The Values Debate, Citizenship Policy and Education in Canada:
What world do we want?

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The question of values is one that reoccurs periodically in policy and educational circles (Desaulniers, 2000). Today however, this question is raised within a global context experiencing rapid political, economic, social and religious change (Turner, 2000). This question is at the heart of an intense and complex dynamic typical of democratic societies that are also pluralistic, secular and postmodern. The values debate today calls upon us to define what kind of world we want.

Canada is known de facto to be a pluralistic society, notably in linguistic, cultural and religious terms, resulting from the impact of policy changes sensitive to immigration (Troper, 2002). In recent years, the values debate has become sharper and more acrimonious, especially in school contexts (McAndrew et al, 1997). Generally speaking, students themselves are bearers of values that they construct upon social and familial experiences; and administrators and educators are confronted daily with decisions to make regarding the best possible response to conflicts of values that occur in educational institutions. In a context of globalization marked by the blurring of the frontiers and greater interconnectivity, the question of values in citizenship policy calls into review the pedagogical dimension of education.

However, what are we talking about when we talk of 'values'? Like the term 'citizenship', the concept of *value* is complex, multidimensional, and has multiple ramifications depending upon the views of individual actors, theoretical perspectives adopted, and specific objectives being considered. There is considerable confusion about a variety of terms used to talk about 'values', including such words as 'principles', 'dispositions', or 'virtues', often taken as equivalent terms. In other cases, values refer indiscriminately to the development of a moral code, the recognition and respect of diversity, or the respect of human rights.

Defining Values, Principles, Dispositions and Concepts

Understandings of the term '*value*' vary greatly and have evolved over time. In the 17th century, the term referred to the merit, qualities or interest for which a person, idea, painting, literature, or music was esteemed (Rey, 1997). The original meaning is retained today in phrases such as the 'value of a musical note' and the 'aesthetic value of a painting', which bring in notions of weight and measurement. This meaning includes the idea of personal judgment of moral values and assumes a scale of values as a tool for measurement. Today, the term has sociological meaning, referring to systems of social values based on judgment and societal norms. Values are defined as referring to a constellation of ideals relating to democratic citizenship, which may be manifested as principles, dispositions and concepts. Deeply held, *citizenship values* have individual and social meaning, as well as cognitive, affective and moral dimensions (Evans, Gräbler and Pouwels, 1997).

Principles are a set of basic moral rules that define personal conduct. The term includes the notion of being in first place, of founding elements, of primary source, motive and cause (Rey, 1997). Consequently, *principles* refer to foundational elements of general scope which logically constitute a science or discipline. The term '*principle*' also refers to normative rules of moral action, formulated explicitly or not, to which a person or group is attached and which flow from dominant values in a given society.

Democratic dispositions are best distinguished from values, referring to inclinations whereas the other terms refer to fundamental ideals. Democratic dispositions are thus defined here as acquired inclinations to engage with others, in altruistic ways that are consistent with underlying citizenship values and principles. In other words, dispositions are a developed capacity to understand, accept, and act on the core principles of democratic society (Galston, 1991: 245-246). The meaning of *disposition* also includes the notion of arrangement, of being in good state and spirit as in 'divine disposition', and of good will, taste and aptitude (Rey, 1997). These are different than *concepts*, which originally referred to thought and to conception. Over time, *concepts* have come to refer to dynamic schematas of thought, rather than static configurations of notions (Rey, 1997).

Four Domains of Citizenship

The recognition of developmental stages of democratic citizenship is part of the ideas of T. H. Marshall who identified the evolution of civil, political, and socio-economic rights as three domains of citizenship: civil, political, and socio-economic (1998: 19). We take these up here as we wonder how values are linked to rights which have served, in the period since World War II, as a central focus for thinking about democracy.

The *civil domain* includes freedom of speech, expression and equality before the law, as well as the freedom of association and access to information. Civil citizenship refers to a way of life wherein citizens define and pursue commonly held goals that are related to liberal conceptions of society on how common spaces, resources and opportunities are shared and how interdependence is managed. Fundamental community values, limits of governmental decision-making in relation to the individual

citizen as well as the rights of private interest groups and associations are inscribed in the civil domain of citizenship which deals with the balance between individual and group concerns.

The *political domain* involves the right to vote and to political participation. Free elections are key to this part of this dimension of citizenship, as is the right to freely seek political office. The civic dimension of citizenship, referring to legal status defined in terms of rights and obligations of individuals, is a more confined notion than the civil domain and, in Marshall's view, flows more properly from the rights and responsibilities of the political and social domains.

Referring to the relationship between individuals in a societal context and requiring relational loyalty and sincerity, the *socio-economic domain* of citizenship refers to rights of participation, in political spaces, in the definition of social and economic rights, such as the rights to economic well-being, for example, the right to social security, to work, to minimum means of subsistence, and to a safe environment. Given the dynamic nature of Marshall's conception of citizenship, "the constituent components of modern citizenship – civic responsibility, social trust, egalitarianism and a world-oriented individualism – cannot be viewed as static and isolated" (Kalberg, 1993: 107). This perspective recognizes the complex interaction between the political, civil, and socio-economic components and the implications for citizens within a global context.

A fourth domain of citizenship has since emerged in reference to the culture-state relationship. The *cultural domain* refers to the manner in which societies take into account the increasing cultural diversity in societies, diversity due to a greater openness to other cultures, to global migration, and to increased mobility. Included in this domain is the quest for recognition of collective rights for minorities which, in Canada, are those of multinational groups, i.e., Francophones and Aboriginal First Nations who were *in situ* before the legal establishment of the federated state, as well as multicultural rights (Kymlicka, 1995), all set within the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982). The culture-state relationship is based upon human rights which recognize an anthropological dimension of the person, and which imply a certain conception of human beings, their dignity, and the affirmation of legal equality against all forms of discrimination on the basis of membership in a particular group or category.

Towards a New Analytic Framework for Understanding Citizenship Values

Our goal in developing an analytic framework of Canadian citizenship values, based on the sociological, survey and educational literature, is to schematize the basic values, principles, dispositions and concepts by placing them in logical relationship and by representing them spatially. In doing so, we adopt the four domains discussed above as organizational framework and, in response to critiques of the Marshallian model, expand and complete this model of rights-focussed citizenship with their complementary values. The first level of network organization is represented by a central category, citizenship values proper, radiating out into a set of macro-concepts from the overarching concept (see Figure 1). In turn, each of these values leads to other levels of interrelated logical organization. In this way, citizenship principles form the second level of schematization, dispositions a third and concepts a fourth. Although the diagram below does not indicate directionality, it may be assumed that these all flow from citizenship values, but also that they inter-relate with each other, across level and from level to level, in logically inclusive relationships, thus reflecting the complexity and multi-dimensionality of citizenship values. Serving as heuristic devices, the figures are not intended as quantitative measurements of values, but as a spatial representation, which allows for a visual account of the interrelationships between different levels of citizenship values.

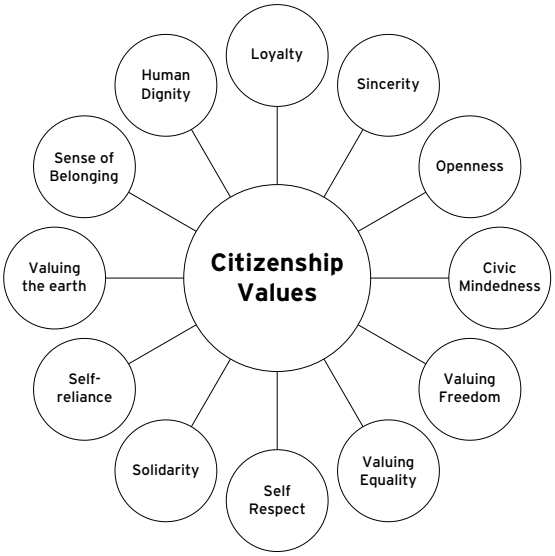


Figure 1: Macro-Concepts of Citizenship Values

The essence of Figure 1 are the macro-concepts, twelve fundamental citizenship values consisting of *loyalty, sincerity, openness, civic-mindedness, valuing freedom, valuing equality, respect for self and others, solidarity, self-reliance, valuing the earth, a sense of belonging,* and *human dignity*. Situated in a first circle, logical relationships may be read between them. For example, sincerity contributes to respect for self and others, just as valuing freedom contributes to being equal, to solidarity, and to a sense of belonging, and so on. Similarly, logical relationships may be read, from the centre of the wheel, to each macro-concept, as these are in an 'is-a' relationship. In other words, self-reliance is a citizenship value, as is human dignity and civic-mindedness, and so on.

Serving as supra-ordinate organizers of a network of citizenship values in four clusters, the four domains (civic, political, socio-economic and cultural) inform the schematization of three other levels of logically inclusive relationships, though only one, the cultural domain, is discussed in-depth here. In presenting the elements of the schematic structure of the analytic framework, we support their identification as a citizenship value or related principle, disposition, or democratic concept, i.e., as second, third or fourth order citizenship values.

To date, two citizenship values are identified within the cultural domain, which is fewer than in the other three domains, as may be expected from its recency. Represented

in Figure 2, a *sense of belonging* and *human dignity* are key values in the cultural domain as they are predicated upon a view of individuals, not merely as political or legal entities, but upon a recognition of the social and cultural nature of human beings (cf., Pouwels, 1997).

A *sense of belonging* assumes the existence of collectives, be these groups, communities, or the state, and thus of collective responsibility (Marzouk et al, 2000, Peters, 1995) as a citizenship principle which reflects social cohesion in that looking after others strengthens the well-being of society. In other words, Canadian society would be stronger if we collectively look after one another. Seemingly contradictory, the values of self-reliance and collective responsibility nonetheless co-occur in a dynamic tension. It is not possible for an individual to be entirely self-reliant, free and separate from community, since to be an individual presupposes a community in which true freedom is intermeshed. The tensions between the two create the civil, political, social and cultural institutions, which sustain both our freedom and satisfy our need to belong to something greater than ourselves.

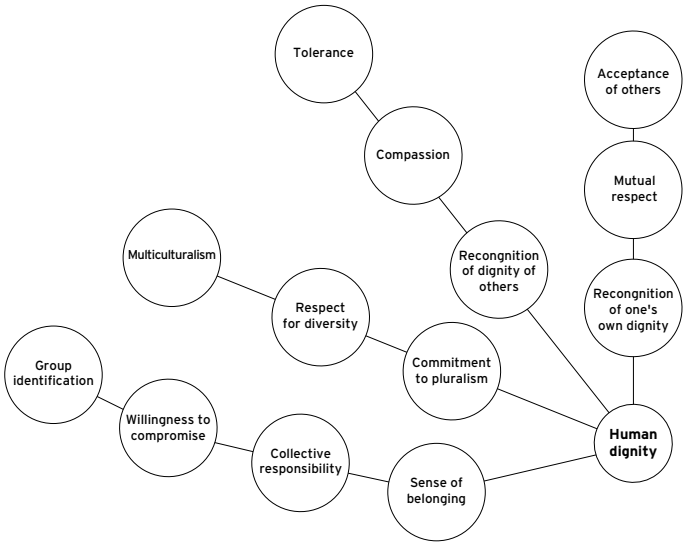


Figure 2: Network of Citizenship Values in the Cultural Domain

The value placed on *human dignity* requires a principled recognition of the dignity of others and of one's own, as well as a commitment to pluralism (Kymlicka, 1995; Pagé, 1997; Ouellet and Benoît, 1997; Hemon, 1997; Lessard et al, 1997; Magsino, 2002; Bourgeault et al, 2002). This commitment is implied by the valuing of one's place(s) as part of collectivity which, in its turn, assumes and involves. In a pluralist conception, civil engagement is as necessary and obligatory as social, economic and cultural participation which can lower the barriers that divide society into minority and majority groups, going beyond group and individual identifications (Pagé, 1997: 24; Ouellet and Benoît, 1997: 33). These principles feed the recognition and respect of diversity, characteristic of a contemporary pluralist society such as Canada, as well as mutual respect and compassion for others. And finally, the value on human dignity, manifested as a principled recognition of others and of self, as well as a commitment to pluralism, acted upon in the form of mutual respect and compassion, flows from and into democratic concepts of multiculturalism, tolerance and acceptance of others.

Unpacking Controversial Values

This analytic framework could be interpreted differently, from a reading other than the one we have proposed. It could, for example, be considered to be incomplete as we have voluntarily omitted those values that do not seem to fit liberal, participatory democracy (Cunningham, 2002), as practiced in Canada. This is the case for a particularly virile disposition of 'a willingness to fight on behalf of one's for country' (Galston, 1991) which encourages citizens to put their lives in the service of their country. Illustrating the fragility of democracy, the application of this third order value raises serious questions about the inherent contradiction between respecting others and forcibly trying to oblige adherence to a democratic way of life. Though this virtue is important in republican democracies, most citizens in Canada take a more muted stance to defusing internal and international conflict. Known for our peacekeeping history, Canadians would generally rather resolve issues peacefully, using violent measures as a last resort. Is peacekeeping an inherent principle of democracy? In making explicit the differences between principles, dispositions and concepts, the framework can help unpack the meanings and practices behind controversial values.

Relevance of the Network of Values

Citizenship today transcends the frontiers of the local community, the province or the national territory. From this flows the idea of being a citizen of the world and contributes to an emphasis on global education. Thus, whether citizenship education programs are specific or transversal, they aim to raise citizens' awareness of global issues, of different perspectives and to prepare them to act and interact with other citizens of the world to protect the environment, to struggle against inequalities and to preserve cultural artefacts and symbols.

While this model is not representative of all the diverse values held by Canadians, it can serve as a starting point for clarifying the values debates with respect to citizenship education from a global perspective. It can also be used to begin conversations about common human values, such as respect, that transcend nationality, culture, and heritage. This will move the debate away from focusing on the values that constitute a unique Canadian identity and towards a more thought-provoking discussion of issues that contribute to patterns of conflict and paths of peace. This ethical and conceptual framework of citizenship values also avails itself to research on how values are lived and learned, to pedagogical and programmatic possibilities, and to policy development, be these social, political or educational.

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[1] Published in 2002 by the University Press of New England, distributed in Canada by UBC Press.

[2] For many years the US National Election Survey has been asking respondents which party is more likely to favour a greater role for government in the economy, and which is more conservative. The average answering "Democrats" to the first is less than 30 percent, while just over 50 percent answer Republican on to the second.

[3] John Pammett and Lawrence Leduc. "Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: A New Survey of Non-voters." Ottawa: Elections Canada, 2003.

[4] This approach taken here is contrasted with the prevailing current in the contemporary literature on declining civic participation, which revolves around the concept of social capital, as developed notably by Robert Putnam (Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000). When applied internationally, Putnam's conceptualization is not all that helpful in explaining differences in levels of voter turnout across countries. This is because, I argue, many of the kinds of activities associated with social capital by Putnam do not contribute to civic literacy and, hence, do not enhance political participation. Moreover, the promotion of civic literacy is also, to an important degree, influenced by a country's political institutions and the opportunities and incentives these provide for political actors to engage in the activities needed to nurture and sustain an informed polity, a dimension neglected in the "social capitalists" focus on civil society.

[5] Norway, Finland and Sweden subsidize daily newspapers that are not leaders in their markets. The subsidies traditionally account for 3 to 4 per cent of all newspaper revenues.

[6] This is one of many measures seeking to encourage reading. Also exemplary is that district public-health nurses, at the time of the first post-natal home visit, leave behind The Child's First Book, a compilation of rhymes and stories for children, to underscore that reading, like proper nutrition and hygiene, is vital to the development of a healthy child.

[7] For example, the ABF's fall 1999 program in Umeå (where I teach) offered the usual range of study circles in languages, computers, art, music, and nature appreciation, but also courses in organizing groups and co-operatives, in public speaking, writing and understanding media, as well as study circles on social and civil rights, the United Nations, war and peace, the future of democracy, feminism, various aspects of history, and important contemporary books.

[8] See "Literacy Skills for the Knowledge Society: Further Results from the International Adult Literacy Survey. (Paris: OECD, 1997); and Literacy in the Information Age: Final Report of the International Adult Literacy Survey. (Paris: OECD, 2000).

[9] See www.cmec.ca/pisa/2000/rapportcanada.fr.pdf.

[10] In another study, however, at least among first-year university students, the British outclass their North American and Canadian counterparts. On questions about past and present political leaders, the average percentage correct was 25 for both the U.S. and Canada; for Britain it was 42. In ranking foreign countries on the basis of population and GDP, it was 43, 45 and 72 respectively (Steven Holloway, "Through a Glass Darkly: Documenting Asymmetries in Neighbourly Knowledge," in the Bulletin of the Canadian Political Science Association, Spring 1995: 51-56.)

[11] http://geosurvey.nationalgeographic.com/geosurvey/download/RoperSurvey.pdf

[12] Paul Howe, "The Sources of Campaign Intemperance," Policy Options, January-February 2001.

[13] Paul Howe, "Where have all the Voters Gone. Inroads #12, Fall 2002. The 1956 Gallop surveys showed respondents a list of 10 prominent political figures, of which two were Canadian, and asked them to identify the country and position of each, as well as a list of Canada's ten provincial premiers and asked them to identify their province. The 2000 CES included an unprecedented number of knowledge items: the names of the leaders of the Liberals, PC, Alliance and NDP, the name of the federal finance minister, and the name of one's provincial premier.

[14] Nor are they any less distrustful of multinational corporations than older Canadians. In fact, they are less prone to see them as too powerful than all groups except those aged 28-37. (Brenda O'Neill, "Generational Patterns in the Political Opinions and Behaviour of Canadians: Separating the Wheat from the Chaff." Montreal: IRPP, 2001.)

[15] Voter Turnout from 1945 to 1997: A Global Report on Political Participation. Stockholm: IDEA 1997.

[16] In their study of New Zealand after its adoption of PR, Jeffrey Karp and Susan Banducci found that compared to supporters of large parties, supporters of small parties are more satisfied with the political process under PR ("The Impact of Proportional Representation on Turnout: Evidence from New Zealand," Australian Journal of Political Science, 33: 4, 1999.)

[17] See, for example, Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performances in Thirty-Six countries. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

[18] Consider how States where the outcome is not in doubt are ignored in US elections. The Center for Voting and Democracy's statistical analysis of the 1994 elections for the House of Representatives, reports a clear correlation between margin of victory and voter participation, with a 13 percent difference in turnout between the 87 most contested and 54 most lopsided districts.

[19] "The National Journal … reports that … four of the nation's top eight media markets -- Boston, Dallas, New York City, and Washington, DC -- had a grand total of six presidential ads aired, while eight media markets in battleground states each aired more than 6,500 presidential ads." (November 22, 2000, electronic report of the Center for Voting and Democracy - www.fairvote.org.)

[20] See for example "The Civic Mission of Schools." Report from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE (University of Maryland), 2003

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[2] Le Petit Robert, édition 1988.

[3] À l'occasion, entre autres, de la table ronde du Conseil national des minorités visibles, tenue à Ottawa le 25 novembre 2002.

[4] Allusion au procédé imaginé par Aldous Huxley dans son roman d'anticipation Le meilleur des mondes, qui permettait de produire des individus aux caractéristiques homogènes.

[5] Sondage auprès des fonctionnaires fédéraux 2002 – Voici ce que vous avez dit… Résultats pour l'ensemble de la fonction publique, Ottawa, Présidente du Conseil du Trésor, 2002 [http://www.survey-sondage.gc.ca]

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1. By recording and measuring the distribution of teacher attention, the use of gender-specific examples (in textbook illustrations, for example), gender stereotypes, outright put-downs as well as a host of other overt and more discrete vehicles of learning, Myra and David Sadker (Sadker & Sadker, 1994) attempt to demonstrate that students learn that males and their concerns are more important. While "cheating" or short-changing girls, these practices – and the values they communicate – also make up the "miseducation" of boys. Naturally, these claims are disputed. For example, Christina Hoff Sommers (Sommers, 2001 <2000>) argues that boys in fact are poorly served by the education system, a fact borne out in their lower scores and higher drop-out rates.
2. Policy considerations aside, individual students and student groups also resist the dominant culture of the education system. One example is the creation of Muslim Student Associations by Muslims high school students to fight against discrimination, to enjoy mutual support, and to lobby the administration for consideration of specific religious needs (an unused classroom for prayer, for example) (Zine, 2000).
3. James Banks, perhaps the most prolific author on multicultural education, lists the five dimensions of multicultural education: 1. Content Integration (including information about women or minority cultures in history classes for example); 2. Knowledge Construction (teaching students how knowledge is created and how it reflects bias of the creator's social class, race, gender, etc.); 3. Prejudice Reduction (programs to combat racism); 4. Equity Pedagogy (introducing teaching techniques and methods of assessment that ensure equality for all students); and 5. An Empowering School Culture (changing grouping practices, student labeling, the social climate of school, and staff expectations so that all students feel equal and empowered) (Banks 1995, 4-10).
4. Canadian debates on inclusive schooling and multicultural education follow those in the United States and the United Kingdom (Moodley, 1995). However, there are debates on similar issues in every pluralist society.
5. For an example involving Muslim students, see Zine 2001.

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