*(2) The role of the legislature and government of Quebec to preserve and promote the distinct society of Quebec is affirmed.*

Clearly, the failure of the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord constitute a setback to the continuing efforts to codify and constitutionalize an even more progressive citizenship regime in this country designed to accommodate diversity and advance equality in a way that is acceptable to all, including the Quebec governments and people and Aboriginal governments and people. In the decade since the failure of the Charlottetown Accord there have been no substantial attempts to resume the quest for such codification and constitutionalization. If and when that quest resumes remains is difficult to predict with certainty, but it is safe to say that it has not been completely abandoned and that at some point in the future when the requisite confluence of the political forces of history occurs, the quest will resume. In the interim, the various orders of governments are likely to continue to broker and conclude deals between them which establish in statute what may be difficult to entrench in the constitution for accommodating diversity and advancing equality as part of the continuing legacy to construct a progressive citizenship regime for Canada.

**Conclusion**

Despite some legitimate criticism that can be leveled against the current citizenship regime by those who have their eyes firmly fixed on the ideal or on perfection, there is no denying that during the past six decades Canada has made remarkable strides in reconciling what prima facie seems paradoxical and irreconcilable, namely accommodation of diversity and advancing equality. On both of those counts successive Canadian governments, and in many instances also provincial governments, have contributed to the construction of a more elaborate, sophisticated and progressive citizenship regime both for individuals and groups than what was embodied in constitutional and statutory framework that existed prior to World War II.

The most significant progress for individual rights is the codification and constitutionalization of the fundamental right and freedoms. There is considerable satisfaction with the substantive content of that particular component of the citizenship regime. Complaints that are heard periodically are generally not direct at its substantive content, but at the extent that sufficient efforts are made to ensure that it is adequately respected and upheld.

The most significant progress for group rights have been in one of the three types of group rights identified by Kymlicka (1992: 30-32) namely multicultural rights which include various types of minority rights. Those who value such rights are preoccupied with ensuring that they are safeguarded and enhanced, those who do not value them are preoccupied with diminishing and possibly even abolishing such rights. Some, though admittedly, less progress has also been made in the other two types of group rights identified by Kymlicka, namely representational rights and self-governance rights. Demands for progress on these two types of group rights have been placed on the policy agenda for some time both by the Quebecois and by the Aboriginal communities. In both of those communities there have been and continue to be demands for increased representation in various institutions and for increased self-governance. Although some progress has been made on the self-governance front vis-à-vis both of those communities, many of their members content that neither the pace nor scope of the progress is satisfactory. Such sentiments and the demands for greater representation and self-governance are unlikely to subside for some time to come, if ever, unless substantial reforms are implemented to various political institutions of all orders of government. Thus, the Canadian citizenship construction project remains a work in progress which in the future, as in the past, will continue to evolve based on changes in the political culture and political imperatives.

# Values: The Hidden Curriculum in Education

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Each one of my three children have served as "Special Me" in their primary school classes in the local public school in Waterloo, Ontario. The honour included being the teacher's special helper (holding the doors open, etc.), bringing a toy or object for show-and-tell, and displaying a poster board with photographs of family, pets, and mostly, themselves. I could not help but marvel at this manifestation of the "expressive individualism" we sociologists see so frequently in modern societies. My marvel was also rooted in the fact that I am a product of the separate, that is, Roman Catholic system in Ontario some 40 years previously. Back then, if we had a similar "special day" for each child at Our Lady of Perpetual Help School in Toronto, we probably would have called it, "Sinful Me". My children's education emphasizes self-expression, secular values of decency, honesty, and civility, and "real world" (or marketplace) skills.

It has almost become a truism to say that no education is value-free, and liberal education in Canada today reflects the fundamental ideas and values of liberalism itself: individualism, reason, egalitarianism, universalism, and progress (the belief in the open-ended improvability of society and the individual). Given that education is compulsory in all modern, liberal-democratic nation-states, schools play an important role in the social construction of these values – and consequently in the stability of liberal democratic societies and states. These values work themselves into the curriculum as well as the structure, culture and social environment of the school (what scholars sometimes call the "hidden curriculum"). Liberal values even inform classroom practices like "Special Me", which is clearly an expression of both individualism and egalitarianism (*every* child is *equally* special).

Will Kymlicka has pointed out that, while we often pretend that these values are universal and "neutral", in fact every expression of them favours one particular cultural or national identity (for example, just by choice of language, history, and body of literature) (Kymlicka, 2001). In Quebec, for historical reasons, this is openly admitted and promoted in educational policy – much more so than in other provinces. Moreover, the purported "universality" or neutrality of these values are further mitigated by illiberal values and practices that make up what scholars often call the "hidden curriculum".

In the mid-seventies, a classic study by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) uncovered the "correspondence" between the values, practices, and structures of public education in the United States and those of the capitalist economy it mirrors and serves. They argue:

> Like the division of labor in the capitalist enterprise, the educational system is a finely graded hierarchy of authority and control in which competition rather than co-operation governs the relations among participants, and an external reward system – wages in the case of the economy and grades in the case of schools – holds sway. (Gintis & Bowles, 1988)

The school system throws up irrational barriers for children of lower socio-economic status families, socializing them into a "working class culture" of obedience and limited horizons. Schools for middle class families socialize children into the culture of supervisors and managers, which emphasizes self-motivation and self-supervision. Upper class children are socialized into the values of independence, entitlement, and confidence appropriate to those who will become leaders in business, politics, and a variety of other activities. Canadian schools have not escaped this "correspondence."

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Feminist scholars have argued that the hidden curriculum of the school system is also defined by patriarchal values. Consequently, despite the egalitarian content of the "official curriculum", children learn androcentric behaviours, values, and outlooks, simply by participating in classes in which teachers allow boys to dominate conversations.[1] In the same way, scholars concerned with racial equity argue that the hidden curriculum also presents Western or "white" values – and ways of knowing – as normative or superior to those of racial and ethnic minorities as well as aboriginal peoples (Banks, 1995). Today, it is more typical for scholars to talk about the intersection of these forms of discrimination (Arnot, 2002); Dei et al. 2000).

The hidden values that influence the curriculum, culture, structure and social environment of schools (and are consequently communicated to students) do not affect all students in the same manner. For example, students who are "minoritized" by the dominant culture, Dei et al. argue, become alienated from the culture of their schools and "drop out". Indeed, they argue that it is more accurate to say that the schools "push out" certain students. Discrimination based on class, ethnicity, race, gender, ability, and other markers narrows the life-chances of students. For example, Black students are often streamed towards the general, rather than advanced, classes. Dei et al. propose that Canadians develop "inclusive schools" rooted in a broader spectrum of values and ways of knowing (which they call, "indigenous knowledges") (2000, 13).

As one might expect, many people challenge the dominant values that pervade the Canadian school system. Historically, this was always the case. Jews and other religious minorities protested that they were served poorly by the public, that is, Christian school systems across Canada. French Canadians fought for the right to their own schools in order to preserve their culture. However, by the 1960s, many Canadians recognized that the Canadian school system, originally created for a more homogenous, and largely Christian, population, was unfair to members of other religious, ethnic, and racial minorities, and to aboriginal children in particular. Echoing the movement towards multiculturalism in government policy and Canadian culture, they proposed a turn to multicultural education (Moodley 1995, 801-802).[2] In the 1970s to 1990s, provincial governments adopted multicultural education policies. However, because education – unlike multiculturalism – is a provincial responsibility, these policies differed from province to province. In fact, they differed from school board to school board within provinces and often depended on the goodwill of individual teachers and administrators. In any case, teacher training and resources have never been adequate (Moodley 1995, 803-804).[3] Proponents of multicultural education wonder to what extent it can really challenge the dominant values in Canadian society and schools. In its most superficial form, takes the form of cultural tourism. Children learn how Jews celebrate Passover, for example, but little else about the history, religion, values, and lives of Jews living in Canada. In any case, this form of multicultural education never goes beyond a celebration of minority traditions and their contribution to our pluralist culture. Here, multicultural education reinforces rather than challenges the dominant values and structures of Canadian society. It cannot expose the relations of power and domination, "where power meets difference" (Dei et al. 14-16). In response to these inadequacies, many scholars and educators have adopted an "anti-racist" stance. Anti-racist education focuses on Canadian society as the problem, connecting racism to issues of class, gender, and regional disparity. Scholars who adopt an anti-racist agenda are more confrontational in style and analyze the problems of minority students as structural rather than personal (Fyfe, 1993).[4]

Lest anyone doubt the ability of multicultural education to transform the values of the education system, one might remember that less than forty years ago it was impossible to imagine education in Canada without Christianity. Even public schools were thoroughly Christian in culture, and in Ontario as in many other jurisdictions, religious instruction and exercises were mandatory (Gidney & Millar, 2001). Changes in government policy dating from the 1960s and court rulings based on the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms have eliminated all overt connections to Christianity in public schools (although separate schools are still allowed as is funding of independent religiously

based schools). In order to accommodate religious minorities as well as atheists and agnostics, religious exercises and assemblies, religious instruction, and the privileges of churches to supervise the moral content of the curriculum or school culture were all declared illegal (Khan, 1999).

This great change in culture does not mean that Canadian public schools are "neutral". They continue to embody Christian values and practices. For example, school holidays are still scheduled around major Christian holy days (Christmas and Easter). Moreover, the "secular" personal values favoured by schools (personal responsibility, work ethic, honesty) are frequently informed by Canada's Christian heritage.

While applauding the secularization of the school system, Lois Sweet argues that Canadians have gone too far in eliminating all religion from public schools. She argues that another element of the "hidden curriculum", secularism (an ideological commitment itself), serves to suppress religion in all its forms. Administrators and teachers have adopted an uncritical secularism, not only forbidding religious instruction (the socialization of children into a particular religious identity) but also discouraging all religious education (education *about* religion). In many provinces, children learn almost nothing about the world's religions as social phenomena (Sweet 1997).

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While conservative Christians have long complained about the culture of secular humanism in Canadian public schools and the recession of Christian practices and values, the new critique is framed as an issue of multicultural education – often by authors who are not themselves religious (Davies, 1999). For example, Sweet argues that "religiously illiterate" students cannot understand Canadian history. They are also poorly prepared to participate in Canada's multicultural society when many Canadians see religion as foundational to their cultural, ethnic, or personal identities. Moreover, given the importance of religion to other national and transnational identities and networks of solidarity, these students are ill-prepared to become "global citizens" (Sweet, 1997; Sweet, 2002). Students graduating from public schools today would be hard-pressed, for example, to understand opposition to Western influence in the Middle East or the persistence of ethnic nationalism in parts of the former Soviet Union because they know nothing about the religious histories of those regions.

The effect on religious Canadian children is more pernicious. Dei et al. argue that the elimination of religion and denigration of spirituality in public schools is another feature of a hegomonic school culture. For members of religious minority groups, an important element of their personal and group identity is ignored, denied, or even denigrated (Dei et al., 2000). This increases their sense of alienation.[5] Sweet argues that the alienation experienced by students and parents explains the growth of religiously based independent schools in Canada. Even "moderates", that is religious people who do not reject modernity or Canadian society, are pushed into these sometimes illiberal schools because they find the secular culture of public schools no more welcoming than its Christian predecessor (Sweet 2002).

Here, the conflict over values leads certain parents to form their independent school at great personal cost and sacrifice. In fact, enrolment in independent schools is growing faster than in public schools. In the 1970-71 school year, it was 2.5 percent and in the 1992-93 school year, it was 4.8 percent. While many independent schools cater to specific needs, such as different learning styles and abilities, and others cater to upper class families, most serve religious communities (Theissen 2001, 16). In Canada, these schools reflect most of the values found in public schools (academic excellence, civic virtue, etc.), but parents hope their children will also receive an immersion in specific religious values that are often ad odds with the values of mainstream Canadian society.

For many scholars in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, the existence of "private" or independent schools – particularly those rooted in a specific identity and community – pose a threat to the project of fashioning a common civic identity among citizens. Schools are an indispensable forum, according to Will Kymlicka, for learning the values and virtues of citizenship (for example public-spiritedness, a sense of justice, civility and tolerance, and a shared sense of solidarity or loyalty). Consequently, it is important for all students to attend common public schools at some point (Kymlicka 2001, 296-307). Jeffrey Spinner-Halev argues that the "hidden curriculum" of common public schools is an education into tolerance and civic virtue. Students learn these values simply by having to play, work, and cooperate with people who are different from themselves (Spinner-Halev, 2000).

The debate over private schools, like the debate over religion and other facets of cultural pluralism, highlights the limits and boundaries of the public education system. Like the criticisms based on class, gender, race and ethnicity, and sexual orientation, the critique of the secularism in schools highlights the connection of the school system to the socialization of children into the values and virtues necessary for the operation of the Canadian state, market, and society (with both their liberal and illiberal characteristics). The debate over values in education tells us that no discussion of values is complete unless the topic of resistance is included. Resistance challenges and highlights the values operating in the "hidden curriculum", that often-invisible culture that shapes our schools, students, and society. Hence, scholars today pay particular attention to the experiences of people at the margins. While schools act as a vehicle by which society reproduces itself (a concept dear to all sociologists), it also serves as a forum for challenging that very process and inspiring social transformation.

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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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2. Voir P. GUIBENTIF, « Approaching the Production of Law through Habermas' Concept of Communicative Action" (1994) 20 Philosophy and Social Criticism, 45-70. à la p. 59.
3. Voir D. LEYDET, « Patriotisme constitutionnel et identité nationale » tel que cité dans M. COUTU, « Citoyenneté et légitimité. Le patriotisme constitutionnel comme fondement de la référence identitaire », à la p. 637.
4. En se situant ici dans une perspective sociologique et non juridique.
5. Voir G. BOURQUE et J. DUCHASTEL, L'identité fragmentée. Nations et citoyenneté dans les débats constitutionnels canadiens, Montréal, Fides, 1996.
6. cf. A.C. CAIRNS, "The Fragmentation of Canadian Citizenship", dans Alan C. Cairns, Reconfigurations. Canadian Citizenship and Constitutional Change, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1995, pp. 157-185).
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## Rummens text – bibliography

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## Duncan text – footnotes

1. There is no conceptual reason to limit ourselves to two communities or to dual citizenship. Multiple citizenships are quite conceivable and multiple transnational communities exist in the form of well-established diaspora, such as the Jewish diaspora.
2. "I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen." (From the Citizenship Act)
3. Some of which, one must acknowledge, have more value than others.
4. Citizenship regimes afford governments the ability to deport non-citizens for certain criminal acts. Deportation is a good deal more difficult, although not impossible, for naturalized immigrants.
5. One might argue that the reaction of some governments to the September 11, 2001 attack on New York and Washington have brought at least a partial return to a much differentiated society, differentiated along citizenship lines in part. There is some evidence for this, but I would suggest that this is a temporary anomaly whose impact will diminish in turn in the face of the relentless features of globalization.
6. Of course, an important aspect of shared citizenship is to seek greater assurance of the equality of opportunity, of freedom from discrimination, of freedom from deep poverty, etc.
7. Note the current concerns of some European countries of maintaining their national identities in the face of the increasingly multicultural nature of their populations. Note, too, that Canadian policy requires new citizens to have a minimum proficiency in one of Canada's official languages