians still need to be included.

With regard to national identity, belonging, rights and responsibilities, civics textbooks portrayed the period from 1961 through the late 1990s as characterized by a homogeneous society, with limited citizen rights and responsibilities, and the depiction of government as the best it can be. National identity was definitely Canadian, emphasizing good citizen characteristics such as patriotism and obeying the law. The post 2000 period witnessed a dramatic change in these notions of citizenship and citizenship education in Manitoba's civics textbooks. Multiculturalism, belonging, ethno-cultural diversity, human rights and equality, active participation, and critical thinking and problem solving skills, all burst onto the citizenship scene. National identity remained strongly Canadian but it also celebrated Canada's international presence on the world stage. Beginning in 2004, several civics textbooks brought an extended notion of citizenship and citizenship education. The new orientation had a global focus. Using critical thinking and problem solving skills, students were to address problems pertaining to the Earth through participation in problem solving, living sustainably, and understanding the interrelatedness of the economy, the environment and the global society. In effect, students were to have an international identity with responsibilities to promote issues common throughout the world and a respect for the human rights of all people.

In the first four decades of the Multiculturalism Era, no attempt was made by civics textbook writers to provide historical context regarding contemporary political, social or cultural problems. This ahistorical approach to citizenship education changed in the late 1990s when history was employed to describe and contextualize the development of democracy, and contemporary civics and citizenship issues in Canada.

While the state attempted to promote dominant British culture and norms through hegemonic agencies such as the school, especially through the study of civics, resistance to hegemonic state control is a theme throughout the 96-years under study. During the Multiculturalism Era, for example, counter-hegemonic contestation consisted of struggles against on going assimilation. Most notably, there were contestations by Quebecers, Franco-Manitobans and Aboriginal peoples. For example, Aboriginal peoples continue to demand recognition as a founding people, self-rule, and improved health, child-welfare, education, shelter and standard of living.

Overall, citizenship education underwent changes during the Multiculturalism Era. During the early decades of the Multiculturalism Era, students continued to acquire a common understanding of political institutions and the operations of government, a system of governance that was simple, organized, linear and without rancor. This republican model of citizenship and citizenship education was largely politically passive and uncritical in terms of the citizen's involvement with government. Therefore, a liberal model of citizenship and citizenship education came to dominate civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools from the 1990s to the present. This new model called on the student to be knowledgeable about the nation-state, to understand that he/she not only belonged to a bilingual and multicultural country, with rights and privileges, but also

had a responsibility to actively participate in community and governmental affairs.

Students were expected to reflect, discuss, and critically examine civics topics with the aim to change government and society for the better.

*Question 3) What Notions or Meanings of Citizenship and Citizenship Education Were Reflected in the Official Discourses of the Manitoba Department of Education and How Did These Discourses Endorse/Deviate from those Found in Approved or Recommended Civics Textbooks?*

Congruency or lack thereof between the notions of civics and citizenship education found in the official discourses and in civics textbooks used in schools was examined throughout the 96-years under study.

During the Assimilation Era in Manitoba, from 1911 through 1920, the official discourse of the Department of Education on citizenship and citizenship education was strongly assimilative in nature. The official literature revealed a focus primarily on national identity, one that was British, Imperial, Christian, male, English-speaking and white. Groups excluded from these notions of citizenship were the French, the Asians, women, Aboriginal peoples, the disabled and the aged. Students were taught good character that was disciplined, law-abiding, patient, dutiful and with a clear understanding and appreciation for democratic government and its institutions. In particular, students learned loyalty to Britain and its Empire. Little importance was given in the official discourse to the citizenship concepts associated with belonging, rights and responsibilities.

The civics textbooks used in schools, namely the two editions of Jenkins' *Canadian Civics*, were in congruence with this official discourse of citizenship and

citizenship education. These editions focussed on a notion of national identity that was homogeneous, British and Imperial, addressing the institutions of democratic government as key knowledge for student learning. Jenkins' textbooks reflected a notion of citizenship that endorsed the official literature through exclusion based on social class, disability, race, language, religion and gender. However, although the official discourse did not address citizen responsibilities, Jenkins' 1909 and 1918 editions deviated, and described the duties of the citizens as involved with politics, though largely passive and uncritical, and with civic participation directed towards supporting the "good causes" of education, temperance and religion. Both the official discourse and Jenkins' civics textbooks were silent on notions of citizenship related to belonging and rights.

In terms of the approach to citizenship education, although there was no real discussion of the teaching methods of civics or citizenship in the official literature, one could easily extrapolate that students were to learn about good character and the operation of good democratic government in the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire. Jenkins' civics textbooks endorsed this approach by emphasizing reading, memorizing and responding to fact-based questions.

There was, then, during the Assimilation Era, congruity between the official educational discourse and Jenkins' civics textbooks related to national identity, belonging and rights. The major discongruity was Jenkins' treatment of citizen responsibilities related to civic and political participation, on which the official literature was mute.

The period from 1921 to 1960 of civics and citizenship was dominated by the themes of community life and service both in the official discourse and in the civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools. While the official discourse continued to stress national identity, this took on a very local, practical, community orientation that was absent in the Assimilation Era. In addition, national identity reflected a strong community civics or service requirement and an international focus, both of which were absent during the 1910s. As Imperial identity and assimilation waned, Canadian identity and internationalism emerged, along with the incipient inclusion of some groups. The necessary study of democratic institutions and the operations of government were basic citizenship concepts. This official educational discourse on national identity was endorsed by the civics textbooks of the time, reflecting an uncertain balance between Imperial and Canadian identities, with a strong common institutional understanding of all levels of government as necessary student learning. There was one significant discongruency. Where Jenkins' (1909, 1918) two civics textbooks were used in schools during most of the 1920s, neither edition addressed the official literature's focus on community life and service, increasing attention to Canadian identity, and a new internationalism.

Beginning in the 1940s for the first time, belonging was reflected in the official discourse of the Department of Education, with limited inclusion of the voices of women and immigrants. This official discourse was endorsed in a similarly limited fashion by the civics textbooks of the Era, which now mentioned the disabled and labour. However, the French, women, the Chinese, the Japanese, Aboriginal peoples, and those with

communist ideologies continued to be excluded from civics textbooks or given token mentioning.

The official educational discourse of the Community Life and Service Era also began to reflect incipient citizenship rights and specific responsibilities, coming largely as a consequence of preparedness and justification for Canada going to war in 1939. This discourse was endorsed in civics textbooks, but was more clearly framed. Students were reminded that, as a consequence of the enjoyment of the rights of living in a democracy, good citizenship required corresponding responsibilities, including an understanding of the importance of community life as well as democratic institutions and processes, and service to the school and community.

The notion of citizenship education, as inferred in the official discourse and as portrayed in approved civics textbooks of the period, was congruent. The teaching approach, as reflected in the civics textbooks and consistent with the official discourse, was composed of writing compositions, answering questions, reading, memorizing, taking field trips, and running mock parliaments, all designed to ensure that students garnered a common understanding of community life and service, and the importance of democracy and its institutions.

Overall, then, one can say with a fair amount of confidence, that, to a large extent, there was congruency between the official discourse of citizenship and the reflections of citizenship education found in the civics textbooks I examined for the Community Life and Service Era. Only with Jenkins' very dated Manitoba editions of *Canadian Civics* (1909, 1918) can one firmly state that the official literature of the time did not support the approved civics textbooks being used in the schools.

For the period 1961 through 2007, I described the overarching citizenship theme as multiculturalism. There was, however, a fundamental disconnect between the approved civics textbooks used in the period 1961 to the late 1990s and the official discourse. During this nearly forty-year span of time, civics textbooks mainly described a homogeneous English Canadian society that was exclusive of many groups, and had little to say regarding citizen responsibilities or citizen rights. On the other hand, the official literature of the Department of Education-published periodicals for teachers promoting a multicultural nation, within a bilingual framework, with ethno-cultural diversity, belonging and rights. This disconnect came about as a result of the Department of Education failing to ensure that its approved or recommended textbooks reflected the feelings and mood of the state, or requiring writers and publishers to update or revise civics textbooks being approved. In addition, limited textbook funding prevented the Department's curriculum consultants from undertaking any modernization of the textbook approval process or moving into the wholesale replacement of existing civics textbooks. Financially strapped, schools simply recycled old textbooks.

It was not until the late 1990s that Manitoba Education began to address this disconnect. Almost overnight, newly recommended civics textbooks began to reflect the official literature. New civics textbook themes – inclusion of almost all groups, belonging, human rights and equality, active participation at the local and national levels, and critical thinking to solve societal problems – emerged and dominated the post 2000 period. The Department instituted a new socially-driven textbook review process, and a system of multiple authorizations and restrictions were placed on authorized books

more than five years old – all done to ensure that textbooks reflected the official discourse of the time.

Thus, during the Multiculturalism Era in the period from 1961 through 2007, there were periods of time in which the official literature and the civics textbooks were clearly disconnected while, in other times, there was endorsement of one another.

*Question 4) How Have the Meanings of Citizenship and Citizenship Education Evolved over the Period Under Study? What Social, Political and Economic Influences Accounted for this Evolvement?*

Civics education does not operate in a vacuum. Strong social, political and economic factors in Manitoba and Canada have impacted on the notions of civics.

During the period 1911-1921, Assimilation, based on Anglo-conformity, was the dominant theme of citizenship and citizenship education. Immigrants, Aboriginals, French-speaking Catholics and the newborn were all subjected to the controlling economic, political and social agencies and beliefs of the dominant British society in Manitoba. By 1890, the British-controlled legislature had eliminated the dual denominational school system begun in 1872, and replaced it with a non-sectarian public system. In 1916, the provincial legislature eliminated the bilingual school system that was introduced in 1897, with the result that English became the only medium of education and citizenship, and a pillar of assimilation into British life and customs.

The commercial elite during the 1910s ran Winnipeg and controlled its politics. Schools were seen as Anglicizing forces and social regulators, particularly for Aboriginal and immigrant children. While the economy of the province was strong during the first years of the 1910s, industrial disputes over the right to form unions and achieve better wages and shorter workdays were ever present. With the collapse of the

economy after 1913 and rising prices and unemployment, discontent in the working class was strong. The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 represented a major clash between the economic and political elites of Winnipeg and the working class. Education, and particularly education through civics, would teach students about the strength of male leadership in a democratic government addressing “all” of their needs. The key civics textbook of the time reflected an elitist view of the world, and ensured that citizenship excluded the discussion of the rights of workers, women, and immigrants. Information on strikes, discontent, poor working conditions and the disenfranchisement of the poor was not part of the content of civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools. Through their civics textbook, students were taught about their responsibilities to support and understand “democratic government” and the good causes of education, temperance and religion.

In the aftermath of World War I, the focus of civics and citizenship education became the study of community life, rationalizing that students would be able to see the benefits of living in a democracy, one in which thousands of Canadian lives had been sacrificed overseas in the cause of liberty. Community service was the consequence of strong political forces – a required “giving back” to the community in return for the lives of the Dominion’s soldiers lost in France. The upheaval in the post World War I period included a drop in wages, a continuation of poor working conditions, strikes, and radical political movements. This was followed by the societal crisis of the 1930s of staggering economic downturn, unemployment, welfare, agricultural failures, dislocation and deportation of troublemakers and communists. These economic, social and political

problems or issues were not mentioned in Manitoba's civics textbooks; however, the stability and workability of democratic institutions and organizations were emphasized.

The war years 1939-1945 saw a refocusing of attention on national patriotism and the fight of democracy to stop totalitarianism. Civics evolved quickly during this period and took on a very practical orientation, largely designed to prepare students to go to war after leaving school. Finally, the post-war arrival of thousands of "displaced persons" and the opening of Canada's immigration laws led to further changes in civics that would become more commonplace in the Multiculturalism Era.

A number of important political, social, and economic factors impacted education and citizenship during the period 1961 through 2007. The English/French, bilingual/bicultural identity promoted by the federal government in the 1960s became state-mandated multiculturalism within a bilingual framework in the 1970s. Schools in Manitoba responded to these political changes with a citizenship education that included the introduction of French-immersion schools and the reorganization of the schools portion of Department of Education into two streams – one English and one French, each handling its own curricula and textbooks. Further, Ukrainian and Mennonite communities each opened immersion schools in the late 1970s. In the early 1980s, the NDP introduced programs to promote heritage languages and developed policy in support of multicultural education.

With the re-election of the Conservatives in 1988 and a reduction in funding to education and health to make Manitoba more competitive through lower taxation, pluralist emphasis of the 1970s and 1980s in Manitoba gave way to a new vision of citizenship which was market-driven. Through the new neoliberalism incorporated in the

“New Directions” policy shift in the latter 1990s, students were encouraged to become entrepreneurs who could cope in a global economy. Following the election of the NDP in 1999, the province reintroduced citizenship and citizenship education as a government priority. The new social studies curriculum became the vehicle for the delivery of this notion of citizenship and citizenship education, including a focus on sustainable development that continues today. Civics textbooks of the 2000s dealt with the full range of citizen rights and responsibilities, and national identity and belonging, and global citizenship. The inclusion of previously excluded groups like women, the disabled, Aboriginals, and the French became the order of the day.

*Question 5) What Are the Limitations on the Notions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Civics Textbooks?*

Examination of civics and citizenship as portrayed in Manitoba’s civics textbooks revealed limitations to the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. During the Assimilation Era, 1911-1920, the republican conception of citizenship and citizenship education dominated the two civics textbooks used during this period. Thematic analysis indicates that textbooks were dominated by a national identity that was British first, Christian, male, English-speaking, and white. The limitations to these notions of citizenship were that their understanding of belonging was exclusive of other groups, such as the French, women, Aboriginal peoples, immigrants from non-traditional countries of origin, the disabled, and the aged, who actually comprised Canadian society. Not only was such blatant exclusion an inaccurate and mythical portrayal of Manitoba society, denying the messiness and difficulty of a pluralistic democracy, it also sent the message that those who were excluded were not an

integral part of the state and national culture. Another limitation was that civics textbooks principally addressed only the study of government institutions as opposed to the examination of the important role played by the citizen in Canadian civil society and government. Government was portrayed in a highly static form, unchanging because it was the best it could be. The citizens were conceived as being mainly inactive politically and uncritical of problems in government and society. This sentimental approach to the study of government institutions and operations was a major weakness in the republican notion of citizenship and citizenship education. Ahistoricism was employed to silence the non-dominant voices of the day and ignore underlying issues in the society. Significantly also, with an exclusive focus on national identity that was British, republican citizenship and citizenship education failed to address other key citizenship concepts, such as belonging, social difference, rights and responsibilities.

During the period 1921 through 1960, community life and service were the dominant civics and citizenship education themes. Despite the change from the dominant assimilation theme of the 1910s, the basic notion of citizenship and citizenship education during the Community Life and Service Era remained republican, as demonstrated by the citizenship themes of loyalty, a common body of knowledge about the functioning of government, a single national identity, and the exclusion of many groups. Citizenship education focused on the informed student, learning much about civics from the approved textbooks of the time. Limitations to this republican notion of citizenship and citizenship education included the failure to include certain groups in Canadian society, the failure to promote critical thinking for problem solving and social change, and omission of any form of activist political participation by the citizen.

During the Multiculturalism Era, the republican conception of citizenship and citizenship education continued to dominate civics textbooks until the late 1990s. Beginning in the late 1990s, however, a new liberal conception of citizenship and citizenship education emerged. New and important citizenship themes appeared, such as the inclusion of all groups in Canadian society, human rights and equality, belonging, and active citizen participation in government and civil society at the local and national levels. This was accompanied by a citizenship education that stressed critical thinking and problem solving as key skills to address societal problems. This liberal notion of citizenship and citizenship education continues today as an important notion of citizenship and approach to citizenship education as reflected in civics textbooks. Its positive focus on welcoming all to the Canadian society has been a major step forward in the creation of a multicultural nation. It is now commonplace to see history used to describe and analyse past exclusionary practices and to employ history to give background to contemporary societal problems in Canada.

Nevertheless, the liberal notion of citizenship and citizenship education does have limitations. To begin with, the liberal discourse of citizenship is a discourse of individual liberty which “prioritizes the rights of individuals to form, revise, and pursue their own definition of the good life, within certain constraints that are imposed to promote respect for and consideration of the rights of others” (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, p. 661). However, this liberal theory, based on individual rights and individual actions by everyone in society – especially historically marginalized and oppressed groups – to fully exercise their freedom in society, is poorly positioned to deal with the needs and problems of cultural groups (Spinner, 1994) or the needs of

individuals who desire this emotional and psychological satisfaction offered by community life and support. Further, a direct offshoot of liberalism is neoliberalism, an individualistic pursuit of self-interest. According to neoliberal logic, the market becomes the defining feature for both private and public institutions and individual citizens are expected to make rational decisions that would support or lead to personal benefits based on fair and equal market competition. This ethos is already permeating educational contexts in many industrialized countries including Canada, even though it reflects an individualism so extreme as to be incompatible with the civic ideals long associated with democratic public life and common schooling (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Neoliberal rationality plays itself out in many ways. In education, for example, neoliberal promoters claim present-day, public sector schooling is inefficient and, they argue, private (often for profit) schools are bound to operate a “better/more efficient” schooling. This privatized schooling drastically alters the dynamics of citizenship education.

Another conception of citizenship and citizenship education that has emerged in the post 2003 period in several civics textbooks is global citizenship. This notion appears to have evolved from a liberal conceptualization to include critical thinking and problem solving skills directed not only nationally, but also internationally, considering issues of the environment, economy and the global society. Key themes include participation, sustainability and understanding the interrelatedness of global systems. Global education is new to Manitoba’s civics textbooks and it will likely grow in depth and breadth over time. Currently, however, the economics of globalization, particularly poverty, a new imperialism of big business and western governments, cultural

destruction, and the need for teaching strategies to address these alarming developments, are all components of a global conception of citizenship and citizenship education that have yet to be fully incorporated and explored in Manitoba civics/social studies textbooks.

Further, neither the liberal nor the global conceptions of citizenship in civics textbooks includes emerging critical discourses of citizenship, such as intimate citizenship, cultural citizenship and transnational citizenship which have developed out of criticism and which offer an opposition to the sanitized discourses of liberalism still prevalent in school textbooks. As Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) write, these critical discourses of citizenship invite basic questions about identity (who we are as citizens), membership (who belongs and the identification of boundaries), and agency (how to enact citizenship). As I show in the following section, these more contemporary notions of citizenship require urgent attention as Manitoba's population becomes increasingly more diverse as a result of the global migration to the province.

#### *Reconceptualizing Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Manitoba*

As can be seen from the foregoing critique of the limitations on the notions of citizenship and citizenship education found in Manitoba's civics textbooks, much needs to be done to address more fully issues of inclusivity, multiculturalism, belonging, and participation. These issues have become urgent in light of the unprecedented increase in overall immigration to Manitoba over the past ten years.

For example, between 1999 and 2006, over 50,000 new immigrants arrived in Manitoba. In 2006 alone, there were 10,051 arrivals, an increase of 24% over the 2005 newcomer total of 8,097 (Manitoba Labour, 2006, n.p.). 8,190 of the new immigrants

arriving between 1999 and 2006 were refugees – primarily from African and Middle Eastern countries – with religious, linguistic and cultural traditions that are significantly different from those in Manitoba and Canada (middle class and of European descent).

These growth trends in immigration have created demographic changes in Manitoba's society and schools that invite us to reconsider our current notions of belonging and inclusivity. With these developments as background, I explore the reconceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education under the following headings: intimate citizenship; cultural citizenship; multicultural citizenship; and transnational citizenship.

### *Intimate Citizenship*

Belonging and participation are key issues in citizenship. In this regard, two recently emerging critical discourses of citizenship – intimate citizenship (Plummer, 2003; Faulks, 2006) and cultural citizenship (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006) – provide platforms for the reconceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education for they invite us to reconsider the relationship between citizenship, the nation state, and social difference. Intimate citizenship, as theorized by Plummer (2003), decenters notions of citizenship that are anchored in rights, rationality, and a firm division between the public and the private, and brings issues usually relegated to the socio-emotional realm to the centre of citizenship. Faulks (2006) explains: “the exercise of effective citizenship presumes a series of underpinning emotions, such as trust, confidence and security. Similarly, negative emotions of fear, envy and shame will seriously undermine the capacity of citizens to exercise their rights and responsibilities” (p. 130).

Faulks (2006) posits that citizenship and citizenship education rooted in the sociology of emotions must take on a more holistic view of the citizen, that is, the citizen must be taught to take responsibility not only for his/her own actions and involvement with the civic and political spheres, but also have greater respect and empathy for fellow citizens. Faulks provides an example of taking a more holistic view of discrimination where he advocates that students must understand why inequalities exist in society, particularly as they relate to those who are different, and how strong barriers related to issues such as patriarchy, including domestic violence and homophobia, pose immense barriers to the enjoyment of full citizenship.

Until discourses of intimate citizenship are included in our understanding of, and approach to, citizenship education in schools, the social bonds between citizens are likely to remain weak.

### *Cultural Citizenship*

Cultural citizenship is another citizenship theory emerging that addresses issues of identity and belonging. Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) argue that citizens must be able to enjoy belonging to a society with a dominant national group, but also must be able to establish their own space related to culture, ethnicity and minority languages spoken. Within this critical discourse of citizenship, the authors contend that cultural citizenship must be anti-assimilationist and pose a cultural right for citizens to be different. Banks (2004) contends that education for cultural citizenship in a multicultural nation must acknowledge “cultural, national, and global identifications” (p. 7), all of which are part of the human experience.

Banks (2004) identifies changes necessary in citizenship education to address citizenship in democratic multicultural societies. He contends, for example, that teachers must assist students in acquiring a better understanding of their community knowledge and not necessarily blindly support the cultural knowledge brought to school. Students must also learn to compare and contrast their community knowledge with the cultural knowledge brought to the school by other cultural communities. Further, students need to examine their community knowledge in relation to the official knowledge of the school, as representative of their nation-state, and of the global community. The goal is an understanding of all cultural communities – their own, other cultural groups, the mainstream cultures of the nation-state, and world communities so as to provide students with the necessary survival and participatory skills to function in local, national and international communities.

These emerging views of cultural citizenship challenged the pallid, celebratory “folklorama” approach to cultural citizenship presently in Manitoba schools.

#### *Problematizing Multicultural Citizenship*

Multicultural citizenship must simultaneously focus attention on both the cultural recognition dimension and the social equality dimension of citizenship. Kymlicka (2004) contends that these two necessary strands of multicultural citizenship involve “acknowledging the validity and positive contribution of each group’s identity, language, and culture” and “the equalization of opportunities, in part through the acknowledging and remedying of historic injustices” (p. xiv).

Contemporary civics textbooks examined in this study revealed a strong recognition of the cultural diversity dimension, and, within the social equality

dimension, a strong focus on addressing historic injustices, such as the treatment of Japanese, Chinese and Aboriginal peoples. What is absent, however, is any substantive discussion of the social equality dimension of multiculturalism that relates to reducing economic inequalities usually associated with disadvantages groups. Economic inequalities must become part of the discourse on multiculturalism in civics textbooks, using Manitoba situations and asking what the government is doing to promote equalization of opportunities, including adult learning and literacy programs, and affirmative action for the hiring of women, Aboriginal peoples, the disabled, and visible minorities.

In this regard, Banks (2004) argues that citizenship education in a multicultural society must “help students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to make reflective decisions and to take actions to make their nation-states more democratic and just” (p. 4). Students need to address the inequalities that exist between the ideals of the democratic multicultural state and its actual social, economic and cultural practices.

This study reveals that the dominant discourses of republicanism and liberalism prevalent in citizenship education textbooks of the past will not help students achieve this democratic ideal.

### *Transnational Citizenship*

Reference was made in Chapter Six to the limited treatment of citizenship beyond the nation-state. In particular, dual nationality and transnational citizenship which address community belonging at the local, national and international levels were largely absent from the textbooks examined in this study. This omission is particularly disconcerting in light of the events of September 11, 2001, globalization, and the new

immigrants coming to Manitoba whose interests and loyalties are clearly transnational, criss-crossing several national borders, including those of their new and old countries. Transnational citizenship discourse envisions the citizen as “one who identifies not primarily or solely with her own nation but also with communities of people and nations beyond the nation-state boundaries” and “weighs political and social decisions considering both the local and global possible effects” (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, pp. 675-676). As migration patterns change, and as it becomes evident that immigrants no longer make Canada their permanent home, issues related to integration, attachment and belonging are central to the discussion on immigration and citizenship. For example, what are the policy, economic, social, and security considerations surrounding this trend? How can education for citizenship in Manitoba/Canada address this kind of transnationalism?

Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) argue that “transnational curricula move from a region-centered perspective to a global perspective, and students learn about their own country as interdependent rather than self-contained” (p. 678). They contend that transnational citizenship education addresses not only empathy for one’s own nation-state, but also compassion and understanding for other cultures. Rather than teaching about different cultures, transnational and dual nationality citizenship education focuses on the interdependence and similarities of all cultures.

Clearly, the concerns and questions emerging from critical discourses of citizenship, such as intimate citizenship, cultural citizenship, the social equality dimension of multicultural citizenship, and transnational citizenship indicate that the

state, citizenship educators, scholars, and curriculum developers must expand the discourse that shapes citizenship education in schools.

### *Recommendations for Future Research*

During the course of this study, I encountered other areas of possible research that are pertinent to citizenship education but that are outside the scope of the present study. These areas are encapsulated in the following questions:

- What French language civics textbooks were used in Manitoba schools during the period 1911 to 2007, and how are their reflections of citizenship and citizenship education similar to and different from those of English language civics textbooks examined in the present study?
- How did teachers and students mediate/negotiate the teaching and learning of the content and pedagogical strategies contained in civics textbooks between 1911 and 2007?
- How do the citizenship and citizenship education themes identified from the analysis of Manitoba civics textbooks compare with those found in civics textbooks used in other English speaking provinces and territories in Canada?

The investigation of these questions would provide a national context for understanding citizenship education in Canada and how it has been received and mediated by teachers and students.

### *Summary*

In this concluding chapter, I presented a summary of the findings of the study and identified some of the limitations of the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education found in civics textbooks used in Manitoba schools from 1911 to 2007. Based

on these limitations, I proposed a reconceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education that would further address issues of inclusivity and belonging, in light of the demographic changes taking place today in Manitoba's society and schools. In particular, I presented intimate citizenship, cultural citizenship, the social equality dimension of multicultural citizenship, and transnational citizenship as notions of citizenship and citizenship education worthy of exploration and inclusion in future Manitoba civics and citizenship curricula and textbooks.

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- Watson, S. (2004). *Valuing world heritage*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Understanding human rights*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Respecting cultural differences*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Protecting global environments*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Making global connections*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.

- Watson, S. (2004). *Living sustainably*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Improving the quality of life*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Being active citizens*. North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
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- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canada and the global village*. Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canada's system of government*. Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian citizenship*. Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian identity*. Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
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Appendix A  
Civics Textbooks Analyzed in this Study  
Alphabetical by Surname

- Bardswich, M., & Wright, T. (2004). *Citizenship and government: Teacher's guide*. (Canadian Heritage Collection; Primary Documents of 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada). Oakville: Rubicon Education.
- Baydock, E., Francis, P., Osborne, K., & Semotok, B. (1984). *Politics is simply a public affair*. Agincourt, ON: Canada Studies Foundation.
- Bejerimi, J. (1996). *How Parliament works*. Nepean, ON: Borealis Press.
- Bejerimi, J. (2005). *How Parliament works*. Nepean, ON: Borealis Press.
- Brune, N., & Bulgutch, M. (2000). *Canadian by conviction: Asserting our citizenship*. Vancouver: Gage Educational Publishing.
- Burt, A. L. (1930). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
- Burt, A. L. (1931). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
- Burt, A. L. (1935). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
- Burt, A. L. (1941). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
- Burt, A. L. (1943). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
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- Calder, J., Hounsell, D., Kilpatrick, B., Sisk, B., & Watts, E. (1986). *Canada: Human rights: Foundations for freedom*. Agincourt, ON: Dominie Press.
- Carlton, A. (1978). *Here's how it happens: How government works in Canada*. Agincourt: Gage.
- Carter, G. (1967). *The government of the Soviet Union* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Carter, G. (1972). *The government of the Soviet Union* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

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- Case, R., Falk, C., Smith, N., Werner, W. (2004). *Active citizenship: Student action projects: A framework for elementary and secondary teachers to help students plan and implement responsible social action*. Richmond, BC: Critical Thinking Consortium.
- Colyer, J. (2001). *Canadian by conviction: Asserting our citizenship. Teacher's resource binder*. Vancouver: Gage Educational Publishing.
- Dawson, R. M. (1949). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dawson, R. M. (1957). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dawson, R. M. (1963). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dawson, R. M. (1964). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ferris, T. T. M., & Onn, G. A. (1966). *Civics for Canadians*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- Flaig, L. A. A., & Galvin, K. E. (1997). *Finding your voice: You and your government*. Edmonton: Reidmore Books.
- Fretts, D., Perry-Globa, P., Spiegelman, M., & Stuart, R. (1992). *Canadian citizenship in action*. Edmonton, Alberta: Weigl Educational Publications.
- Fretts, D., Perry-Globa, P., Spiegelman, M. & Stuart, R. (1992). *Canadian citizenship in action: Teacher's guide*. Edmonton, Alberta: Weigl Educational Publications.
- Goldring, C. C. (1938). *We are Canadian citizens: A community civics reader for grades VII, VIII and IX* (Second edition). Toronto: J. M. Dent.
- Granfield, L. (1990). *Canada votes: How we elect our government*. Toronto: Kids Can Press.
- Granfield, L. (1997). *Canada votes: How we elect our government*. Toronto: Kids Can Press.
- Granfield, L. (2001). *Canada votes: How we elect our government* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Toronto: Kids Can Press.

- Homan, R. (2004). *Citizenship and government*. (Canadian Heritage Collection; Primary Documents of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Canada). Oakville: Rubicon Education.
- Jenkins, R. S. (1909). *Canadian civics* (Manitoba Edition). Toronto: Copp, Clark Co.
- Jenkins, R. S. (1918). *Canadian civics* (Manitoba Edition). Toronto: Copp, Clark Co.
- Kahn, C., & Howard, R. (1989). *Government and you*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Kielburger, M., & Kielburger, C. (2002). *Take action! A guide to active citizenship*. Toronto: Gage Learning.
- Kielburger, M., Kielburger, C., & Shankaran, D. (2004). *Take more action*. Toronto: Gage Learning.
- McCaig, J. (1925). *Studies in citizenship* (Manitoba edition). Toronto: Educational Book Co.
- McCaig, J. (1936). *Studies in citizenship* (Manitoba edition). Toronto: Educational Book Co.
- Manitoba. Department of Education. (1956). *A manual of civics and citizenship for schools*. Winnipeg: The Queen's Printer.
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- Marchand, E. (1979). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
- Marchand, E. (1984). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
- Marchand, E. (1986). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
- Marchand, E. (1986). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal Government: Teacher's manual*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
- Nicol, J., Kirk, D., & Case, R. (2004). *Caring for young people's rights: A unit for elementary and secondary students on the rights of young people on the rights of young people around the world and what can be done to secure these rights*. Richmond, BC: RichThinking Resources.
- O'Neill, M. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Teacher's guide*. Toronto: Thomson Nelson.

- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Becoming a Canadian citizen*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Canadian celebrations and traditions*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Children's rights and responsibilities*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Citizen participation*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Conflict resolution*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Local government*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Making laws*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: The national anthem*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: The prime minister*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Pegis, J. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Voting*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Quinlan, D., Pickup, M. J., & Lahey, T. (1999). *Government: Participating in Canada*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Quinlan, D., Pickup, M. J., & Lahey, T. (1999). *Government: Participating in Canada. Activities*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Ricker, J., & Saywell, J. (1963). *Nation and province: The history and government of Canada and Manitoba since Confederation*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
- Ricker, J., & Saywell, J. (1971). *How are we governed?* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
- Ricker, J., & Saywell, J. (1977). *How are we governed?* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
- Ricker, J., & Saywell, J. (1980). *How are we governed?* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.

- Ricker, J., Saywell, J., & Skeoch, A. (1982). *How are we governed in the '80s?* (rev. ed). Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
- Ricker, J., Saywell, J., & Skeoch, A. (1991). *How are we governed in the '90s?* and *Update* (1996). Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
- Riddell, B., & Lynch, J. (1972). *Urban politics*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Co.
- Riddell, B., & Lynch, J. (1973). *Issues facing political parties*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Co.
- Riddell, B., & Lynch, J. (1973). *Ideology*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Co.
- Ruyters, J., Ryall, J., Connor, L., & Norton, W. (2007). *Canada in the Contemporary World*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery.
- Shields, P. N. (1998). *Finding your voice: You and your government. Teacher's resource*. Edmonton: Reidmore Books.
- Skeoch, A., Flaherty, P., & Moore, D. L. (2000). *Civics: Participating in a democratic society*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Skeoch, A., Delaney, C., & Hopkins, D. (2001). *Civics: Participating in a democratic society. Teacher's resource*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1967). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: United Nations.
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- United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1972). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: United Nations.
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- Watson, S. (2004). *Valuing world heritage*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Understanding human rights*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.

- Watson, S. (2004). *Respecting cultural differences*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Protecting global environments*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Making global connections*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Living sustainably*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Improving the quality of life*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Watson, S. (2004). *Being active citizens*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canada and the global village*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canada's system of government*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian citizenship*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian identity*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wells, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian unity*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.

Appendix B  
Civics Textbooks Analyzed in this Study  
By Approved or Recommended Date with Deauthorization Information

Assimilation Era

1. Jenkins, Robert Smith. (1909). *Canadian civics* (Manitoba edition). Toronto: Copp, Clark Co.  
For student use:
  - Approved in 1911 for student use for grades 5, 6 and 7 history.
  - In grade 5, students studied: "The Idea of Government (Local)." This is the chapter entitled "Topic XII. Municipal Government."
  - In grade 6, students studied: "The Idea of Government (Provincial)." This is the chapter entitled "Topic XI. The Provincial Government."
  - In grade 7, students studied: "Government (Federal and Imperial)." These are two chapters entitled "Topic II. The Dominion and the Provinces" and "Topic I. The Outside Nations and the Empire."
  - De-Authorized for use in grades 5, 6 and 7 in 1927
  - Approved in 1912 for student use for grade 9 history and civics  
De-Authorized: 1919
 For teacher use:
  - Approved in 1911 for teacher use for grades 5 and 6 history and civics  
De-Authorized: 1927
  - Approved in 1911 for teacher use for grade 7 history and civics  
De-Authorized: 1928
  - Approved in 1929 for teacher use for grade 8 history and civics  
De-Authorized: 1930
  
2. Jenkins, Robert Smith. (1918). *Canadian civics* (Manitoba edition). Toronto: Copp, Clark Co.
  - Approved in 1918 as the 1909 edition became unavailable for sale from the publisher
  - De-Authorized for student and teacher use between 1927 and 1930 per the schedule for the 1909 edition

Community Life and Service Era

3. McCaig, James. (1925). *Studies in citizenship* (Manitoba edition). Toronto: Educational Book Co.
  - Approved in 1929 for student and teacher use in grade 8 Canadian history and civics
  - De-Authorized: 1943

4. McCaig, James. (1936). *Studies in citizenship* (Manitoba edition). Toronto: Educational Book Co.
  - Continuing approval for student and teacher use in grade 8 Canadian history and civics
  - Out-of-print: 1941
  - De-Authorized: 1943
5. Goldring, Cecil Charles. (1938). *We are Canadian citizens: A community civics reader for grades VII, VIII and IX* (Second edition). Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons.
  - Approved in 1941 for teacher use in grade 8 Canadian history and civics
  - Replacement for out-of-print *Studies in citizenship*
  - De-Authorized: 1946
6. Burt, Alfred LeRoy. (1930). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
  - Approved in 1930 for student use in grade 10 history and civics
  - De-Authorized: 1948
7. Burt, Alfred LeRoy. (1931). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
  - Continuing approval for student use in grade 10 history and civics
  - De-Authorized: 1948
8. Burt, Alfred LeRoy. (1935). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
  - Continuing approval for student use in grade 10 history and civics
  - De-Authorized: 1948
9. Burt, Alfred LeRoy. (1941). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
  - Continuing approval for student use in grade 10 history and civics
  - De-Authorized: 1948
10. Burt, Alfred LeRoy. (1943). *Manitoba high school civics*. Toronto: W. J. Gage (Educational Book Co.).
  - Continuing approval for student use in grade 10 history and civics
  - De-Authorized in 1948 for student use in grade 10 history and civics
  - Special Note: This edition was listed in the MTBB catalogue for 1956-1957 as a reference book for teachers.
11. Manitoba. Department of Education, & Saskatchewan. Department of Education. (1944). *Citizenship: Our democracy*. Regina: The King's Printer.
  - Approved in late 1944 for teacher use in grades 1 to 10 social studies and civics
  - Authorized for teacher use in the school year 1945-1946
  - De-Authorized: Unknown

12. Manitoba. Department of Education. (1956). *A manual of civics and citizenship for schools*. Winnipeg: The Queen's Printer.
  - Approved in 1956 for teacher use grades 1-12 history
  - De-Authorized: ca 1964
13. Dawson, Robert MacGregor. (1949). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
  - Approved in 1956 for student use in the course "Democratic Government in Canada 3," an optional course used in the Commercial Programme
  - De-Authorized: With the termination of the "Democratic Government in Canada 3" course, the textbook was deauthorized in 1966
14. Dawson, Robert MacGregor. (1957). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
  - Continuing approved in 1957 for student use in the course "Democratic Government in Canada 3," an optional course used in the Commercial Programme
  - De-Authorized: With the termination of the "Democratic Government in Canada 3" course, the textbook was deauthorized in 1966

#### Multiculturalism Era

15. Dawson, Robert MacGregor. (1963). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
  - Continuing approved in 1963 for student use in the course "Democratic Government in Canada 3," an optional course used in the Commercial Programme
  - De-Authorized: With the termination of the "Democratic Government in Canada 3" course, the textbook was deauthorized in 1966
16. Dawson, Robert MacGregor. (1964). *Democratic government in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
  - Continuing approved in 1964 for student use in the course "Democratic Government in Canada 3," an optional course used in the Commercial Programme
  - De-Authorized: With the termination of the "Democratic Government in Canada 3" course, the textbook was deauthorized in 1966
17. Ricker, John, & Saywell, John. (1963). *Nation and province: The history and government of Canada and Manitoba since Confederation*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
  - Approved in 1963 for Canadian history 201
  - De-authorized: 1976
18. Ricker, John, & Saywell, John. (1971). *How are we governed?* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
  - Approved in 1971 for student use in grade 12 history 300
  - De-authorized: 1983

19. Ricker, John, & Saywell, John. (1977). *How are we governed?* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
  - Continuing approved in 1978 for student use in grade 12 history 300
  - De-authorized: 1983
20. Ricker, John, & Saywell, John. (1980). *How are we governed?* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
  - Continuing approved in 1981 for student use in grade 12 history 300
  - De-authorized: 1983
21. Carter, Gwendolen. (1967). *The government of the Soviet Union* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
  - Approved in 1971 for student use in grade 12 modern civilization 300
  - De-authorized: 1984
22. Carter, Gwendolen. (1972). *The government of the Soviet Union* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich.
  - Approved in 1977 for student use in grade 12 modern civilization 300
  - De-authorized: 1984
23. United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1967). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: Office of Public Information.
  - Approved in 1968 for student use in grade 12 social studies 301
  - De-authorized: 1984
24. United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1969). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: Office of Public Information.
  - Continuing approval in 1969 for student use in grade 12 social studies 301
  - De-authorized: 1984
25. United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1970). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: Office of Public Information.
  - Continuing approval in 1970 for student use in grade 12 social studies 301
  - De-authorized: 1984
26. United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1972). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: Office of Public Information.
  - Continuing approval in 1972 for student use in grade 12 social studies 301
  - De-authorized: 1984
27. United Nations. Office of Public Information. (1983). *Basic facts about the United Nations*. New York: Office of Public Information.
  - Continuing approval in 1983 for student use in grade 12 social studies 301
  - De-authorized: 1984

28. Ferris, Terry Thomas McCallam, & Onn, Gerald Alfred. (1966). *Civics for Canadians*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
  - Approved in 1972 for student use in grade 9 British history
  - De-authorized: 1984
29. Riddell, Barry, & Lynch, John. (1972). *Urban politics*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Co.
  - Approved in 1976 for student use in grade 11 Canadian history 201
  - De-authorized: 1983
30. Riddell, Barry, & Lynch, John. (1973). *Ideology*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Co.
  - Approved in 1976 for student use in grade 11 Canadian history 201
  - De-authorized: 1983
31. Riddell, Barry, & Lynch, John. (1973). *Issues facing political parties*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Co.
  - Approved in 1976 for student use in grade 11 Canadian history 201
  - De-authorized: 1983
32. Carlton, Alex (1978). *Here's how it happens: How government works in Canada*. Agincourt: Gage.
  - Approved in 1981 for student use in grade 5 social studies
  - De-authorized: 1993
33. Marchand, Edward. (1979). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
  - Approved in 1981 for student use in grade 5 social studies
  - De-authorized: 1997
34. Marchand, Edward. (1984). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
  - Continuing approval in 1984 for student use in grade 5 social studies
  - De-authorized: 1997
35. Marchand, Edward. (1986). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
  - Continuing approval in 1986 for student use in grade 5 social studies
  - De-authorized: 1997
36. Ricker, John, Saywell, John, & Skeoch, Alan. (1982). *How are we governed in the '80s?* (rev. ed). Toronto: Clarke, Irwin.
  - Approved in 1983 for student use in grade 12 history 300
  - De-authorized: 1986

37. Granfield, Linda. (1990). *Canada votes: How we elect our government*. Toronto: Kids Can Press.
  - Approved in 1991 for student use in grade 5 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2003
38. Baydock, Ernest, Francis, Peter, Osborne, Ken, and Semotok, Bernard. (1984). *Politics is simply a public affair*. Agincourt, ON: Canada Studies Foundation.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 5 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2000
39. Marchand, Edward. (1986). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grades 5-8 social studies
  - Out of print 1998
  - De-authorized: 2004
40. Marchand, Edward. (1986). *Working for Canadians: A study of local, provincial and federal government: Teacher's manual*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.
  - Recommended in 1998 for teacher use in grades 5-8 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2002 after going out of print
41. Bejerimi, John. (1996). *How Parliament works*. Nepean, ON: Borealis Press.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
42. Granfield, Linda. (1997). *Canada votes: How we elect our government*. Toronto: Kids Can Press.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
43. Kahn, Charles, and Howard, Richard. (1989). *Government and You*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
44. Ricker, John, Saywell, John, & Parsons, Jim. (1991). *How are we governed in the '90s?* and *Update* (1996). Toronto: Irwin.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
45. Calder, John, Hounsell, Derek, Kilpatrick, Barry, Sisk, Bernie, and Watts, Enos. (1986). *Canada: Human rights and the law*. Agincourt, ON: Dominie Press.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007

46. Calder, John, Hounsell, Derek, Kilpatrick, Barry, Sisk, Bernie, and Watts, Enos. (1986). *Canada: Human rights: Foundations for freedom*. Dominic Press.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
47. Fretts, Derald, Perry-Globa, Pamela S., Spiegelman, Martin, & Stuart, Reginald C. (1992). *Canadian Citizenship in Action*. Edmonton, Alberta: Weigl Educational Publications.
  - Recommended in 1998 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
48. Fretts, Derald, Perry-Globa, Pamela S., Spiegelman, Martin, & Stuart, Reginald C. (1992). *Canadian Citizenship in Action: Teacher's guide*. Edmonton, Alberta: Weigl Educational Publications.
  - Recommended in 1998 for teacher use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
49. Quinlan, Don, Pickup, Mary Jane, & Lahey, Terry. (1999). *Government: Participating in Canada*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
  - Recommended in June 2001 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
50. Quinlan, Don, Pickup, Mary Jane, & Lahey, Terry. (1999). *Government: Participating in Canada. Activities*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
  - Recommended in June 2001 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
51. Flaig, Lynn A. A., & Galvin, Kathryn E. (1997). *Finding your voice: You and your government*. Edmonton: Reidmore Books.
  - Recommended in 2002 for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
52. Shields, Patricia N. (1998). *Finding your voice: You and your government. Teacher's resource*. Edmonton: Reidmore Books.
  - Recommended in 2002 for teacher use in grade 9 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
53. Brune, Nick, & Bulgutch, Mark. (2000). *Canadian by conviction: Asserting our citizenship*. Vancouver: Gage Educational Publishing.
  - Recommended in June 2001 for student use in grade 11/senior 3 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
54. Colyer, Jill (2001). *Canadian by conviction: Asserting our Citizenship. Teacher's resource binder*. Vancouver: Gage Educational Publishing.
  - Recommended in June 2001 for teacher use in grade 11/senior 3 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended

55. Granfield, Linda. (2001). *Canada votes: How we elect our government* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Kids Can Press.
- Recommended August 25, 2003, for student use in Grade 4 Social Studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended for Grade 4 Social Studies
  - Recommended August 25, 2003, for student use in Grade 6 Social Studies
  - De-authorized for Grade 6: 2007
56. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Becoming a Canadian citizen*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
57. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Canadian celebrations and traditions*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
58. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Children's rights and responsibilities*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
59. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Citizen participation*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
60. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Conflict resolution*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
61. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Local government*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
62. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Making laws*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
63. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: The national anthem*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
- Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended

64. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: The prime minister*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
  - Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
65. Pegis, Jessica. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Voting*. (The all about series). Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
  - Recommended March 31, 2004, for student use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
66. O'Neill, Maryrose. (2004). *All about Canadian citizenship: Teacher's guide*. Toronto: Thomson Nelson.
  - Recommended March 31, 2004, for teacher use in grade 4 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
67. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Valuing world heritage*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
  - Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
68. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Understanding human rights*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
  - Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
69. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Respecting cultural differences*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
  - Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
70. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Protecting global environments*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
  - Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
71. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Making global connections*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
  - Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
72. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Living sustainably*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
  - Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended

73. Watson, Susan. (2004). *Improving the quality of life*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
74. Watson, S. (2004). *Being active citizens*. (Global Citizenship). North Mankato, Minn.: Smart Apple Media.
- Recommended August 23, 2004, for student use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
75. Wells, Don (Ed.). (2005). *Canada and the global village*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9/senior 1 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
76. Wells, Don (Ed.). (2005). *Canada's system of government*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
77. Wells, Don (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian citizenship*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
78. Wells, Don (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian identity*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
79. Wells, Don (Ed.). (2005). *Canadian unity*. (Canadian Government). Calgary: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
80. Homan, Rick. (2004). *Citizenship and government*. (Canadian Heritage Collection; Primary Documents of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Canada). Oakville: Rubicon Education.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
81. Bardswich, Miriam & Wright, Thomas. (2004). *Citizenship and government: Teacher's guide*. (Canadian Heritage Collection; Primary Documents of 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada). Oakville: Rubicon Education
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for teacher use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended

82. Skeoch, Alan, Flaherty, Peter, & Moore, D. Lynn. (2000). *Civics: Participating in a democratic society*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
83. Skeoch, Alan, Delaney, Chris, & Hopkins, David. (2001). *Civics: Participating in a democratic society. Teacher's resource*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for teacher use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
84. Kielburger, Marc, & Kielburger, Craig. (2002). *Take action! A guide to active citizenship*. Toronto: Gage Learning.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
85. Kielburger, Marc, Kielburger, Craig, & Shankaran, Deepa. (2004). *Take more action*. Toronto: Gage Learning.
- Recommended November 29, 2004, for student use in grade 9 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
86. Bejerimi, John. (2005). *How Parliament works*. (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). Nepean, ON: Borealis Press.
- Recommended in 2005 for teacher use in grade 4 social studies
  - De-authorized: 2007
  - Recommended in 2006 for teacher use in grades 5-8 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended for teacher use in grades 4-8
87. Case, Roland, Abbott, Mary, and Coward, Mara. (2003). *Rights, roles and responsibilities at school: A unit exploring the responsibilities of various school roles, including students' own responsibilities in helping to meet other students' needs*. Richmond, BC: Critical Thinking Consortium.
- Recommended July 16, 2005, for teacher use in grade 1 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
88. Case, Roland, Falk, Cliff, Smith, Neil, & Werner, Walt. (2004). *Active citizenship: Student action projects: A framework for elementary and secondary teachers to help students plan and implement responsible social action*. Richmond, BC: Critical Thinking Consortium.
- Recommended July 16, 2005, for teacher use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended
89. Nicol, Jan, Kirk, Dan, & Case, Roland. (2004). *Caring for young people's rights: A unit for elementary and secondary students on the rights of young people around the world and what can be done to secure these rights*. Richmond, BC: RichThinking Resources.
- Recommended July 16, 2005, for teacher use in grade 7 social studies
  - As of June 2007, continues to be recommended

90. Ruypers, John., Ryall, John, Connor, Linda, & Norton, William. (2007). *Canada in the Contemporary World*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery.
- Recommended August 2007, for student use in grade 9 social studies

Appendix C  
Criteria for the Analysis of Civics Textbooks

**A. CONTEXT**

- Social, political, and economic context
- Educational context
  - Official discourse on civics and citizenship
  - Textbook authorization
  - Approved/Recommended civics textbooks

**B. WHOSE AND WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF MOST WORTH?**

- Social, political and economic interests as represented in textbook knowledge

**C. THE SCHOOL SUBJECT OF CIVICS**

MODE OF CITIZENSHIP PRESENTATION

- Institutional approach versus the focus on social and political roles in society versus multidimensional
- Static description versus dynamic description, presenting potential for change

RANGE OF CITIZENSHIP TOPICS

- One's own country (school, municipal, provincial, national) versus global context versus multidimensional
- Homogeneous society versus diversity (minority groups)

CONCEPTS OF CITIZENSHIP

- National identity
- Belonging
- Human rights; ethnocentric or Western-centric view versus multi-centric
- Responsibilities, including active participation versus passive participation; critical thinking versus sentimental

**D. CITIZENSHIP INCLUSION VERSUS EXCLUSION**

GENDER

- The portrayal of males and females as people in positions of power or responsibility, their struggle for rights

SOCIAL CLASS

- The portrayal of people of varying socioeconomic situations, their contributions and struggle for rights

RACE

- The portrayal of various ethnic groups that compose society of the time, their contributions and their struggle for rights

**DISABILITY**

- The portrayal of disabled at part of society, their contributions, and their struggle for rights

**LANGUAGE**

- The portrayal of various languages spoken or permitted

**POLITICAL BELIEFS**

- The portrayal of political ideologies and penalties for non-compliance with democratic understandings

**AGE**

- The portrayal of the aged, their contributions, and their struggle for rights

**RELIGION**

- The portrayal of various faiths, their contributions, and struggle for rights

**E. SUMMATIVE COMPONENTS****HISTORICAL/AHISTORICAL TREATMENT**

- The historical or ahistorical treatment of the school subject of civics, and citizenship, and inclusion and exclusion

**COUNTER-HEGEMONIC RESPONSE**

- The resistance displayed by groups to counter the prevailing conceptualization of citizenship that adversely affected them

**CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

- The methodology of teaching used to actualize the prevailing conceptualization of citizenship

**TYOLOGY OF CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

- The overall description of the prevailing nature of citizenship and citizenship education for a particular era (e.g. republican, liberal, global)

**CONGRUENCY**

- The congruency between the official educational discourse and the approved or recommended civics textbooks

### Author Note

In 1980, I was writing a biographical piece on Howard Dunfield, a school inspector, as part of my Master of Education at the University of Manitoba. While the material gathered was never used, I do have notes taken from a personal communication with Mr. Dunfield on April 2, 1980. No videotaping or audiotaping was utilized. Mr. Dunfield is now deceased.