

**Educating Good Citizens: A Case Study of Citizenship Education in Four
Multicultural High School Classrooms in Ontario**

by

Luz Alison Molina Girón

Faculty of Education

Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT

Providing citizenship education that reflects Canada's diverse cultural make-up and that at the same time promotes common civic virtues is a challenging task. This research examines how citizenship education is practiced in Ontario, and how teachers' instruction responds to the diversity found in their classrooms and in Canadian society at large. The investigation consists of a qualitative, multiple case study that took place in four Grade 10 Civics classes in Ottawa, all in high schools with very diverse student populations. The research methodology included non-participant observation of classroom instruction, interviews with the four civics teachers and 30 students, and an analysis of curricular materials and other documents. Two bodies of theory—conceptions of good citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) and approaches to multicultural content integration (Banks, 2003)—were used as the primary analytical lenses. Analysis centered on the elaboration of detailed case studies of how citizenship education occurred in each classroom, with a focus on how teachers' conceptions of citizenship affect their instruction; and a cross-case analysis that demonstrates how different approaches to citizenship education influence what students are taught about their role in society and the extent to which instruction is responsive to cultural and other forms of (e.g., race, sexual orientation) difference.

The research shows that despite shared provincial guidelines, very different types of citizenship instruction occur, shaped by teachers' personal conceptions of good citizenship. While all teachers stressed the importance of civic knowledge acquisition and aimed to educate active citizens, some emphasized the education of personally-responsible citizens, while others adopted either a participatory or justice-oriented approach to citizenship education. These distinct orientations lead to different approaches to teaching about active citizenship, ranging from an emphasis on conventional citizenship behaviours, to altruistically motivated make-a-difference citizenship participation, to a more thoughtful, politically-oriented citizenship participation that addresses the causes of inequality and aims to produce societal change. Teachers' differing conceptions of good citizenship also affect how their instruction responds to cultural diversity. While some teachers tended to avoid discussing issues of cultural and other forms of social difference, others made them an integral aspect of educating for democratic citizenship. The findings show that a personally-responsible approach to citizenship education prepares students to engage in public life through conventional civic behaviours like voting, but tends to be blind to cultural difference—all citizens have the same rights and responsibilities, making these differences unimportant. A participatory conception of citizenship education promotes greater citizen involvement in public affairs, mainly through charitable actions. Citizenship instruction pays attention to cultural difference, but aims to help marginalized people rather than address historical or structural causes of inequality. A justice-oriented approach to citizenship education, in contrast, endorses a politically-oriented type of active citizenship. It is the only approach that recognizes the importance of addressing the conflicts and tensions that exist in multicultural societies as an integral aspect of educating for democratic citizenship.

This empirical study advances our knowledge of how citizenship education is actually taught in high school classrooms and offers insights that can be used to develop citizenship education policies that will better equip students for life in pluralistic, democratic societies. While the findings suggest that in most cases citizenship education in Ontario pays little attention or even overlooks the multicultural nature of Canadian society, they show that social justice approaches to citizenship education can provide meaningful opportunities for teaching youngsters how to be active citizens in increasingly multicultural and interconnected societies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing a doctoral dissertation is a long and arduous journey. Along the way, I received help and support from many people and I would like to express my gratitude to all of them. This dissertation would have never come to fruition without the guidance and hard work of my doctoral supervisor and mentor, Dr. Joel Westheimer, for whom I have a high esteem and admiration. He has been a strong advocate, always available and willing to share his knowledge. His unfaltering support included helping me develop and refine my research ideas, editing proposals and other countless manuscripts, and providing me all manner of coaching before and during my field research.

I would also like to thank each one of my committee members Drs. Sharon Cook, Daniel Schugurensky and Richard Maclure for their insightful comments, questions and critique of my work, which has helped me to be a better teacher, researcher and now scholar. I am also grateful to Dr. Mark Evans, the external examiner, who brought his rich experience in the field of citizenship education. He further illuminated government-decision making for the K-12 curricula and its implications for classroom planning and teaching. Drs. Sharon Cook and Richard Maclure helped me to bring to the forefront the complexities of the classroom setting. While Dr. Maclure suggested writing a profile of the teachers to help the reader to get to know who the four teachers were, Dr. Cook called to my attention taking into account the multiple demands and constraints as well as the dynamics and structures that circumscribe teachers' work. Dr. Schugurensky encouraged me to develop a model that represented the research findings.

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My deepest gratitude to the four Grade 10 Civics teachers who welcomed me into their classrooms. Without their support, I would not have been able to undertake this research project. I learned a lot from their teaching philosophy and expertise. Special thanks also to their students for sharing with me their learning experiences.

I could have not finished this multi-year project without the unconditional support of my husband, Derek Anthony Smith. He made sure I had what I needed to get to the finish line. And in those moments of self-doubt, he carried me with his words, love and laughter. Thanks for believing in me and for being there at every step of the way so that an important dream could come true for me. I am blessed with a wonderful family, Alejandro, my son, Juan Pablo, my brother, and my sister Alejandra, and my extended family Susan, Duane, Claire, Vern and Marie who always supported this project. Thanks to my mother, Reina Girón, who did not live to see this journey's end, but whose warrior spirit lives within me. Thanks also to my father, Ramón Molina, who called me “doctora” even when I told him I was not one yet. For their constant encouragement, I want to thank my dearest childhood friends Karen O'Reilly and Janeth Rodríguez. *Ustedes son una bendición en mi vida.*

My friends Karen Wyatt, Micheal Montgomery and Charles Gregory as well as my fellow PhD students have offered me advice and support throughout the years. Thanks to Monica Waterhouse, Tsala Mosimakoko, Sandra Parris, Catherine Elliot, Rumaisa Shaukat, Robin Tierney, Sandra Fonseca, and Lynda Gray for all their encouragement and friendship. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the generous financial support received from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the University of Ottawa.

Alison Molina
Ottawa, Ontario
January 19, 2012

PART I: SETTING THE RESEARCH STAGE

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Canada, like other western countries, is becoming more ethnically, racially, religiously, culturally and linguistically diverse. This diversity challenges the nation's capacity to provide a cohesive education that reflects and respects the nation's cultural make-up at the same time that it develops in youngsters the civic virtues needed for becoming civically-minded and engaged citizens (Banks, 2004a, 2007, 2008; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Parker, 2003; Torres, 1998). Data from the 2006 census indicate that 19.8% of Canada's population is foreign-born, which means that almost one in five Canadians was born elsewhere (Statistics Canada, 2007). Ottawa, for example, is home to over 160,000 immigrants, or about 21% of the city's total population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2005). It is estimated that by 2017, 27% of Ottawa's population will be composed of immigrants (City of Ottawa, 2007). In addition, since the mid-1980s, immigration patterns have changed considerably; nowadays, immigrants come predominately from Asian countries with China, India, the Philippines and Pakistan being the leading sources of immigrants (CIC, 2010)¹.

These dramatic changes in the cultural landscape lead to tensions between citizenship and diversity, and more importantly, they compel us to theorize about the kinds of citizenship education that can adequately prepare youngsters to live and function in an increasingly multicultural, multiethnic society. Most democratic, pluralistic societies face the daunting challenge of providing citizenship education that accommodates difference while still promoting the bonds, virtues and practices needed to develop a strong democratic nation, and Canada is no exception (Banks, 2004c, 2007; Gutmann, 1999, 2004; Hébert, 1997; Kymlicka, 1995, 1998;

¹ Before 1986, most émigrés to Canada came predominantly from Europe with the United Kingdom and Italy being the leading countries of immigration (CIC, 2010).

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Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; McDonough & Feinberg, 2003; Pagé, 1997; Parker, 2003; Torres, 1998).

This doctoral research examines the intersections between citizenship education and cultural diversity within the context of multicultural schools. The term multicultural, while stressing cultural differences, has also come to refer to other forms of social difference including, for example, race, class, sexual preference, or disability (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). In this thesis, my focus is on the racial, ethnic and cultural diversity found in the classroom and in Canadian society as a whole. The four citizenship education classrooms where the research took place are very diverse, as they are attended by a large number of students who were born outside of the country or who are first- or second-generation immigrants.

This thesis is a project born of my own process of coming to terms with what it means to be part of Canadian society. In 2002 I immigrated to Canada. In a strictly legal sense my status as a Canadian citizen is very straightforward considering that I married a Canadian citizen and subsequently immigrated to Canada. On a personal level, however, my status is much less straightforward; it has presented, and continues to present me with, issues of personal identification and belonging. I think of myself as an immigrant, a Latin woman living in Canada. The experience of being an immigrant has me realize that there are many ways to see oneself in terms of one's connectedness to and participation in the civic and political life of the new host society. In the course of this process, I did not so much abandon my personal values and beliefs but rather came to clarify them in relation to my home country and, what for me, was a new society. My own personal immigrant experiences caused me to wonder to what extent students with different cultural backgrounds feel the same way, and how citizenship education helps them navigate this complex terrain. This study aims to shed light on this issue, by investigating how

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the school system educates youngsters to be good citizens in an increasingly multicultural, socially diverse, democratic society.

Educating Democratic Citizens in Multicultural Societies

This research, which concerns itself with the design and provision of citizenship education in multicultural classrooms, attempts to bridge a gap between what continue to be two separate fields: citizenship education and multicultural education. The research attempts to break new ground in two ways. First, it reveals how citizenship education instruction is practiced within regular high schools serving culturally diverse communities, and whether it responds to the social differences found in the classroom. Secondly, it examines how multiculturalism as a component of course content is addressed within citizenship education.

Citizenship education research and theory identifies school-based citizenship education as a promising approach to educating a civically-minded citizenry (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003; Crick & Porter, 1978; Newmann, 1975; Parker, 2003). The citizenship education field has accrued a significant body of knowledge which includes theoretical frameworks, pedagogical approaches and specific strategies for the design and implementation of citizenship education curricula that promote informed and active civic engagement (see, for example, Arthur, Davis, & Hahn, 2008a; Bixby & Pace, 2008; Rubin & Giarelli, 2008a; Youniss & Levine, 2009). Meanwhile, the field of multicultural education has focused on research aimed at making the experience of schooling more effective and inclusive for socially and culturally diverse student populations. Theoretical and practical knowledge centers on the intricate connections between the teaching and learning process, on the one hand, and multiple forms of difference, particularly cultural difference, on the other hand. The field has advanced philosophical principles, methods and teaching strategies that can promote academic success for

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all students (Banks, 2004b; Bennett, 2006; Gay, 1995, 2004, 2010a; Nieto, 2004). Though the fields of citizenship education and multicultural education clearly share much in common, they remain largely distinct from one another.

There is increasing recognition of the need to bridge this gap and to conduct research that delineates ways in which citizenship education can educate citizens for multicultural and globalized societies (Banks, 2004c, 2007; 2008; Gutmann, 2004; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; McDonough & Feinberg, 2003; Miller-Lane, Howard, & Halagao, 2007; Parker, 2003; Rubin & Giarelli, 2008b; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a). As ever greater numbers emigrate, host countries increasingly find themselves tasked with the challenge of educating newcomers to become responsible and productive citizens within multicultural and interdependent societies. The task ahead, as identified in the literature, is the design and provision of multicultural citizenship education: in other words, a type of citizenship education that responds to and includes the existing and growing social and cultural diversity. However, this might prove to be a complex and difficult task. For example, the findings of this research paint a disappointing picture of the degree to which citizenship education responds to the increasing cultural diversity found in Canada. For the most part, citizenship instruction does not take into account the social and cultural differences that are reflected in the students' diverse backgrounds or society at large.

Although there is renewed interest in citizenship education in Canada and in many other countries, very little is known about the practice of citizenship education in the classroom and the degree to which social diversity affects the planning and delivery of citizenship instruction. In the province of Ontario, for example, it has been 10 years since the implementation of the Grade 10 Civics (CHV20) course as the main avenue to prepare students for democratic citizenship. While several studies have examined the curricular materials, only a very limited

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number of studies have investigated the goals, practices and outcomes of educating for good citizenship in the classroom, and none of these studies touch on issues of cultural diversity within the student body. This lack of empirical research on the Civics class is particularly worrisome given strong indications that young citizens in Canada lack important political knowledge of current political leaders, political and public issues and debates, and how public policy works (Howe, 2003; Gidengil, Blais, Nevitte, & Nadeau, 2004; Llewellyn, Cook, Westheimer, Molina, & Suurtamm, 2007; Llewellyn, Cook, & Molina, 2010; O'Neill, 2001; Pammett & Leduc, 2003; Young & Cross, 2004). Similarly, youngsters are shifting away from political forms of civic engagement and toward volunteerism in charitable activities and organizations (Llewellyn et al., 2007; Stolle & Cruz, 2005; Westheimer, Cook, Suurtamm, & Molina, 2005). Within the international context one can find studies that offer guidance on the practice of citizenship education (see, for example, Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schultz, 2001); in Canada, there is a pressing need for further empirical, classroom-based research in citizenship education.

Citizenship education that is responsive to social and cultural diversity must deal with the tension between unity and diversity (Banks, 2004a; 2007, 2008; Parker, 2003). In other words, the kind of citizenship education that is needed is one that recognizes “the right and need of citizens to maintain commitments to both their ethnic and cultural communities and to the national civic culture” (Banks, 2008, p. 61). From this perspective, citizenship education should be a reflective process that helps students develop, clarify and critically examine their cultural, national and global identifications (Banks, 2004a, 2007, 2008). These identifications are not mutually exclusive; they can exist in tension with each other and are context negotiated. Research that examines citizens’ identifications indicates that members of marginalized groups

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see themselves first as members of their cultural community and then as members of the nation-state (Denis, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2004a). However, it remains unclear how citizenship education can either sidestep or engage with these issues to help students understand their place and their role within multicultural societies.

The research presented here, based on interviews and classroom observations in four high school civics classrooms, reveals that there are very different types of citizenship education provided to students. These not only promote different understandings of how individuals behave as active citizens in their day-to-day lives, but also guide how citizenship instruction responds to the multicultural character of Canadian society. More specifically, in this dissertation I explain how a move towards approaches that embrace a social justice stance and away from citizenship education that stresses personal responsibilities is associated with a corresponding move from conventional citizenship behaviours toward politically-oriented active citizenship whereby citizens engage with issues that affect their lives. The analysis also shows how this move is also associated with a shift from ignoring or avoiding issues of social and cultural difference to making them an integral aspect of teaching for democratic citizenship. The findings, therefore, lend support to the notion that a certain type of citizenship education—one that has a justice-oriented stance—is needed to provide opportunities for a more inclusive type of citizenship instruction in which attention to social and cultural diversity is an integral aspect of educating for good citizenship

Overview of the Study

This research is simultaneously a study of the practice of citizenship education and of how citizenship education responds to the social and cultural diversity as reflected in the student body and society at large. The study was prompted, on the one hand, by the scarcity of empirical

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research on citizenship education pedagogy in the Canadian context and, on the other, by the need to understand whether and how citizenship education responds to social and cultural difference.

Research Questions

An overarching question and five sub-questions guide this inquiry. The central question asks: How is citizenship education practiced in high school civics classrooms in Ottawa, and how responsive is it to the multicultural nature of the student population and Canadian society?

The five sub-questions are:

1. What conceptions of good citizenship do teachers who teach civics have?
2. What is the content of citizenship education in terms of the knowledge, values, and skills that are promoted? Does the content reflect the multicultural nature of the classroom and of Canadian society?
3. What pedagogical approaches do teachers employ to provide citizenship education in multicultural classrooms, in particular those that promote different roles for students as active citizens?
4. Do teachers' perceptions of teaching in a multicultural classroom affect the way they plan and provide citizenship instruction? If so, in what ways?
5. What do students report learning from their formal citizenship instruction? Is what they report learning congruent with teachers' goals and learning expectations?

Research Goals

This research investigates the practice of citizenship education in four multicultural high schools classroom in the City of Ottawa. Central to this inquiry is to understand the prevailing conceptions of good citizenship that guide teachers' citizenship education efforts and how these

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notions affect their citizenship instruction. In other words, this research focuses on elucidating the vision(s) of good citizenship that are taught. Is it one that emphasizes fulfilling civic responsibilities, or one that encourages students to be critics of their society and empowered agents of social change? Despite having common curricular guidelines, do teachers adopt significantly different types of citizenship education? In addition, the study focuses on citizenship pedagogy including both the content of citizenship education and the pedagogical approaches used to provide instruction. With regards to the content, this research is concerned with identifying the core knowledge, values, and skills that are fundamental to citizenship education programs. Equally important is to identify the pedagogical approaches teachers use to teach about citizenship. For example, does citizenship instruction use more active, student-centered pedagogies, such as deliberation and community service? Or does it rely more on passive, teacher-centered strategies, such as lectures? Are there significant differences between the classes, and if so, how do they affect what students are taught about their place in society, and what are appropriate roles for them as active citizens?

Another important goal of this inquiry is to understand whether and to what extent cultural differences present in the classroom elicit the design and delivery of a particular kind of citizenship instruction, and whether this is related to the type of citizenship education that is adopted. To what degree does citizenship education deal with issues of social and cultural difference and how does it do so? Do teachers generally address or avoid issues of social justice for minority groups? Finally, this study explores what students report learning from the Civics class to better understand the degree of congruence between what students take away from their Civics classes and their teachers' goals and learning expectations.

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Overall, this research aims to help fill a significant gap in the field of citizenship education, particularly as it relates to the design and provision of citizenship instruction in multicultural school contexts. More broadly, this research aims to shed light on ways of developing citizenship education that is not only culturally responsive but also effective at educating individuals to become good democratic citizens: citizens who understand, value, and are willing to actively engage in the civic and political life of their communities.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis has nine chapters organized into three parts. Chapter 1 of Part I, *Setting the Research Stage*, outlines the research problem, questions, and goals of the inquiry. Chapter 2 examines key concepts and debates and provides the theoretical framework for the study. Five topics fundamental to the study are here reviewed: citizenship, multiculturalism, citizenship education, multicultural education and multicultural citizenship education. Chapter 3 describes the study's multiple case study research design and methodology. The case selection methods, data collection, and data analysis used in this study are detailed along with the strategies used to ensure research quality. Chapter 3 ends by describing the characteristics of the schools in which the research took place.

Part II, *Case Studies of Citizenship Education in Multicultural Classrooms*, offers a detailed examination of citizenship education in four Ottawa high school civics classrooms. In the introduction, I provide some background context to better understand the context of citizenship education in the four classrooms. I present a profile of the civics teachers and discuss the Ontario Grade 10 Civics (CHVO 20) and the civics textbooks used. In addition, explain the analytical framework to the examination of the case studies. Chapters 4 through 7 present four separate case studies of the practice of citizenship education; they demonstrate how teachers'

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conceptions of what it means to be a good citizen affect their instruction, both in terms of content and pedagogical methods. In Case 1, for example, citizenship education stresses primarily civic knowledge acquisition and civic responsibility, while in Case 2, the instructor, Ms. Keller imparts civic knowledge while also stressing volunteerism and service in the community as the primary means of civic engagement. The citizenship instruction in Cases 3 and 4 differs from that of the previous two cases. While in Case 3, Ms. Williams' instruction stresses civic knowledge acquisition, it also engages students in discussions of national and international issues of public concern. In Case 4, Mr. Bennett's instruction falls within the parameters of political education. Together, the four cases provide the detailed empirical findings that are used in the subsequent cross-case analysis.

Part III, entitled *What kind of Citizenship Education for a Pluralistic Society*, consists of two chapters that discuss the findings across cases and their broader significance in terms of what they reveal about the intersections between conceptions of good citizenship, types of citizenship education, the types of active citizenship that are promoted, and the attention that is paid to issues of social and cultural diversity. Chapter 8 highlights the similarities and differences in educating for good citizenship. Overall, there is a civic knowledge base consisting of civic concepts and understandings and there are also civic behaviours, skills, and values that teachers regard as fundamental in educating students to becoming informed and participatory citizens. However, notwithstanding this common ground, the analysis reveals that in spite of existing a provincially mandated citizenship education curriculum, in practice there are different understandings of what it means to educate for good citizenship. Thus, the Ontario Civics (CHVO 20) curriculum functions as more of a set of guidelines than as an organized and principled framework providing teachers with a clear direction in educating for democratic

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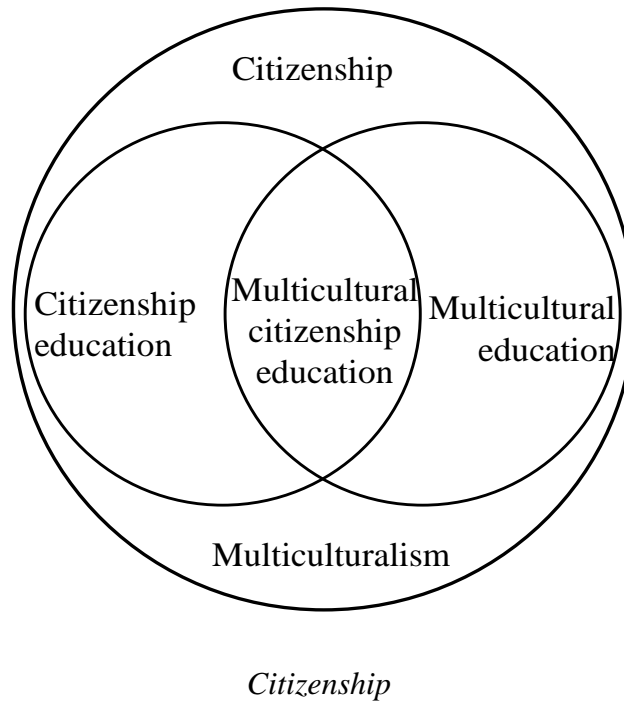
citizenship. The research shows that there are dramatic differences in the design and provision of citizenship instruction across classrooms, which result in significantly different ways in which teachers understand and prepare their students for active public involvement in Canadian society. Underlying the different pedagogical approaches to citizenship education are three types of practices for active citizenship engagement as described in Chapter 8: conventional citizenship behaviours, make-a-difference and politically-oriented active citizenship. These practices are significant as they delineate different expectations of what good citizens ultimately know and do and therefore different paths for citizenship participation. In addition, different types of citizenship education produce different approaches to preparing reflective and active citizens for life in pluralistic societies, approaches that range from ignoring and avoiding social and cultural difference to meaningful engagement with issues that emerge from living in racially and ethnically diverse societies. The concluding chapter, Chapter 9, explores the study's broader significance, its potential contributions and implications. It explores the possibilities for and limitations of a kind of citizenship education that is culturally responsive. Finally, recommendations for future research are offered.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In multicultural societies such as Canada important questions have arisen about the limits and possibilities of educating individuals to function effectively as citizens in a democratic, pluralistic society. The purpose of this literature review is to present a critical analysis of this issue and the theoretical context in which this study is situated. As a starting point, two key concepts to be examined and problematized are citizenship and multiculturalism. These two multifaceted core concepts impact societal institutions such as the school, and shape the goals and purpose of education in specific ways, including the “kind of citizen” that society, through school-based education programs, aims to educate. Having an appreciation for the broader context is important since notions of citizenship and multiculturalism frame citizenship education efforts. And if we as a society are to discover more inclusive and forward-looking approaches to citizenship education—those that are responsive to social and cultural difference and that truly provide a multicultural citizenship education—the various dimensions of these core concepts must be examined. Next, I provide a review of the research knowledge in three interconnected areas: citizenship education and multicultural education—two fields that are clearly related, but that have been, for the most part, been examined by different scholars and treated as separate topics. I then examine current thinking on the area of overlap, or what is known as multicultural citizenship education, the primary focus of this dissertation. Multicultural citizenship education attempts to bridge the gap, generate new integrated concepts, and provide lessons on how to move toward what Parker (2003) identifies as an advanced citizenship education that is responsive to social and cultural diversity (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 The research context



To analyze multicultural citizenship education it is necessary to have an understanding of what it is meant by the term citizenship, and its various conceptions. Citizenship, in a broad sense, refers to the status, practices, meanings, identities and “entire mode of incorporation of individuals and groups into the society” (Isin & Turner, 2002; Shafir & Peled, 1998, p. 251). Citizenship is not a unified concept, but a contested, dynamic and multifaceted notion rooted in and shaped by a particular socio-political context. It is contested because any conception of citizenship ultimately reflects a vision of the good society that the members of a particular society aspire to live in (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Thus, there are competing citizenship frameworks describing different ways of being a citizen (civic virtues) and different modes of interaction among citizens and between citizens and the state (civic practice).

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Four Meanings of Citizenship

The concept of citizenship denotes four meanings: status, identity, civic virtues and participation (Heater, 2004). Citizenship as a status refers to an individual's legal membership in a nation-state where one is invested with rights and privileges and where one has obligations to the state (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Torres, 1998). In its most basic form, citizenship operates as a legal concept that legitimizes who is included in and excluded from the nation-state. This is the most common and least controversial—though nonetheless problematic—conception of citizenship. Globalization and migration have pushed for the creation of transnational legal forms of membership beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Dual and multiple citizenship and new models of transnational membership like the European Union are examples of efforts by nation-states to address the demands imposed by migration and globalization (Castles, 2004; Shafir, 1998). Nowadays, citizens can be legal members of more than one nation-state. Globalization and migration challenges current understandings of citizenship based on the territorial (geopolitical borders) and cultural (e.g., linguistic, common history) boundaries that define a nation-state (Castles, 2004; Williams, 2003).

Citizenship as identity is about affective membership and belonging. In other words, a citizen must not only be a legal member of the nation state, but s/he must also feel a shared sense of membership and belonging to the nation-state and to other fellow compatriots. Williams (2003) explains that a sense of a substantive shared identity among citizens is seen as an essential condition to a stable constitutional order and to public participation. Essentially, individual differences must be put aside in order to advance the collective common good. To a great extent, then, citizenship as identity echoes and demands citizens' loyalty and commitment to the nation-state (Williams, 2003). Yet, citizens are constantly negotiating their sense of civic identity which

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is mediated by their cultural, racial, and ethnic attachments and different social positionings: class, gender, sexual orientation and ability level (May, 1999). At different times and under different circumstances citizens may identify themselves as belonging to more than one political community. In some circumstances an ethnic and/or cultural identity can be stronger than a national identity, such as the case of First Nations peoples in Canada and African Americans in the United States (US), who often see themselves first as members of their minority group and then as members of the nation-state (Denis, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2004a). Too often, in an effort to guarantee the cohesiveness and smooth functioning of the nation-state, national identity is perceived as an “either/or” matter: either one identifies with the nation or with an ethnic/cultural community (Ladson-Billings, 2004a, p.112). An “either/or” as the basis for civic identity puts an unnecessary pressure on some citizens—especially those who belong to and identify as members of a minority group—to choose a national identity over a group one, when in fact, a large number of citizens “operate in the realm of both/and” (Ladson-Billings, 2004a, p. 112). When citizens, particularly those from minority groups, do not conform to the dominant vision of the state, they are perceived as less patriotic and their citizenship or sense of belonging is open to scrutiny (Ladson-Billings, 2004a).

Citizenship as civic virtues refers to the qualities, dispositions, and behaviours of the citizens deemed desirable and necessary for a flourishing democracy. Kymlicka and Norman (2000) assert that overall there seems to be a general agreement on the civic virtues good citizens ought to have; they discuss Galston’s (1991) citizenship virtues typology, which identifies four desirable types of civic virtues: general, social, economic and political virtues. Galston’s typology is an example of a comprehensive framework that advances desirable civic virtues. Kymlicka and Norman conclude that “it is really difficult to imagine anyone really disagreeing

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with the desirability of these sorts of qualities” (2000, p. 7). The real point of contention arises when deciding what exactly “governments [and the school] can or should do to promote these virtues” (2000, p. 7). Deciding what civic qualities should be given priority and how best to promote those qualities are still heatedly debated issues by politicians, sociologists, philosophers, political philosophers and education theorists alike. For example, a recent study by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) reveals the multiplicity of qualities, dispositions and behaviours that citizenship education programs aim to develop in students with some programs stressing the development of moral and socially responsible civic virtues while others emphasize the development of civic virtues for democratic political participation. These debates are even more difficult when such decisions are framed and discussed against the backdrop of the nation’s social and cultural diversity (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000). This is so because on one hand, there is the need to have a socially cohesive society and on the other there is the need to respect multiple forms of social difference. As Banks (2004a, 2007, 2008) affirms the challenge is to balance unity and diversity.

Citizenship as participation refers to having a voice and exerting influence over public policy in one’s political community (Barber, 2003; Heater, 2004; Miller, 2000; Newmann, 1975). In any democracy, citizenry participation in the wellbeing of the nation is both an expectation and a right as granted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through freely chosen representatives... The will of the people should be the basis of authority of government” (cited in Heater, 2004, p. 216). It is widely agreed that citizenry participation in public affairs is crucial to a strong democracy (Barber, 2003; Boyte, 2004; Dahl, 1998, Heater, 2004). As Dahl contends, “every adult subject to the laws of the state should be considered to be sufficiently well qualified

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to participate in the democratic process of governing that state” (1998, p. 76). But just what kind of citizenry participation is desirable (or bearable) and how much is still a matter of debate. Is voting in general elections enough? What public issues should citizens be involved in and concerned with? What individual and group actions promote an active citizenry involvement in matters of public concern? Citizen participation is both accepted and supported in liberal nation-states but the ultimate aim of participation is open to debate. Heater distinguishes between “center” and “left” liberals; “Center” liberals, he argues, expect a level of participation that would not interrupt or disturb “the running of the... system as it is” (2004, p. 224) while “left” liberals champion the development of political consciousness as the basis for social transformation and thus for citizenry participation. How these two different perspectives of citizenship participation influence citizenship education will be addressed in the section entitled *Citizenship Education for Active, Participatory Citizens*.

Theoretical Approaches to Citizenship² and Their Influence in Education

Within political philosophy there are three prevalent theoretical approaches to citizenship: the liberal, the communitarian, and the civic republicanist. Each set of theories puts forth different understandings of what citizenship comprises and the roles and duties of citizens. These distinct understandings of citizenship influence citizenship education in distinct ways since they delineate different priorities, goals and expectations in educating for democratic citizenship. Many of the underlying premises behind predominant citizenship theories strongly influence instructors, course developers and policymakers in their knowledge and understanding

² It should be noted that there are other citizenship theories, such as the cosmopolitan, the ecological and multicultural citizenship, for example, but the examination of these relatively new theories and how they impact upon citizenship education is beyond the scope of this dissertation. See (Isin & Turner, 2002) and (Shafir, 1998) for a review of different citizenship theories.

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of what it means to be a good citizen. This, in turn, impacts their conception and understanding of good citizenship education and the pedagogical approaches best able to advance their visions.

Boyte (2004) connects the liberal citizenship theory with an individualist, rights-based approach to citizenship education. The communitarian tradition, in his view, provides support for citizenship programs that stress social and moral responsibility, while civic republicanism emphasizes a vision of citizenship education concerned with democratic political participation. Following is a brief explanation of the assumptions about citizenship, the citizen, and public participation underlying each citizenship theoretical approach.

The liberal theoretical approach. Liberals regard citizenship primarily as legal status. The citizen, then, is seen mainly as rights bearer whose status entitles his/her certain state benefits. The citizen is autonomous, independent, and free to pursue his/her own personal interests (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Miller, 2000; Shafir, 1998). How citizens exercise their rights is irrelevant, as long as they do not preclude someone else's rights. Citizenship is located within the state—more specifically, in the institutions, procedures, and regulations of citizenship representation (Isin & Turner, 2002; Torres, 1998). A more liberal theoretical approach to citizenship frames it as a direct, unmediated relationship between the citizen and the state and between the citizen and the polity (Boyte, 2004). Therefore, the relationship between the state and the citizen can be best understood as one of client-provider wherein the citizens are the clients: the recipients of services and other benefits provided by the state (Boyte, 1994). In other words, it is a contractual relationship (Janoski & Gran, 2002), where the state provides protections and guarantees personal freedom and autonomy in order that the citizens may exercise their rights; at the same time, citizens are obligated to fulfill important civic obligations.

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Legal understandings of citizenship centre citizenship participation at the individual level and frame it in terms of rights and civic responsibility. Participation in the public sphere can be characterized as contractual (Janoski & Gran, 2002), meaning that for the rights and liberties granted to citizens there are also civic duties to be fulfilled. In the liberal conception of citizenship, contends Miller, “a citizen is not conceived as being an active participant in politics,” or in substantial matters of democratic decision-making (2000, p. 46). Rather, what emerges are free agents whose participation in the public sphere is driven mainly by self-interest and personal preference and much less by concern for the common good or the quest for democratic ideals (Boyte, 2004; Miller, 2000).

The communitarian theoretical approach. Communitarians view citizenship primarily as an activity, a practice in the pursuit of the common good (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Miller, 2000; Shafir, 1998). They oppose the individualism championed by liberal citizenship by putting strong emphasis on the community (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Miller, 2000; Shafir, 1998). As such, citizenship is situated in the public sphere and citizens are seen as active individuals committed to the welfare of others and of their own community. Active involvement in civic affairs creates a sense of community, which in turn reinforces the idea of a committed citizenry whose own personal interests do not take primacy over those of the community (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Miller, 2000). While there is full recognition of the importance of rights and the fulfillment of citizenship duties such as voting, paying taxes, and abiding by societal laws, the real meaning of being a citizen lies in commitment to public life. For communitarians, citizenship supersedes individual status and formal structures and procedures; citizenship is rooted in the active involvement of citizens in civic communal affairs (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Miller, 2000; Shafir, 1998).

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The communitarian theoretical approach emphasizes the active nature of being a citizen by stressing social and moral responsibility in the community (Boyte, 2004). While many interpretations of community exist, Miller (2000) offers two interpretations that are critical to understanding citizenship participation in the public sphere: one is community as a “moral ideal” and the other is the “political community.” In the former, community is a place, most often a neighborhood, within which citizens are encouraged to be active and make valuable contributions—this is the spirit embraced by proponents of community service which stresses volunteerism and acts of charity. The political community is a space where citizens engage to discuss and make decisions on substantial matters of public life (Miller, 2000). Informed by “moral” conceptions of community, the communitarian approach promotes a type of citizenship participation in which citizens do good deeds as a means of contributing to the well being of others and their community. Community is constructed as a harmonious place where there is consensus, commonality, and solidarity among its members. Overlooked, however, are the conflicts and competing interests that are unavoidable and that characterize social relations in a community.

The civic republican theoretical approach. In this tradition, citizenship is, above all, a practice, an activity in the political realm of the public sphere (Boyte, 2004; Miller, 2000). The citizen is conceived, using Barber’s (2003) words, as a “political actor.” To him, the most desirable type of citizen participation is active involvement in public decision making. As with the liberal theoretical approach, citizenship is situated in the public sphere, in the community, but unlike the liberal theoretical approach it is also situated in civil society. The citizen is not only active but politically active. The citizen as political being is central to the civic republicanist theory’s conception of citizenship.

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The civic republicanist tradition stands in sharp contrast to the liberal theory's conception of participation as something based on self-interest and as merely discharging one's responsibilities, and it is also in sharp contrast to a notion of citizenship being driven primarily by social concerns as the communitarian theoretical approach defines it. The civic republicanist theory views citizenship as a political practice and activity and conceives of community as political community directly linked to the values of participation, plurality, and justice (Boyte, 2004; Miller, 2000). In addition, community is envisioned as something that offers a sense of solidarity and mutuality to citizens amidst conflict, opposing interests, and sometimes even entrenched antagonism. Civic republicanism is concerned primarily with democratic political participation. In this context, citizenship is political participation and politics, as Boyte contends, "is the way people become citizens: accountable and contributors to the country" (2004, p. 79). For the purposes of this research, it is important to note that recent theories of multicultural citizenship that advocate for multiple and varied understandings of citizenship and ways of being a citizen (see, for example, Kymlicka, 1995; Young, 1989) are only beginning to be explored within the realms of education and citizenship education (see, for example, Banks, 2004c; Banks et al., 2005).

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a term that has multiple meanings. Broadly speaking, it is used to refer to multiple forms of difference including race, ethnicity, cultural and religious orientation, socio-economic class, ability, gender, and sexual preference (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Kymlicka, 1998; Nieto, 2004). In the past, minorities were expected to unquestionably assimilate into the larger mainstream society or otherwise experience exclusion. However, more and more minority and disadvantaged groups now mobilize themselves to assert their distinct identities.

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This movement has been identified as “the politics of recognition” (Taylor, 1992) whereby socially and culturally diverse groups demand from nation-states a more inclusive political system that accepts the voices and social practices of groups which have, up to now, occupied marginalized positions (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; May, 1999; Miller, 2000). In Canadian society, for example, such claims by minority and disadvantaged groups for recognition and affirmation challenge social and political structures even as these same groups raise concerns about possible divisiveness and fragmentation (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; May, 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Young, 1989). Recognizing social and cultural differences inevitably creates some challenges for society.

In liberal democracies such as Canada, the US, New Zealand, and Australia, all citizens are granted the same individual civil and political rights such as freedom of expression and due process (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; May, 1999; Young, 1989). The underlying rationale is that by conferring equal citizenship status and guaranteeing all citizens basic rights the state protects everyone against abuse and discrimination while guaranteeing, irrespective of group affiliation, fair participation in the nation’s civic and political life (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; May, 1999; Young, 1989). In theory, states are colour- and difference-blind and, therefore, fair and neutral in matters of individual and group cultural difference and identity (Kymlicka, 1995; May, 1999; Young, 1989). Thus, the state can operate, to use Glazer’s term, with ‘benign neglect’: with basic rights guaranteeing equality before the law, the state can behave as though it is blind towards individual and group differences (Kymlicka, 1995; Young, 1989).

Canada is one of the few countries to adopt a federal multiculturalism policy that aims to promote cultural pluralism: the relatively harmonious coexistence, within the nation-state, of

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different minority groups (Driedger, 2003; Kymlicka, 1995, 1998). Accordingly, minorities are no longer expected to assimilate into the dominant culture but can retain their distinct identities. Furthermore, multiculturalism is accepted as a defining trait of Canadian society and therefore something to be reasonably accommodated (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998). Kymlicka (1995) explains that in actuality, however, Canada's Multicultural Act affirms the right to retain one's cultural heritage in the private sphere and the right to free association at home and in voluntary associations. It is only to a lesser extent, then, that the Canada's Multicultural Act allows for the removal or creation of conditions to exercise the right to be different in public institutions such as the school system. Therefore, the *Canadian Multicultural Act* "has not involved the establishment of distinct and institutionally complete societal cultures alongside the Anglophone society" (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 78).

Conservative and liberal theorists, concerned with the recognition of different forms of social and cultural difference, have strongly criticized Canada's official recognition of multiculturalism and the constitutional incorporation of immigrants into the nation's public life. Conservatives contend that multiculturalism and multicultural policies such as affirmative action and accommodation of religious minorities (i.e., flexible work schedules and dress codes) are dangerous and ultimately divisive to the nation-state (Kymlicka, 1998; May, 1999). Canada's official multiculturalism has been criticized especially by Bissoondath's and Gwyn, who contend that this policy, rather than leading to socio-civic integration, promotes ghettoization, self-ghettoization and cultural and linguistic apartheid (Kymlicka, 1998). Bissoondath (1994) believes that ghettoization and self-ghettoization "are not an extreme of multiculturalism but its ideal: a way of life transported whole, a little outpost of exoticism preserved and protected" (cited in Kymlicka, 1998, p. 16). Similarly, Gwyn (1995) contends that multiculturalism

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promotes a form of “mono-culturalism... which encourages... what amounts, at worst, to an apartheid form of citizenship” (cited in Kymlicka, 1998, p. 17).

These critics see in multiculturalism a real divisive threat to the nation-state. Bullivant (1981) defines this problem as ‘the pluralist dilemma,’ which consists in “reconciling the diverse political claims of constituent groups and individuals in a pluralistic society with the claims of the nation as a whole” (cited in May, 1999, p. 14). In other words, the problem lies in balancing the competing and often opposite aims for “civism” and social cohesion, on one hand, and “pluralism” or the recognition and incorporation of the nation’s minorities, on the other (May, 1999). In this polarized context, “in the end, civism [or social cohesion] *must* be favored over pluralism” (May, 1999, p. 14, emphasis in original).

Liberal theorists generally recognize that the universality of citizenship does not translate neatly into civic equality for all, especially not for minorities and minority groups. The civic sphere functions on certain presumptions—presumptions that do not tend to hold true for those on the margins—hampering efforts to increase civic equality for and participation by the marginalized. When constitutional citizenship is couched in the ideals of unity, commonality, and nationhood, minorities are forced to exercise and negotiate their citizenship in a society that purports to treat everybody the same, and thus is blind to difference. In this context, there is no room for the recognition of different identities and social positionings as sources for different conceptions and expressions of the common good (Kymlicka, 1995; May, 1999; Young, 1989). Additionally, while the terms of civic participation appear fair, in fact they encourage a “homogeneity of citizens” (Young, 1989, p. 250) because “the civic realm represents the... communal interests of the dominant ethnic group *as if* these values were held by all” (May, 1999, p. 18, emphasis in original). The conditions of civic participation support only one world view:

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that of the dominant majority (Kymlicka, 1995; May, 1999; Miller, 2000; Young, 1989). In order to participate then, minorities are expected (and have) to “*give up* their cultural and linguistic identities” otherwise they “prejudice both the social cohesion of the nation-state and the possibilities of their own individual social and economic success” (May, 1999, p. 19, emphasis in original).

Citizenship and multiculturalism are intricately connected, and their intersections continue to generate some of the most heated debates of current times. Citizenship is like the glue that binds the citizens to the country, to the state, and to other citizens; it is what gives meaning to the multiple ways that and levels on which a person views him/herself, as a citizen, participating in the public sphere. Citizenship, therefore, goes beyond mere legal status. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, is a social reality, a government policy, and an idealized societal goal. At the centre of the debate is the need to reconcile, on one hand, recognition of multiple and distinct group and individual identities with, on the other, the need for a common, shared national identity that creates bonds capable of uniting citizens into a single undivided political community (Miller, 2000). In other words, the claims by minority groups push a seemingly unified political community to re-imagine itself along more pluralistic lines (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; May, 1999). More and more, the very idea of a homogeneous polity and clearly delimited modes of citizenship are under scrutiny (Modood, 2000; Williams, 2000). In this context issues of identity, or the politics of recognition, have become central not only to discussions of politics, citizenship, and citizenship participation, but also to citizenship education in democratic pluralistic societies (McDonough & Feinberg, 2003).

These debates expose contentious issues impacting one of the most important missions of the school: that of educating civically-minded citizens concerned with and involved in deciding

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the future of their increasingly multicultural societies. In addition, these discussions also impact the fields of citizenship education and multicultural education. As a result of federal and provincial education and immigration policies the two fields have developed separately (academically, historically, and in practice) yet they are intricately connected and will continue to be so (Osborne, 1996; Joshee, 2004; Sears, 1997). Presently, there is a reawakening of scholarly interest in citizenship education with the central concern being a need to re-conceptualize it such that citizenship education is capable of educating democratic citizens for multicultural, diverse, and globalized societies³ (Banks, 2004c, 2007; 2008; Gutmann, 2004; Hébert, 1997; McDonough & Feinberg, 2003; Miller-Lane et al., 2007; Parker, 2003; Rubin & Giarelli, 2008b; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a). The next two sections present a review of the citizenship education and multicultural education fields. The reviews are not exhaustive but rather indicative of the state of each field according to the existing literature. Topics selected will aid the reader in better understanding the sorts of citizenship education that take place in multicultural school classrooms. An important aim, then, is to identify convergences and divergences between the two fields, as a first step in the construction of an effective conception of citizenship education that embraces and is responsive to social and cultural difference. This describes the emergent field of multicultural citizenship education, the final section in this review.

Citizenship Education

There is consensus among scholars, policy makers, and practitioners that citizenship education is fundamental to both the development of an effective citizenry and a strong democracy. What remains contentious is determining what should be core to citizenship

³ In Canada, notably is the work by the Citizenship Education Research Network (CERN) as well as the work by scholars, such as Gagnon and Pagé (1999), Hébert (1997, 2002), Osborne (1996, 2001), Sears (1997), and Strong-Boas (2002).

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education programs and what approaches best educate an effective citizenry. Thus, citizenship education is a field filled with competing and conflicting paradigms, approaches and methodologies (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008a, 2008b; Evans 2006, 2008; Hughes & Sears, 2008; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a; Sears, 1996a, 1996b; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

The wide and almost irreconcilable spectrum of ideas of good citizenship education ranges from neo-conservative⁴ to social reconstructionist. These ideological battles are not just academic debates, but visions that materialize in school curricula as academic standards, teaching guidelines, and educational resources (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In the field of education, the debate has been dominated by those endorsing either a conservative or a more social reconstructionist approach to citizenship education. Those in support of a more conservative approach see the value of citizenship education in preparing students mainly for what Heater calls “education for state citizenship,” (1992, p. 28). Good citizens are those who know of their roles and duties and the means to properly interact with other citizens and with the state not necessarily for public engagement, but for the well-functioning of the state (Heater, 1992; Parker, 2003; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a). Social reconstructionist approaches to citizenship education include those who advocate that the focus of citizenship education should be the practice of democracy and not just the learning about democracy and its institutions. And yet, for others, citizenship education needs to embrace practice but also teach students to be critical participants in their own societies. To this end, central to citizenship education is to teach

⁴ Giroux (2005) notes how, in the United States, a neo-conservative movement that champions morality and “the celebration of America’s greatness” is leaving an indelible mark on public education and in citizenship education. Recently in Texas, United States in what has been described as an “ideological battle between a bloc of conservatives... and a handful of democrats and moderate republicans,” neo-conservative school board members managed to pass legislation that will infuse conservative-laden ideas into social studies, history and economics school curricula (McKinley, 2010, ¶ 4). Curricular reforms stipulate teaching about the Christian faith of the founding fathers—except for Thomas Jefferson who will be downplayed for having more secular views; that the United States government is a ‘constitutional republic’ rather than a ‘democratic’ form of government; and defining United States economic system as free enterprise instead of capitalist (McKinley, 2010; Msnbc.com, 2010).

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about politics, power, social critique and social action in a context of democracy understood as equity, social justice and civic equality (Banks, 2007; Evans 2008; Giroux, 2005; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Finally, for others, citizenship education must have a social reconstructionist stance, such that it is responsive to the nation's social and cultural difference (Banks, 2004a, 2007, 2008; Dilworth, 2008; Giroux, 2005; Marri, 2005; Parker, 2003). In this context, an important aim is to develop a kind of citizenship education concerned with the attainment of equality and social justice across groups.

Conceptions of Good Citizenship Education

Many typologies and frameworks⁵ have been developed in an effort to provide guidance in planning and delivering citizenship instruction; many of these draw heavily upon philosophical, sociological, and political science writings and not on classroom-based research. I discuss Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) empirical citizenship education framework, which reveals the spectrum of visions, goals, and competing agendas that drive citizenship educating efforts in educating for democratic citizenship. They posit three visions of the good citizen that school-based programs can advance: the personally-responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizen. The personally-responsible citizen fulfils his/her social and civic responsibilities such as voting, paying taxes, and serving on juries. Citizenship education programs promoting this vision emphasize character education or the development of desirable character traits such as compassion, honesty, industry, and a desire to volunteer in the community as an avenue for citizenship participation in the public sphere (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). For the authors, this conception of good citizenship not only falls short of developing in students other important

⁵ Ichilov (1990) and Sears (1996a) have developed typologies that centre on an ideal kind of citizen. Banks with Clegg (1990) and Newmann (1975) provide examples of decision making and social action frameworks for secondary curricula. Knowledge construction frameworks by critical theorists (e.g., Habermas, 1970; Giroux, 1992) have also influenced citizenship education.

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skills and dispositions needed for effective citizenship, but “it may actually hinder rather than make possible democratic participation and change” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 244).

The participatory and justice-oriented conceptualizations of the good citizen both focus on involving students in civic affairs at a local or global scale, which requires collective, organized efforts to reach goals for the betterment of one’s community (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). At the heart of the justice-oriented approach is a focus on social justice whereas a participatory conception of good citizenship is commonly pursued in schools through deliberative curricula and community service pedagogies that seek to discuss and to act on an identified situation in a given community. Through these pedagogies students acquire knowledge about micro-politics—how government and community organizations—work while at the same time developing important skills (such as teamwork, decision making and problem solving) needed for informed and effective participation in their community (Hess, 2009; Parker, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Teachers who endorse a justice-oriented conception of good citizenship focus on social critique. More specifically, these teachers help students understand (a) the interplay of historical, political, economic, and social factors that create structures of inequality, (b) issues of power as they relate to public decision-making, and (c) citizen action for systemic change toward a more democratic and just society (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 2007; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Citizenship Education for Active, Participatory Citizens

Educating active, participatory citizens concerned with the future of their societies is a critical goal of the school and, more particularly, of social studies and citizenship education (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008b; Evans 2006, 2008; Hughes & Sears, 2008; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a; Sears, 1994, 1996b; Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1999). For example, a learning

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expectation in the Ontario Civics (CHV20) curriculum is that students “demonstrate an understanding of the various ways in which decisions are made and conflicts are resolved in matters of civic importance, and the various ways in which individual citizens participate in this process” (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training [OMET], 2005, p. 69). Clearly, an important aim of the course is to provide the knowledge and skills necessary for public participation; less clear is what, exactly, “matters of civic importance” are. In this context it is important to ask: in what kind of public issues, situations, and problems are students expected to participate? And, how does citizenship education prepare students for such involvement?

While citizenship participation in public affairs is desirable, what form it takes and the purposes of it are debatable (Barber, 2003; Boyte, 2004; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Walker, 2002). There are two major perspectives on citizenship participation. One view sees citizens as being active in the public sphere, but their activism is parallel or alternative to politics and public policy (Barber, 2003; Boyte, 2004; Heater, 2004; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Torres, 1998; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In this view, citizens are constructed as active members who volunteer in the community and fulfill their responsibilities (Boyte, 2004; Heater, 2004; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) and who, through their careers and jobs, contribute to society. By contrast, a different understanding of citizenship participation situates active participation in the political realm. Citizens exercise their rights and freedoms—getting involved in social and political movements, voting, petitioning, and protesting—principally to influence public policy (Barber, 2003, Boyte, 2004, Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Newmann, 1975; Parker, 2003; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

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With regards to citizenship instruction, there are different approaches to participation in the public sphere that citizenship instruction can promote. One approach is to teach students about civic-political sanctioned ways of participation such as voting, belonging to a political party, and running for office. While these forms of participation can effect societal change, for the most part they call for minimalist citizen involvement. Those who advocate a more substantial citizenship participation in public affairs contend that citizens should not wait for their turn—for example, every four years for scheduled elections—to participate (Barber, 2003, Boyte, 2004). Another citizenship participation approach stresses service in the community. In this approach, participation is associated with good behaviour in the public realm. Students educated according to this approach are encouraged to volunteer and join projects and community organizations as well as to perform acts of goodness that benefit others and the community. While these forms of participation are important and desirable, they do not adequately prepare students to be agents of social change (Boyte, 2004; Crick, 2007, Evans, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). A third educational approach to citizen participation seeks to engage students in individual and collective endeavors towards influencing some level of change in society.

Fundamental to citizenship instruction, then, is providing students with experiences that bear political significance to enable them to understand what is involved in working towards the sorts of substantial change that seeks to create better living conditions. Additionally, these experiences can enhance students' knowledge and skills to more effectively influence public policy in the pursuit of a more egalitarian society (Annette, 2008; Crick, 2007; Evans, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Wade, 2008; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

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Approaches to Citizenship Instruction

Overall, studies of citizenship education, in Canada and abroad, seem to indicate a gap between citizenship education theory and practice (Hahn, 1998, 2001; Evans, 2006; Pace, 2008; Rubin, 2007; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Scholars note that citizenship instruction has a predominantly procedural, historical, and government-based approach, which is often at odds with official citizenship education curricula and guidelines that stress the use of active methodologies and an emphasis on class discussion and decision making. In fact, various methodologies that are considered best practices to teach for democratic citizenship can be found in the literature including cooperative learning and critical literacy and research projects⁶. However, providing a comprehensive review of all exemplary practices is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In the following section, I review three approaches—class discussions, community service, and the cosmopolitan approach. I chose these approaches as they are identified as promising approaches to citizenship instruction (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003), are recommended as methods of instruction in the Ontario grade 10 Civics curriculum (OMET, 2005), and, perhaps more importantly, were employed by the teachers participating in this research to provide instruction.

Class discussion. It is a pedagogical practice that aims to promote participatory democracy by creating spaces and opportunities where students can come together to learn about, discuss, and deliberate issues of public concern. The power of class discussions resides in the act of coming together as citizens where each listens to the views and interests of others, ponders their own views and interests and discovers, within the process of exchange, the possibility of

⁶ For a review of critical literacy see (Butler, 2010; Hobbs, 2007; Kellner & Share, 2005, 2007). For cooperative learning see Chinn (2010) and Nieto (2002), the latter with an emphasis on the promotion of across and multicultural understanding. Finally, the most recent edited editions (Levstik & Tyson, 2008; Totten & Pedersen, 2011) provide a review of active learning pedagogies in social studies education.

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reconsidering individual views and increasing mutual understanding (Hess, 2009; Miller, 2000; Parker, 2003, 2008). Class discussion includes strategies such as seminars and deliberation through which students learn to frame and research problems, listen to different points of view, weigh alternatives, apply problem-solving and decision-making skills, and move towards action (Hess, 2009; Knight & Pearl, 2000; Larson, 2000; Parker, 2003). Teachers who teach through discussion believe that political discussions among citizens are fundamental to a healthy democracy which in turn promotes the education of effective citizens who have a stronger sense of public agency (Boyte, 2004; Crick & Porter, 1978; Davis, 2008; Hess, 2009). Additionally, class discussion is seen as a promising approach to providing citizenship education that is responsive to social and cultural difference because it recognizes the inevitable presence of conflict, of opposite views and, sometimes, antagonism. Class discussion is a pedagogy that teaches students to work in a public spirit with others who might not only have differing views of the common good but feel strongly about their own views (Hess, 2009; Miller, 2000; Parker, 2003).

Often class discussions are conflated with teacher-student exchanges or “classroom talk” about public issues and events (Hess, 2009). However, class discussion requires a well-planned process that includes three phases: choosing and researching a topic, depth discussions, and a conclusion, usually a decision towards action (Hess, 2009; Parker, 2003). Although it is a pedagogy well regarded by teachers, it is used infrequently in the provision of citizenship instruction, and even more worrisome, it is less likely to occur in multicultural classrooms (Hess, 2009; Larson, 2000). Teachers who perceive their classrooms as too diverse avoid using class discussions because diversity is seen as a source of conflict rather than as an asset that can contribute to enriched discussion (Hess & Avery, 2008; Larson, 2000).

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A key argument in favour of teaching using class discussions is their potential to bring marginalized voices into the democratic process; however, this very tenet has been challenged because of the fact that not all discussants occupy the same social position (Miller, 2000; Parker, 2003; Phillips, 2003; Williams, 2000). A genuine exchange must not be blind to students' class, race, and ethnicity. Rather, strategies must be found that enable students to listen across differences which, in a multicultural context, means giving room to learning from personal experiences with oppression and discrimination, the inclusion of different socio-cultural referents, and an exploration of how privilege gives voice to some while silencing others (Parker, 2003).

Community service. Broadly defined, community service is a pedagogical strategy that seeks to bring together civic participation in the public sphere with civic knowledge—its main goal is to promote active citizenship. It consists in having students organize and carry out actions that meet a real need in a given community (Boyle-Baisse, 2002; Root & Billig, 2008; Wade, 2008). The strength of this pedagogical approach lies in the capacity of community service to link together civic knowledge, civic action, and reflection such that students learn, through experience, to “think and act ‘politically’” (Annette, 2008, p. 392). There are various benefits associated with this approach, including becoming aware of issues in the community demanding attention, developing civic knowledge and skills needed for effective civic participation, and developing an increasing sense of social responsibility and the capacity to effect change (Annette, 2008; Boyle-Baisse, 2002; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003; Wade, 2008).

While community service is recognized as a promising approach to citizenship instruction, there is considerable disagreement as to which forms of participation have the

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greatest capacity to help students develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed for identifying, assessing, and effectively resolving public issues. This debate is well captured in the community service literature: there is a clear distinction between those student projects that promote service and those that promote political involvement (Annette, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Metz et al., 2003; Wade, 2008; Walker, 2002). In a comprehensive review of community service pedagogy, Wade (2008) found that community service is associated with students' increased desire to help others, sense of personal fulfillment, social responsibility and career awareness. However, community service programs focused on political and governance issues are most likely to result in increased political knowledge and political efficacy than those that promote service (Wade, 2008).

Kahne and Westheimer (2008) make a distinction between internal and external political efficacy. Their research findings reveal that citizenship instruction that combined civic instruction with public service projects—those that involved working alongside government and community-based organizations—increased students' internal political efficacy or perception of their ability to effect change. Importantly, internal political efficacy is a predictor of future civic engagement. However, these students did not make great gains in terms of their external political efficacy or with respect to understanding the workings and difficulties entailed in bringing about change (Westheimer & Kahne, 2008). Conversely, students who civics projects aimed to produce social change (for example, a student project sought to create a women health center in an undeserved area) tended to encounter resistance and were, for the most part, unsuccessful. Unsuccessful community service experiences tend to negatively influence students' desire to be involved in public affairs in the future (Kahne & Westheimer, 2008). However, Kahne and Westheimer note that an important goal to keep in mind when designing community engagement

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projects is that students encounter some of the “barriers and constraints” of affecting change and discover how to navigate these—because both internal and external efficacy are needed in order to produce change (Kahne & Westheimer, 2008).

Community service can be a great tool when seeking to provide citizenship education that is attentive to social and cultural difference; however, it can also be problematic. Often, student community service projects aim to help marginalized populations (e.g., through soup kitchens, shelters). But when community interventions do not include any reflection or analysis of the root causes of the problems and of the challenges faced by the population sectors to be served through them, such student projects can, in the end, serve to reinforce notions of the giver and the receiver rather than truly ameliorating the problem (Boyle-Baisse, 2002). A lack of critical analysis not only conceals social arrangements that maintain inequality but, even more dangerously, lack of analysis might reinforce long-standing stereotypes of the marginalized (Boyle-Baisse, 2002). Thus, a fundamental component of community service projects must be a critical analysis during which students explore issues of race, discrimination, power differentials, and how certain societal arrangements (e.g., lack of affordable housing) structure the living conditions of those the students are trying to help (Boyle-Baisse, 2002; Sleeter & Grant, 2007; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Cosmopolitan citizenship education. Cosmopolitan citizenship education emerged as a pedagogical approach in light of the fact that globalized world relations create, on one hand, diverse and interdependent societies (Osler & Starkey, 2003) and, on the other hand, increased social inequality as reflected in growing poverty, human rights violations, and environmental degradation (Linklater, 2002). In this context, cosmopolitan citizenship education is envisioned as a mechanism for developing a “stronger sense of individual and collective responsibility for

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the world as a whole” (Linklater, 2002, p. 317). It aims to create “world citizenship” as opposed to a more narrow emphasis on “democratic or national citizenship” (Nussbaum, cited in Waldron, 2003, p. 23). It is a kind of citizenship education committed to producing world citizens: individuals concerned with the welfare of the world and not just their immediate political communities. World citizenship and global citizenship are terms used to define this type of citizenship education. Although each conception has its own ideological position, this research uses these terms interchangeably because they both stress the education of a citizen concerned with the world’s well-being.

An important goal of cosmopolitan citizenship education is ensuring that students come to see themselves as citizens of various communities including the world (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Being a citizen of various local and more distant communities is both a civic virtue and a principle that can guide citizenship behaviour (Banks, 2004a, 2008; Waldron, 2003).

Cosmopolitan citizens act on the premise of “*global justice*,” meaning that they are concerned not only with justice for their own nation and fellow citizens, but also with the pursuit of democratic justice for the entire planet (Waldron, 2003, p. 46, emphasis in original).

Cosmopolitan citizenship educators advocate active participation in public affairs in pursuit of social justice locally, regionally and globally. They assert that such a goal is achievable if students are taught the connections among the local, the national, and the global (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Shultz, 2007). A cosmopolitan citizenship approach uses active learning pedagogies including deliberation, role playing and research projects. Pedagogically speaking, what distinguishes this approach is not so much the methods of instruction but the topics and ideas selected for presentation in the classroom. A cosmopolitan approach to citizenship education is most concerned with the interconnectedness of people and problems across the

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globe and with the role that citizens play in such situations; the issues it raises tend to have a broad scope, they tend to be quite political in nature, and they include topics related to the economy, the environment, poverty and discrimination (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005). The goals of and rationales for citizenship engagement are rooted in a genuine concern for solving common problems in order to improve the common future of humankind (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Shultz, 2007).

Social action and the pursuit of justice ought to be taught within the context of multiple dimensions that include the economy, public policy, and socio-cultural diversity; a cosmopolitan citizenship approach, with its notion of a world citizen, has the greatest potential to advance multicultural citizenship education (Waldron, 2003). A cosmopolitan citizenship approach, then, “implies learning to imagine the nation as a diverse and inclusive community” and requires that students reflect on the personal and cultural aspects involved in coming to terms with their citizenship identity (Osler & Starkey, 2003, p. 245). This is also an approach that can help students reflect upon and expand their ideas about nationalism and national identity as the basis for citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Finally, cosmopolitan citizenship can be a promising pedagogical approach to multicultural citizenship education because it requires the creation of spaces where students can discuss, talk through differences, and propose courses of action in the quest for finding more equitable solutions to issues that affect their lives, their society and the world at large (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Shultz, 2007). Cosmopolitan citizenship is a conception that seeks to acknowledge and address the conflicting interests and values always at play in decision-making and social action processes.

Cosmopolitan citizenship has been particularly challenged by conservatives who favour a more traditional approach to citizenship education that focuses on the construction of a shared

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national identity and on the teaching of the legal and constitutional foundation upon which citizenship and democracy rest (Linklater, 2002; Waldron, 2003). It is also been criticized by those who advocate group-based rights. Their concern is well captured by May who explains that a cosmopolitan approach might fail to recognize that people and groups have “deep bonds to their own historical cultural and linguistic communities” (1999, p. 26). Critical, then, is the recognition that citizenship is framed and negotiated in relation to one’s personal positioning, interactions with other groups within the nation-state, and its context(s).

Citizenship Education Research and Theory in Light of Social, Cultural and Economic Diversity

The provision of citizenship education often occurs in diverse school contexts. However, citizenship education research has, to date, given little consideration to issues of social and cultural diversity. In what follows, I discuss the existing research and literature which examines citizenship education in light of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic diversity in Canada and other nations: In other words, how and to what degree have issues of social and cultural difference been integrated into theoretical approaches to citizenship education? It is important to note that classroom-based research in this area is extremely limited in both Canada and abroad. The review is organized around the three domains within which research on citizenship education among minorities and minority groups has focused: stratified civic learning opportunities, civic identity, and civic participation.

Stratified civic learning opportunities. There is an extensive body of literature on school structures and policies that result in unequal learning opportunities (such as streaming, zero tolerance, and student assignment to special education programs) and their impacts on maintaining an unequal and stratified society along lines of race, class, and ethnic differences (see, for example, Anyon, 1980, 1997; Curtis, Livingstone, & Smaller, 1992; Fine, 1991; Kozol,

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1991; Oakes, 2005). However, it has been only recently that a clear connection between civic achievement and socio-economic variables such as race, ethnicity and class has been established. The 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and the second phase of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA, 2001) reveal that in the US, African-American, Latino and low-income students score significantly lower in civic achievement scales compared to their white, Asian, middle and upper-class counterparts (Baldi, Perie, Skidmore, Greenberg, & Hanh, 2001; Lutkus, Weiss, Campbell, Mazzeo, & Lazer 1999). More recent studies (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkendorf, 2006) also document what Levinson (2007) has labeled a “civic achievement gap” between students who are non-white, poor, minority, and immigrant citizens and their White, wealthier, and native-born counterparts. Non-White, poor students lag behind in all four major components that lead to civic and political participation including civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours. Not only do these students seem to have less civic and political knowledge, but they are distrustful of the political system and are less likely to be politically involved by voting, contacting officials and protesting (Levinson, 2007).

Kahne and Middaugh (2009) have taken this inquiry a step further by investigating student access to “high-impact” civic learning opportunities that include participation in class discussions of public issues, community projects, role playing and class simulations. In a survey of 2,366 students conducted in the state of California, the researchers found that African American and Latino students (as well as those students placed in College Preparation courses) reported having fewer opportunities to participate in high-quality civic learning opportunities. By contrast, caucasian and Advanced Placement students (and with students with higher socioeconomic status) reported participating in a wider variety of civic learning activities

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positively correlated with increased student civic engagement. Pace (2008) also found that Advanced Placement Government courses provided a much richer experience for civic engagement than did College Preparation Government classes. Many of the students, already in a marginalized situation due to their ethnic, racial or socio-economic background and having less civic and political capital to draw upon, experienced a kind of citizenship education that was unlikely to provide them with the tools needed to become civically-minded citizens capable of challenging the status quo. Unfortunately, in the Canadian context it is difficult to assess whether and to what degree citizenship education programs provide stratified learning opportunities as there have not been any studies undertaken to specifically examine this issue.

Civic identity development. With regards to civic identity development there are two strands of work: The first focuses on how youngsters come to understand themselves and their role as citizens and the other investigates both minority-group and mainstream students' notions of national identity. While the former, civic identity development, can be considered an emergent area of research within the citizenship education field, the latter, national identity, is a long-standing concern: whether minorities have a sense of loyalty and commitment to their nation-state. Rubin (2007), using a socio-cultural framework, investigated the ways in which day-to-day experiences with citizenship and citizenship instruction impact students' civic identity development. The study, conducted in four socio-culturally diverse schools in New Jersey, reveals that African American and Latino students in low-income schools experience a "disjuncture" between the civic ideals taught in class and their day-to-day citizenship experience. In addition, these students tended to have active conceptions of citizenship, although, students in low-income schools expressed a sense of hopelessness that civic action could make a significant difference. While students in low-income schools expressed a sense of hopelessness about the

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potential for civic action to make a significant difference, by contrast immigrant students and students in more affluent schools were in congruence with the civic ideals taught in school and their day-to-day citizenship life experiences. Students in more privileged schools were more likely to have more complacent and passive conceptions of good citizenship and centred primarily on career completion as a path to future financial security. Overall, the development of civic identity in youngsters is a situated experience that is context informed and context-negotiated.

Research on conceptions of national identity yield different results (due largely to differences in historical and socio-political contexts); yet, studies generally indicate how deeply-rooted and troubling are the essentialized categories that youngsters draw from when forming a sense of personal and group national identity. Research suggests that in the majority of the cases youngsters construct notions of national identity that, unfortunately, are in direct opposition to the values and knowledge needed to create a more pluralistic and inclusive society. In the United Kingdom (UK), Carrington and Short's studies (1995, 1996) with 265 children aged 8 to 11 found that white English-speaking students see themselves as British while ethnic minority children (including white Scottish children) "operate with more fluid conceptions of Britishness" and see themselves in hyphenated terms (e.g., Black-British, Pakistani-British, British-Bangladeshi) (1996, p. 218). Another important finding, and one that raises much concern, is that one-third of the population of British youngsters have essentialized and assimilationist understandings of their national identity; for these students, being born in the UK, speaking English, and sharing British customs are a must to be considered British. The same study was conducted in the US with a sample of 61 children, and in contrast to the UK studies, only two-thirds of white children saw themselves as Americans while the remainder viewed themselves as

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having a hyphenated identity or an identity other than American. This difference aside, the US children also used essentialized markers of identity to define who belongs and who does not. For example, US children think that those who were born in the US or have ancestry living in the country and those who share the same customs (like celebrating Christmas) are “more American” than immigrants and those who have not lived for long in the country or have different customs (Short & Carrington, 1999). Other studies conducted with Irish (Waldron & Pike, 2006) and Australian children (Howard & Gill, 2001) support these research findings; place of birth and place of residence, in combination with cultural traits, are the markers that youngsters use to construct their sense of national identity.

Notions of national identity have also been investigated in marginalized groups. Ladson-Billings (2004a) and Pinson (2008) investigated civic and national identity in African-American students and Palestinian/Arab Israeli students living in Israel, respectively. These studies reveal that, due to their experience of racism and discrimination, these marginalized youngsters “prioritize... a racial/cultural identity over national citizenship” (Ladson-Billings 2004a, p. 114). In Canada, research on national identity is extremely limited. Lee and Hébert (2006) found that in a population of 95 immigrant and 131 non-immigrant high school students, a sense of national identity was stronger than an ethnic or a supranational identity.

Citizenship participation. Research on citizenship participation among majority and minority groups has examined voting intention and civic engagement. Research on voting intention among Canadian-born and African-immigrant high school students confirms youth apathy regarding political participation: Almost 50% of students in both groups reported having no intention to vote in the near future (Chakera & Sears, 2006). While it appears that in Canada political apathy is not related to cultural or ethnic affiliation, Fine and colleagues’ (2005)

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comprehensive study of civic engagement found very different results. The majority of 4,476 students in desegregated New York and New Jersey high schools (9% are Asian/Pacific Islander, 16% African American, 50% White American, 9% African-Caribbean, and 18% Latino) endorsed civic values aligned with a vision rooted in active participation and “multi-racial justice.” Nonetheless, it is African Americans and African Caribbeans followed by Latinos who are more critical of educational inequalities within their schools, more likely to support civic actions geared towards achieving social justice, and who support statements like “we need to create *change* in the nation” and those that stress the importance of ending racism (Fine et al., 2005, p. 506, emphasis in original).

It is widely recognized the importance of a school-based citizenship education to the education of responsible and competent citizens. However, debatable are the goals and best approaches to the design and implementation of effective citizenship education programs. The previous review explores three key issues to citizenship education: conceptions of good citizenship education, promising approaches to citizenship education, and the relevance of social and cultural difference to the provision of citizenship education. Questions remain: What knowledge, skills and values are crucial to effectively preparing citizens for pluralistic societies? And how can teachers provide a citizenship education that takes into account the students’ social and cultural backgrounds while at the same time fostering a sense of interconnectedness and interdependence with the larger political community?

Multicultural Education for Democracy

Multicultural education has its roots in the struggle of the Civil Rights movement for a more equitable, just, democratic society (Banks, 2004b; Ladson-Billings 2004b; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). The movement represents the quest to change social, political and economic conditions to

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guarantee full inclusion and civic equality for oppressed racial groups. Multicultural education is primarily concerned with the existence of a stratified society, particularly along the lines of social class, race and ethnicity. Central to the field is an explicit concern with the oppression, marginalization and silence that disadvantaged groups in society experience. A top priority for multicultural education researchers is the creation of equitable learning environments for all students and in particular those who by virtue of their difference—namely, racial, ethnic, language, ability level, socio-economic status and/or gender—find the schooling experience unequal and disempowering.

Multicultural education is visionary in the sense that it aims for transformation and social change. From a pedagogical perspective, the field advocates for school curricula that are challenging and culturally responsive and classroom environments where students are taught to think critically about the living conditions that define their lives (Banks, 2004b; Gay, 1995, 2010a; Nieto, 2004; Schugurensky, 2002). In addition, for multicultural educators, social and cultural diversity cannot be separated from the educational process. Social and cultural difference is integral to who we are; it underpins what one does and how one thinks, believes, learns, behaves, and understands the world (Gay, 2010a; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). While developing tolerance and respect for social and cultural difference is critical to the forging of more democratic, pluralistic societies, the ultimate goal is the democratization of our societies such that there exists equality across groups. In other words, for multicultural educators, a commitment to resist and to take action to prevent the exclusion of individuals and groups is fundamental (Gutmann, 2004; Kymlicka, 1995, 2004; May, 1999).

The Multiple Meanings of Multicultural Education

As a normative philosophy, multicultural education, like democratic education, does not have fixed meanings. Rather, these notions have sliding signifiers with multiple meanings and interpretations, many of which move away or fall short from the democratic ideals of building more just and egalitarian societies. As Ladson-Billings (2004b) contends, the emancipatory and transformative understandings of multicultural education have been co-opted and mobilized in different directions. Multicultural education policy and practice has been severely criticized by conservatives and radical critics alike. Conservatives see multiculturalism and multicultural education as divisive and a threat that undermines the unity of the nation-state. Nationhood is a powerful ideological narrative that writes a nation and “every country has erected its symbolic myths of nationhood and identity” and schools “reconstruct national histories to highlight what is consistent with these myths and to eliminate or sanitize what is inconsistent” (Cummings, 2004, p. xvi).

Left critics, committed to a politics of difference and social transformation, argue that multicultural education has narrowed its focus primarily to improving human relations across cultural and racial lines and advocating for the inclusion of multicultural content within the official curriculum and, in so doing, the field has overlooked the structural inequities faced by minority students (Gay, 1995; May, 1999). This critique stems from the fact that the most common approach to multicultural education—in Canada included—is what has been termed “the heroes and holidays” approach (Nieto, 2004), where social difference is still marginalized and treated at the best as an add-on content to the official school curriculum (Banks 2003, 2004b; Bennett, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2004b; May, 1999; Nieto, 2004). Despite this narrow approach, multicultural education does endorse a critical stance that questions power, racism, and structural

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inequities and seeks social transformation (Banks, 2004b; Gay, 1995, 2004; Nieto, 2004; Schugurensky, 2002).

To a great extent the conservative and left debate about multicultural education has dealt mostly with issues of internal organization of the nation-state. Yet, in an increasingly globalized world, characterized by migration, transnationalism and a global market economy, multicultural education takes on new meanings. Kymlicka argues that multiculturalism has shifted from an emphasis on “domestic” to “cosmopolitan multiculturalism” (2004, p. xvi). For the school system, this may require the adoption of those aspects of multicultural education seen as key to developing in students the abilities to successfully navigate the pace and demands of a globalized market economy (Cummings, 2004; Ong, 2004; Resnik, 2009). The education of cosmopolitan, global citizens—those who possess the knowledge, dispositions and skills that allow them to “feel comfortable with cultural differences and to operate successfully in a wide range of multicultural milieus” (Kymlicka, 2004, p. xvi)—is not only a priority for schools, but a renewed and powerful understanding of what multicultural education is. A sense of open-mindedness, an ability to transcend and challenge stereotypes, the ability to collaborate and communicate effectively across racial and linguistic divides, facility with multiple languages: these are but some of the desirable traits providers of multicultural education should aim to develop in their students (Kymlicka, 2004; Resnik, 2009). In this context, multicultural education is instrumental to the promotion of positive and effective intercultural relations as a way of enhancing profits at the personal and corporate level; it is not, however, committed to the principles of social and civic equality for all (Cummings, 2004; Kymlicka, 2004; Ong, 2004; Resnik, 2009). Comparative studies of citizenship education in diverse nations confirm that a cosmopolitan multiculturalism approach guides multicultural education in various nation-states. In Germany

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and Russia, for example, multicultural education is connected to, or synonymous with, international education; the main focus is the study of the European Union and other cultures (Froumin, 2004; Luchtenberg, 2004). The types of multicultural education instituted in Germany and Russia are aimed at promoting a better understanding of internal ethnic conflicts to increase civic participation by the marginalized; the approaches these two countries have taken to multicultural education can only be described, however, as tentative (Froumin, 2004; Luchtenberg, 2004).

Approaches to Multicultural Content Integration

Banks (2004b) advocates a comprehensive and multi-layered multicultural education approach to transforming current education systems whose five dimensions include: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture. In this section I focus more directly on the content integration aspect since analyzing whether and how multicultural content is taught in citizenship education is a first step towards understanding the salience of social and cultural diversity in citizenship education programs and how teachers in their day-to-day practice foster (or ignore) social, cultural, and political pluralism—a central goal of this research.

An important goal advocated by multicultural and critical educators is the creation of school curricula that reflect the rich racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious social diversity (Banks, 2003, 2004b; Gay, 2010a; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2007; McLaren 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). To this end, inclusion of multicultural content in the official curriculum is fundamental (Banks, 2003; Gay, 2010a; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). A central concern of Banks (2003) is making school curricula more inclusive. For him, a mainstream-centric curriculum is one that reflects the experiences, values and perspectives of the majority and largely ignores the

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experiences, cultures, and histories of various ethnically, racially, and linguistically diverse groups. A mainstream-centric curriculum, asserts Banks (2003), has negative consequences for both mainstream and minority students. While for minority groups it means the marginalization of “their experiences and cultures,” for the majority it “reinforces their false sense of superiority, gives them a misleading conception of their relationship with other racial and ethnic groups, and denies them the opportunity to benefit from [other cultures and groups’] knowledge, perspectives, and frames of reference (2003, pp. 225-226).

Banks (2003) proposes four approaches that schools can take toward multicultural content integration: contribution, additive, transformational, and a social action approach. The approaches are progressive going from a more superficial to a more substantial and reflective recognition and integration of multicultural content into the school curricula. As such, each step moves towards the development of school curricula that is multicultural and teaches with multiple perspectives. The contribution approach recognizes in celebratory ways the nations’ social diversity. As such, it is common to acknowledge the contributions of exceptional citizens especially from minority groups as well as to commemorate important ethnic days and events. In the province of Ontario, for example, the school calendar includes the celebration of cultural days and events, such as Asian Heritage Week and Black History Month (OMET, 2009). Overall, a contribution approach to multicultural content integration is superficial as the mainstream-centric curriculum remains unchanged (Banks, 2003).

The additive approach is a step forward because multicultural content (in the form of concepts, themes and multiple perspectives) are added as part of the taught curriculum – whether it be geography, physical education, citizenship education, or any other class – but without changing the overall structure of the curriculum. In citizenship instruction, a typical example of

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this approach is studying the disenfranchisement of Indigenous Peoples and other immigrant groups when discussing the evolution of citizenship rights. The transformational approach, on the other hand, aims at changing the structure of the curriculum in order to help students understand how knowledge is constructed. This approach promotes critical thinking by presenting students with controversial issues, distinct points of view, and the histories and experiences of socio-economically diverse groups. Two characteristics distinguish this approach from the previous two, the contribution and additive approaches: One is that the Euro-centric perspective, which dominates the mainstream school curricula, is one of only several perspectives from which issues are studied (Banks, 2003). The second characteristic is the inclusion of social critique whereby students are given the opportunity to grapple with inconsistencies between democratic ideals and the realities of exclusion that democratic societies, including Canada, face (Banks, 2003; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). A transformational approach built on social critique can challenge many assumptions that the mainstream-centric curriculum presents as sanctioned knowledge or truths (Banks, 2003; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). In citizenship instruction, for example, it is often taught that the system of democracy has its roots in the classical Greek and Roman empires; while this is true, it fails to acknowledge that other societies also developed systems for popular participation that proved influential, such as the Iroquois consensual decision-making model. The fourth approach to content integration, social action, focuses on fostering student agency guided by a critical reflection of what social problems are worth acting on and why (Banks, 2003; Marri, 2005). An important goal is to promote the vision that students can act in their communities as agents of social change, working towards making their societies more equitable and inclusive, particularly

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for those individuals and groups hitherto excluded (Banks, 2003; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 2007).

These approaches to multicultural content integration are varied, but they all stress that current educational practice continues to favour the mainstream. Integrating more multicultural content is a way to make education, and society as a whole, more inclusive. However, integrating these approaches might be more straightforward in some classes and for some subjects compared to others. While multicultural education scholars tend to talk about education in general, there is, in some classes, a greater need to integrate a wider diversity of voices and world views than in others. Citizenship education, or civics classes, seems to be an ideal location for this material, both because of the content and topics included—for example, notions of human rights or official languages—and also because of its fundamental purpose, the educating of students to become effective citizens within a multicultural, democratic society.

Multicultural Citizenship Education: An Emerging Field

Overall, there are more similarities than differences between the fields of citizenship education and multicultural education with regard to understanding how educators teach students to be democratic citizens. In both fields, it is recognized that a critical goal of schooling is the education of students who can be reflective, effective, and active members of society (Banks, 2004a, 2007, 2008; Dilworth, 2008; Parker, 2003; Rubin & Giarelli, 2008b; Schugurensky, 2002; Sleeter & Gran, 2007). Another important shared interest is educating for pluralism, where individuals and groups that are socially and culturally diverse live side by side in ways that are productive and respectful to one another (Banks, 2004a, 2007, 2008; Gutmann, 2004; Marri, 2005; Parker, 2003; Schugurensky, 2002). Both fields advocate that instruction should give students the opportunity to practice democracy towards social action. For multicultural educators

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Sleeter and Grant, for example, practicing democracy means “learning to articulate one’s interests, to openly debate issues with one’s peers, to organize and work collectively with others, to acquire [and] to exercise power” (2007, p. 197). It is these and other scholars concerned with social and cultural difference who have begun to close the gap between multicultural education and citizenship education. Overall, scholars in the field of citizenship education have devoted considerable attention to issues of social justice, but primarily at the level of individuals and not at the group level (such as those identified by their cultural heritage).

Despite their common ground, the fields of citizenship education and multicultural education continue to exist relatively independent from each other aside from the work of a small number of researchers. As such, little research has been done in the nascent field of multicultural citizenship education (as a sub-branch of citizenship education), and it is not yet well defined. One of the key issues that need to be investigated further, for example, is the degree to which different cultural perspectives are or are not included in the overall design of citizenship education curricula. Perhaps a more immediate concern, however, is gaining a better understanding of the degree to which issues and topics that reflect multicultural society are included as part of classroom instruction. In other words, are multicultural issues discussed? What topics are included in instruction, and from what perspective? If issues like immigration, language rights, or religious diversity are discussed, what is the overall message that emerges and how does it connect to notions about what it means to be a good citizen? Are people outside of the mainstream presented as “add-ons” who should be tolerated, or are cultural tensions explored and debated from multiple perspectives that take pains not to favour one group over another in terms of who is right and who belongs?

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Research on Citizenship Education that is Responsive to Social and Cultural Diversity

Research that investigates the practice of multicultural citizenship education in public schools is extremely limited. Dilworth (2004) and Marri (2005) provide examples of research undertaken with social studies teachers committed to teaching citizenship education in a way that is responsive to social and cultural difference. A third study probes pre-service teachers' conceptions of teaching for multicultural citizenship education (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008). Dilworth's (2004) and Marri's (2005) research findings reveal that a teacher's civic philosophy is pivotal to the design and implementation of multicultural citizenship education. All teachers in both studies believed that an important goal of their citizenship instruction was to critically prepare students for living in a pluralistic democracy. Dilworth's (2004) study, which probed citizenship instruction with two experienced social studies teachers, revealed that multiple perspectives and the discussion of issues of diversity and democracy—such as racism and discrimination, legislation for illegal immigration, and women's rights—were integral to the provision of citizenship instruction. These teachers used culturally responsive teaching, where the students' distinct cultural backgrounds and experiences were acknowledged and used as an input to the design and provision of instruction. Overall, the students exposed to this method of citizenship instruction reported gaining a deeper understanding into the complexities and gaining different perspectives on a wide variety of issues central to democracy in their multicultural societies (Dilworth 2004, 2008).

Marri's research (2005) with three skilled social studies teachers supports many of Dilworth's findings. Marri found that the teachers' civic pluralistic philosophy was fundamental to the design and provision of instruction where students are seen as active decision makers in the welfare of their society, with democracy viewed as a path that is created with others and not

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just a form of government. The three teachers explicitly taught (a) “the codes of power” or the knowledge and skills students need for academic success, (b) critical thinking skills that allowed the examination of social and historical issues from multiple perspectives, and (c) multicultural content going beyond what is suggested in the official curriculum guidelines (Marri, 2005). Although all of the teachers in both studies aimed at helping students think critically about various public and social issues, none of the teachers specifically employed, as part of their instruction, transformative and active involvement to effect change.

Research findings from a third study that probes five pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching for multicultural citizenship education are rather bleak (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008). For the most part, pre-service teachers’ visions about the kind of citizen they see themselves promoting through their teaching are emergent and often contradictory. To illustrate, all pre-service teachers recognize that teaching controversial issues is important in their classrooms; however, they all express a feeling of uncertainty about how to teach with or about controversial issues. In fact, pre-service teachers would avoid leading class discussions on topics like immigration, racism and homosexuality (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008). Further, the research also reveals that pre-service teachers are reluctant to critically reflect on their own and others’ ethnocentric beliefs and privilege granted by the place they occupy in society. These results raise valid concerns that even when training programs target multicultural citizenship education goals, a transformative approach based on social critique and action might not materialize into the K-12 classrooms (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008).

The Centrality of Civic Equality to Multicultural Citizenship Education

While there have been few empirical studies focusing on these questions, researchers and educators who endorse a multicultural citizenship education approach contend that citizenship

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education needs to be reconceptualized so that students can acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills to live and participate in socio-culturally diverse and globalized societies (Banks, 2004b, 2007, 2008; Dilworth, 2008; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Parker, 2003). For these critics it is fundamental that citizenship education move beyond teaching how government works and about state-granted citizenship rights and duties, beyond merely a recognition of the nations' internal diversity, and beyond the practice of promoting benign or laissez-faire tolerance towards minority individuals and groups. Rather, incorporating the ideal of civic equality is a central dimension of citizenship education and it can be achieved by teaching the complexities, dilemmas and challenges that arise from living in multicultural societies where different identities, perspectives and visions of the common good exist.

I argue that multicultural citizenship education needs to start with the premise that civic equality is the ultimate goal of educating for democratic citizenship. Civic equality can be understood as the structural inclusion of the various ethnic, cultural and socially diverse groups in all aspects of the nation's civic, social, economic and political life (Banks, 2004a, 2007; Gutmann, 2004; Kymlicka, 2004). It requires transforming the structures of civic participation so that those who feel and are often excluded do not find that their difference is an obstacle to full civic participation in the nation's political life (Kymlicka, 2004). Gutmann (2004) describes two ways nations-states tend to respond to social and cultural diversity: tolerance and recognition; notably, these two responses are not mutually exclusive but, rather, are compatible. In many ways, tolerance is the most basic step toward recognition: Tolerance is the respect for practices, beliefs and ways of life than are different from our own. Essentially, tolerance is an expectation of how citizens in a society should behave (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000). In Canada, tolerance is reinforced, for example, through *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988) and the *Canadian*

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Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). In addition, tolerance is identified as a key value to be promoted in school-based citizenship education. The Ontario Civics curriculum, for example, states that students “are [to be] encouraged to identify and clarify their own beliefs and values, and to develop an appreciation for other’s beliefs and values about questions of civic importance” (OMET, 200, p. 63).

While tolerance is fundamental to pluralistic societies, it falls short of promoting civic equality. Tolerance that does not go beyond being respectful of different ways of being, to a large extent, stresses neutrality and positions difference as something that belongs in the private sphere (Creppell, 2003; Gutmann, 2004; Miller, 2000; Phillips, 1993). This in turn creates the notion of equality and sameness among individuals and groups, who in the public realm are united around common democratic principles, such as liberty and equality of opportunities (Creppell, 2003; Gutmann, 2004; Williams, 2003; Young, 1989). In this context, in the realm of the public sphere, it may seem as though difference can be overcome. Tolerance as respect for others does not disrupt the status quo (Creppell, 2003; May, 1999; Young, 1989) and is, in fact, a mechanism for a harmonious coexistence that ignores power differentials. Therefore, for those in the majority group, being tolerant is a display of good will which, in turn, validates the norms and ways of being of the dominant culture (Phillips, 1993).

For Kymlicka (2004) civic equality entails two things: the recognition of diversity and social equality. Recognition of diversity refers to the validation of various group identities, languages, and customs as well as recognition of the contributions they made, and continue to make, to the nation-state. Social equality is concerned with “the equalization of opportunities” so that excluded individuals and groups can participate as equal members in the public realm (Kymlicka, 2004, p. xiv). Recognition of the histories, struggles and contributions of various

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cultural communities and groups, then, is fundamental to meaningful citizenship and participation. Only when one feels included is s/he is ready to develop “clarified commitments to the nation-state and its ideals” (Banks, 2008, p. 61). In the context of the school, a critical step toward recognition is designing school curricula to include the struggles, perspectives, and contributions of the distinct groups that comprise society (Banks, 2003; Gay, 2010a; Gutmann, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). Recognition leads to the possibility of the construction of a *flexible* citizenship, one that recognizes and allows for the expression of civic identities that are multiple, multi-textured and multi-layered.

Can schools, through their school-based citizenship education programs, promote civic equality? Further research is needed to answer this question. At present it is understood that social and cultural difference cannot be disassociated from teaching about good citizenship—because how a person thinks and behaves, quite simply, is informed by his/her cultural and social background. However, further research is needed to better comprehend the complexities of students’ civic identifications, especially among culturally diverse students, and further research is needed to delineate specific strategies and approaches through which citizenship education can affirm social and cultural difference while promoting common bonds among members from diverse racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

Concluding Remarks

This study investigates the practice of citizenship education in multicultural school contexts. An important goal of this inquiry is to understand the prevailing conceptions of good citizenship and of good citizenship education that govern citizenship education efforts, and the extent to which citizenship education aims to prepare students to be citizens for a multicultural, pluralistic democratic society. Any efforts to educate for good citizenship are informed and

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shaped by fundamental notions of citizenship and multiculturalism. In this thesis, these larger understandings help illuminate the particular ways in which they influence teachers' conceptions of what educating for good citizenship is in the context of a socially and culturally diverse society like Canada. In addition, two theories—one concerned with conceptions of good citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) and another focusing on approaches to multicultural content integration (Banks, 2003) from the fields of citizenship education and multicultural education respectively—are used as analytical lenses to examine the practice of citizenship education in four Grade 10 multicultural classrooms. Conceptions of good citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) help illuminate teachers' understandings of what good citizenship is and how they, through their citizenship education pedagogy, promote such visions.

Approaches to multicultural content integration (Banks, 2003) are useful in understanding whether and in what ways teachers respond to the social and cultural diversity as represented in the classroom and in society at large. In addition, this theory helps identify the extent to which multicultural content is taught as part of citizenship instruction.

Banks' (2003) approaches to multicultural content integration and Westheimer & Kahne's (2004) citizenship education framework, although coming from different fields, each stress the need to engage with critical, reflective and transformative pedagogy. While Banks (2003) is concerned with giving voice to the issues and perspectives of minority groups, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) highlight the need to help students understand how power operates and the structures and conditions that maintain inequalities. Hence both of these frameworks are complementary to a citizenship education concerned with social transformation and civic equality across groups. In addition, these frameworks can be used to better understand, on one hand, how teachers conceptualize what it means to be a good citizen and how this

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influences citizenship education instruction and, on the other, how civics teachers foster or ignore social, cultural and political pluralism in their instruction. While my research is centred primarily on understanding the practice of citizenship education, it aims to help bridge the gap between the field of citizenship education and that of multicultural education.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A research design is a plan that indicates how a study will be conducted (Creswell, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988). The purpose of this chapter is to present a detailed description of the research design this study followed. I first discuss the case study research approach that was used, along with a description of the schools that participated in this research. I then detail the data collection methods and analysis. Next, I review the provision of the research's quality and trustworthiness. Finally, I present a description with salient characteristics of each of the schools that participated in this research. Overall, the research design can be characterized as a comparative multiple case analysis grounded in primary evidence gained through classroom observations, formal interviews with both teachers and students, and the collection and analysis of curricular materials.

Research Approach: Multiple Case Study

This study focusing on how citizenship education occurs in multicultural classrooms utilizes a qualitative research framework. Qualitative research is a process of inquiry that seeks to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena (Creswell, 1998). This study, which analyzes the meanings and issues that surround one of the critical missions of schooling, that of educating students for good citizenship in multicultural school contexts, is grounded in an empirical approach to understanding how teaching of citizenship education in the required Grade 10 Civics (CHV20) takes place in multicultural classrooms. This is an area that has been barely explored in both the multicultural education and citizenship education fields. A qualitative research design is best suited to conduct this research because it allows the exploration of the

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multiple complexities and nuances of teaching citizenship education in multicultural schools (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 2006).

I chose to use a multiple case study approach for this research to provide the empirical basis necessary for understanding how citizenship education takes place in the classroom, as well as to provide a broader range of evidence and to allow me to undertake a comparative analysis. Merriam (1988) contends that case study research is both a research design in its own and a strategy of inquiry that can be used to study social phenomena systematically and rigorously. A case study is “the exploration of a ‘bounded system’ ... through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” (Creswell, 1998, p. 61). As a bounded system, the case is both an integrated system consisting of parts, members and processes and the entity under study, in this instance the Grade 10 Civics course (CHV20) (Stake, 2006). A multiple case study is recommended for the examination of complex programs, issues or phenomena. Its main goal is to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study by studying the entity in various natural situations (Stake, 2006). Through an exploration of the “particular activity and context of the case,” it is possible to understand the complex meanings and relations of the phenomenon under study (Stake, 2006, p. 40).

This research is both a descriptive and explanatory multiple case study (Yin, 2003). It is descriptive because it is based on classroom observations; interviews with teachers and students; and the analysis of citizenship policy and curricular documents. As such, it describes how citizenship education works in each school setting. It is explanatory because, through a cross-case analysis, it aims at building theory about citizenship education in multicultural classrooms (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2003).

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In what follows, I address ethical issues that need to be considered when conducting research in schools, where researchers interact with teachers and students. I explain the procedures the research followed to gain the necessary clearances to conduct the study. I begin by making explicit my—me, the researcher’s—perspectives that influence the entire research process. Then, I explain how the cases were selected and how access to school sites and participants were obtained.

Researcher’s Background and Assumptions

In qualitative research, the researcher “is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data” (Merriam, 1988, p. 36). As a qualitative inquiry is never neutral nor value-free, it seems appropriate to clarify how I have dealt with what has been called “the researcher bias” (Creswell, 1998; Maxwell, 2005; Powell, 2006), or my personal beliefs and values (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Powell, 2006). My research is intimately connected to my past and current experiences and social positionings. The assumptions that I brought to this research are rooted on my views about education acquired through my own schooling experiences as a lower-middle class student in Honduras, and later as a school teacher and university professor. More recently, my position as an immigrant Latina woman living in Canada has led to further reflections on the purpose of schooling in multicultural societies.

My own educational process in schools where I was mainly a recipient of information contrasted with my outside involvement in youth- and workers-based organizations for social justice and made me realize the importance of what Freire calls the “pedagogía de la liberación” (1970). These and other experiences led me to believe that critical pedagogy is the most suitable approach to educate reflective and civically-involved citizens. Critical pedagogy is concerned with teaching youngsters to question reality in order to empower individuals to transform the

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structures of society that promote and maintain inequality, a major goal of educating for democratic citizenship (Freire, 1970; McLaren, 2007). Later as a teacher and professor, I committed myself to teach for social awareness and justice with and through critical pedagogy.

Presently my experience as an immigrant and visible minority living in Canada coming to terms with understanding myself as a citizen in a new context informs my perception of how we should educate for good citizenship. Judging from my own experience, I believe that citizenship goes beyond legal status and the political and legal structures upon which democracy rests. To a large extent, citizenship is a process through which people come to understand themselves as citizens. Citizenship is a process and there are multiple ways and levels of being a citizen. Therefore, an important goal of citizenship education is to help students clarify their citizenship identities.

In an effort to understand my own subjectivity and to keep my biases “in check,” during the research process, I needed to engage in reflexivity, “a conscious use of reflection to examine [my] own personal biases, views and motivations and to develop self-awareness in [my] interactions with others” by recording my emotions, interpretations, and the ways in which I experience various situations (Powell, 2006, p. 36). While conducting the research I also needed to think about how my presence and my immigrant and visible minority status might influence the reactions of the teachers and students. For example, when visiting the classrooms and interviewing teachers, I needed to be cognizant that unwittingly my visible minority status could make teachers feel uncomfortable when I asked them about citizenship education for minority students. In addition, due to the ethnographic techniques I used to conduct this case study, I needed to reflect on how I was positioned simultaneously as both an insider and an outsider. As an insider, I share some of the students’ socio-cultural characteristics. I could also identify

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myself in the teacher's role of organizing and providing instruction. Nevertheless, I was also an outsider to the process, as a doctoral student conducting research in an educational setting. I believe that my combined insider/outsider status has helped me to have a more holistic perspective into the issues, contradictions and dilemmas of educating citizens in diverse schools. I hope that through my research findings, I can gain further insights into how educators, myself included, can do a better job providing a kind of citizenship education that empowers young people to act in the pursuit of the common public good.

Case Selection

Case study methodologist Stake recommends that a multiple case study design should include between four to ten individual cases. Three or fewer cases “do not show enough of the interactivity between programs and their situations” and more than 10 “provides more uniqueness of interactivity” than it is possible to come to understand (2006, p. 22). My multiple case study includes four cases of the Grade 10 Civics class (CHV20) taught in three high schools, broadening the empirical base and providing a basis for comparisons. Nevertheless, while the research does not intend to be exclusively comparative (each case tells its own independent story), each case is examined in comparison to the other cases to understand the commonalities, differences, and ultimately contribute new empirical knowledge towards the design and implementation of multicultural citizenship education programs (Stake, 2006).

To select the four cases, I used a criterion-based sampling method (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) where all cases meet pre-established criteria for quality assurance (Creswell, 1998). For the purposes of this research, it was crucial to select public high schools in the Ottawa region that are racially and ethnically diverse and that enroll a large immigrant student population. Schools were selected according to three criteria. First, the schools would have to offer English as a

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Second Language (ESL) program. Second, high schools would need to teach at least one Grade 10 Civics course in the Regular English Program. Thirdly, all schools would belong to the same school board to avoid the need to consider instructional differences stemming from different school board policies.

To select schools according to these criteria, I first identified the schools that offer ESL programs in two of the four school boards serving the City of Ottawa⁷. School boards advise their English language learners, usually immigrant students, to enroll in the nearest high school that offers the ESL program to improve their language proficiency. Once I had a list of the schools that offer an ESL program, I then identified the schools that offer the civics course as part of their Regular English Program (i.e., not in French). With a list of schools for two school boards, I then decided to invite schools from what I call the Ottawa School Board first. At the Ottawa School Board there are six schools that offer an ESL program. This decision was made based on the fact that the other school board has an explicit commitment to provide a Christian-based education, a commitment that could influence the design and delivery of citizenship instruction. The identified schools at the Ottawa School Board were the ones that were recruited. That process will be discussed in the next section.

The established criteria to select the participating schools served various purposes. On one hand, it aimed at obtaining a representative, typical sample of the case, the Grade 10 Civics course (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 2006). As such, this sample presents examples of multicultural schools where the Grade 10 Civics course is taught. As such, this sample presents examples of how citizenship education is taught in multicultural high schools found in diverse, urban centres in Ontario. In addition, belonging to the same school board provides a common ground to focus

⁷ Only two school boards were considered to participate in the research as English is their language of instruction; whereas, the other boards provide instruction in French.

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on the processes, meanings and contextual factors involved in educating for good citizenship and it reduces the influence of variation of civic instruction due to school board policies (Maxwell, 2005). While citizenship education is greatly shaped by various factors, such as gender, social class, ability, ethnicity and race, this research looks closely at the focuses on the category of immigration to understand how it frames and influences citizenship instruction. For the purposes of this study, immigrant students are students born outside of Canada, identified with the letter (I), and those whose parents were both born outside of Canada, identified with the symbol (1st).

Research Ethics Protocols

To conduct the research, approval was first sought first from University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board (REB) (Appendix A) and then from the Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee (OCRAC) (Appendix B). Once approved by both institutions, I listed the schools that met the research criteria from two school boards in the City of Ottawa. I then decided to invite schools in one school board, which I call the Ottawa School Board.

I approached the school principal or vice-principal and the civics teachers in the selected schools to invite them to participate in the research. In an interview with the civics teacher and a school administrator, I presented myself, the purpose of my study and answered questions. I also gave each person a research portfolio that included a letter of invitation and a summary of the research goals and terms of participation in the study (Appendix C). Three civics teachers in three high schools accepted the invitation to participate in the research. The fourth case was added later. As I conducted interviews with other teachers who were teaching or had taught the civics course, one of them, Ms. Montgomery, expressed interest in participating in the research. I decided to conduct research in two civics classrooms in the same school to further investigate whether citizenship education is similar or different in the same high school context; and if it is

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different, it is important to understand in what ways and what can explain the difference. In addition, this case selection strategy—of having two cases in the same school—contributes to further probe the role teachers have in the design and provision of citizenship education.

With the teachers' approval to participate in the research, we established a research schedule. I respected teachers' preference as to when to start visiting the classroom and for how long. In addition, I asked them to sign the consent form (Appendix D). I also requested to visit the civics classroom to introduce myself and the research to the students before data collection began. In this initial meeting, I gave each student a letter to inform them about the research for them to keep (Appendix E). Students had the opportunity to ask questions. They were curious about me as a doctoral student and a researcher. For example, some wanted to know how many degrees a person has to have to do a doctorate, while others asked about my background and the reasons I had to investigate citizenship education. In this initial meeting, I gave each student an information letter (Appendix F) and a consent form (Appendix G) to take to their parents or guardians. The information letter for the parents/guardians, which they could keep, explained the research objectives, the scheduled visits to the classroom, and what student participation in the research would entail. The consent forms were returned to the civics teacher signed by the parents or guardians. Students 18 and older received an information letter (Appendix E) and a consent form (Appendix H) that they could sign. Those students, 17 and younger, who volunteered to participate in the interview were asked to sign an assent form (Appendix I).

The students who wanted to participate in an interview let the civics teacher know that they wished to do that. Only those students whose parents signed the consent form and that wanted to participate in the interview were interviewed. In the four classrooms, students volunteered to be interviewed, thus, securing student participants was not an issue. Researcher-

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student rapport was established fairly quickly. For the most part, students felt comfortable talking about what they were learning in the civics class.

Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods are the tools to answer the research questions (Maxwell, 2005). Therefore, the research design needs to pay special attention to the congruence between the research questions, data sources and data collection instruments (Maxwell, 2005). A case study design writes Creswell “involves the widest array of data collection as the researcher attempts to build an in-depth picture of the case” (1998, p. 123). The three primary data collection methods to conduct this study were: non-participant observations of class instruction, interviews, and citizenship related document analysis. Table 3.1 summarizes the time spent in the field, the number of classroom observations and interviews conducted at each site.

Non-participant Observation of Class Instruction

Observing is a data collection technique that provides firsthand experience into the social phenomenon that is under study. By carefully observing and listening (Spradley, 1980), in this case to citizenship instruction, it is possible to have a better understanding of what it is like to educate for good citizenship in multicultural classrooms. For example, one can see the activities teachers and students engage in when instructing for good citizenship and how students respond to the teaching process (Cresswell, 1998; Spradley, 1980). In observing class instruction, citizenship related community-based activities, and school events the focus was on the teacher’s efforts. Observations in each classroom ranged from 10 to 15 sessions of 75 minutes each to account for a total of 58 hours of observations. While in the classroom, my role as a researcher consisted on observing the civic classes without becoming an active participant in participants’ behaviours, interactions and roles in teaching about citizenship (Spradley, 1980). In addition,

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observations provide valuable information into the school's culture manifested through the school rules, norms, organization in which the teaching and learning of citizenship education is immersed, and the contextual factors, such as educational policies that frame the teaching and learning of citizenship education. Therefore, it is possible to assess the teaching-learning process that happens in the classroom and how it relates to, or is influenced or not, by larger structures such as the school culture and school board and ministry of education policies.

Table 3.1 Summary of data collection

	Spruce High School Case 1	Spruce High School Case 2	Maple High School Case 3	Willow High School Case 4
Class size	22 students	9 students	29 students	20 students
Time in the field	May 28 – June 12, 2008	January 7 – 21, 2008	May 13 - June 6, 2008	January 7 – 22, 2008
Classroom observations	11	10	15	10
Total of hours observed	13 hours and 15 minutes	12 hours and 30 minutes	18 hours and 45 minutes	12 hours and 30 minutes
Teacher interview	1	1	1	1
Student interviews	Individual: 3 Focus groups: 2 Total number of interviews: 5 Total number of students interviewed: 9	Individual: 6 Total number of students interviewed: 6	Individual: 6 Focus groups: 1 Total number of interviews: 7 Total number of students interviewed: 8	Individual: 5 Focus groups: 1 Total number of interviews: 6 Total number of students interviewed: 7

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I did both descriptive and focused observations (Spradley, 1980). Descriptive observations tried to gain an overview of how citizenship education occurs in each classroom, while focused observations attend to specific aspects that are relevant to the research. To record classroom observations, I wrote *field notes entries* and I used an *observation protocol* (Creswell, 1998). Field notes entries were written after each observation into my *fieldwork journal*. My aim was to describe all the events I witnessed in the classroom as well as my impressions and interpretations that came to mind and questions I had. The observation protocol (Appendix J), which helped to guide focused observations, addressed four aspects drawn from the citizenship education literature, which looked into key aspects of citizenship education: (a) classroom characteristics, (b) the content and nature of citizenship instruction, (c) teaching methodology and (d) conceptions of good citizenship and of good citizenship education. The observation protocol helped me to both keep sight of and to identify the content and objectives of civic lessons, the civic knowledge, values, skills, and behaviours promoted through instruction, the methodological approaches (e.g., class discussions) and learning resources employed (e.g., newspapers, documentaries). I also observed, whenever scheduled, other school activities that the teacher and the students participated in, such as school ceremonies and community-based events.

To ensure the quality of observations, I followed Spradley's verbatim principle. As it is not possible to write down everything that is said in a classroom, what the field researcher should aim for is to record a "*verbatim record of what people say*" (1980, p. 67, emphasis in original). Thus, when I wrote field notes entries, I quoted key words and phrases that were used to write detailed accounts of what happened. In addition, to guarantee the accuracy of observations, I wrote the field note entries the same day that the observation took place.

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Interviews

Spradley (1980) distinguishes two types of interviews: informal and formal. Informal interviews occur when questions are asked to participants during the course of an observation (Spradley, 1980). Informal questions often result from having informal conversations with the participants. Formal interviews, by contrast, follow a formal request to have an interview (Spradley, 1980). In this research, I used both formal and informal interviews. Informal interviews helped to inform the research findings since they allowed me to ask clarifying questions that emerged from the classroom observations. I also conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews with each civics teacher and students taking the course. Semi-structured protocols were designed in order to gain insights from the participants into the different aspects and categories of citizenship education (Spradley, 1980). Interviews with the teachers lasted from 45 minutes to an hour and followed a set of guiding questions (Appendix K). In this research, interviews were seen as “conversations with a purpose” into the process of teaching and learning about citizenship education (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 268). The questions were used as a guide; thus, they were adapted or expanded according to the information collected through observations and to the individual teacher interviewed. Civics teachers’ interviews were central to elicit their perspectives and insights into their conceptions and purposes of educating for good citizenship, their goals and student learning expectations of their instruction efforts. In addition, interviews were critical to further clarify the intentions of their classroom choices. I was able to ask them questions about the intentions behind the decisions that they made in their classroom instruction. Teacher interviews provided valuable insights into the governing ideas about good citizenship and good citizenship education as well as the challenges, constraints, and dilemmas faced in educating for good citizenship in multicultural settings.

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I also conducted individual and focus group interviews with students taking the class. I conducted 24 interviews with 30 immigrant and non-immigrant students. Interviews with 17 male and 13 female students were conducted with a mix of both genders in all cases. To keep track of the immigrant status of the students interviewed, I asked them where they and their parents were born. I identify three types of migratory status. The students who were born in Canada and whose parents were born in Canada were coded with a “W.” The students who are first-generation immigrants were identified with a “1st.” The students born outside Canada were identified with an “I.” For first-generation immigrant students, I kept a record of the students’ and parents’ country of origin. Table 3.2 visually presents the students’ immigrant status in each class.

Table 3.2 Migratory status of students who were interviewed

	White	Immigrant/ born outside Canada	1 st generation immigrant	Total students
Case 1 at Spruce High School	2 ^a	1	3	6 ^b
Case 2 at Spruce High School	2	3	1	6
Case 3 at Maple High School	3	3	2	8
Case 4 at Willow High School	3	2	2	7

^a One of the two White students is an immigrant from the UK. Thus, for the purposes of this research, the student immigrant status is considered White. ^b The immigrant status of three students in this class was not recorded.

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The students' backgrounds greatly varied. In Spruce classrooms, for example, students are immigrants from four continents represented in the countries of Zimbabwe and Nigeria; Pakistan, Syria and Vietnam; UK and Bulgaria; and Jamaica. In Maple and Willow high schools, the majority of the immigrant students interviewed were from the Middle East and Africa. More specifically, in Maple high school out of five immigrant students interviewed, two were either born or first generation from Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates; two other students were from Nigeria and Somalia, and one other student from Afghanistan. In Willow High school, out of four immigrant students interviewed, two were born or first generation from Lebanon, one from Jamaica and one other student's parents were from Somalia and Bhutan.

Interviews with students lasted between 15 to 40 minutes and followed an interview guide (Appendix L). The questions were used as a guide; thus, they were adapted or expanded to ask, for example, about specific learning activities that I observed. Interviews took place in a separate private room at the school during school hours; however, in some schools it was difficult to find a private room for interviewing students. Often civics teachers helped securing a private room. In a few instances student interviews were interrupted by the school staff, who for different reasons needed to access the assigned room. Student interviews were used as a complementary source of data to gain the perspective of the students in learning about citizenship education. The interviews sought to understand from both immigrant and non-immigrant students what they report learning in the civic class and the relevance of such lessons. In addition, I explored how they understand what a good citizen is and what a good citizens do as well as how they see themselves as citizens. Student interviews shed light not only on how they understand citizenship, but how their conceptions are either aligned or differ from those of their

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teachers. All interviews followed a semi-structured, open-ended format and were tape-recorded and later transcribed verbatim.

Document Analysis

Document analysis included citizenship education-related documents, such as provincially prescribed citizenship education curricula, curriculum guidelines and school acts. I also analyzed school board-produced citizenship education materials. Document analysis also included the instructional materials used by the teachers to provide instruction, such as handouts and videos as well as examples of students' classroom work. To access students' work, I requested permission from their parents in the consent form as well as from the teacher.

Researcher's Journal

A researcher's journal was kept throughout the study. This is a "rigorous documentary tool" that provides assistance in making decisions about data collection, analysis and interpretation (Janesick, 2000, p. 392). In here, I documented my perceptions, observations, feelings, and insights during the research process.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is a critical step in the research process to find and clarify the meaning(s) of the phenomenon under study (Stake, 2006). In this research data analysis occurred concurrently and recurrently through data collection and interpretation. The overall approach to data analysis for this multiple case study followed the procedures outlined by Stake (2006) and Miles and Huberman (1994), and it was further informed by Ragin (2000), and follows two phases: within-case and cross-case analyses. For the case researcher, highlights Stake (2006), there is a "healthy tension" between balancing the particularity of each case and the generalization or in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study. The analysis for multiple case research begins

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with the particular, producing individual case reports with the main findings for each case, which help to “partially” answer the research questions (Stakes, 2006).

Phase 1: Individual Case Analysis

The individual case analysis presents a detailed picture of how citizenship education occurs in each classroom. I began the data analysis by reading and re-reading the data in order to identify initial categories, patterns and themes. Then, I developed initial categories which emerged from the fields of citizenship education and multicultural education and the two theoretical frameworks guiding this research: Westheimer and Kahne’s citizenship framework (2004) and Banks’ (2003) approaches to multicultural content integration. As such, I identified four fairly broad categories: civic knowledge, citizenship participation, multicultural education and justice-oriented citizenship education. Initially, in each case, data was assigned to each of the aforementioned categories. As data was re-read and assigned to each category, themes and subthemes began to emerge; therefore, data was reassigned to a theme or subtheme. As advised by Stake (2006), throughout this iterative analysis process, the data were reviewed for discrepancies and disconfirming instances; and these were recorded and kept separately to decide whether they could be addressed within a theme or category or if they stood alone because they warranted special attention.

In the individual case analysis phase a case report was written, which was closely structured around the four broad categories, which are closely connected to the research questions. Therefore, the case reports aim, on one hand, to contextually answer each research question, and on the other, to identify the issues and themes for the cross-case analysis. Thus, each case report aims to explain both the essential characteristics of the citizenship education process (content, teaching strategies and responsiveness to the multicultural nature of the class,

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or the lack of) and the conceptions of good citizenship and of good citizenship education that govern in each classroom.

Phase 2: Cross-case Analysis

The cross-case analysis aims at gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study, in this case citizenship education in multicultural classrooms. More specifically, the aim of the cross-case analysis “is to see the processes and outcomes across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions, and thus develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 172). The individual cases are the foundation for the cross case analysis, which begins by identifying the commonalities and differences across cases.

In this research, the cross-case analysis has been approached as “the study of diversity,” or the investigation of patterns of commonalities and differences present across cases in order to build theory, in this case, about multicultural citizenship education (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011). Commonalities are seen as those relevant features, aspects and conditions in the provision of citizenship education found across all cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Ragin, 2000; Stake, 2006). Differences, then, are the features, aspects and conditions that make not only each case unique, but that might provide valuable insights into the dynamics and outcomes of educating for good citizenship in multicultural classroom contexts (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011).

At the heart of this cross-case analysis is identifying the relationship between citizenship education and multicultural education. To understand the nature of this relationship or the lack of, each case is seen as a configuration, and it is within the internal configuration of the case that a relationship can be established (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Understanding each case as a configuration means that “the different parts of the whole are understood in relation to one

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another and in terms of the total picture or package that they form” (Ragin, 2000, p. 68). In this research, the citizenship goals, content, teaching techniques, and attendance, or not, to multiculturalism are analyzed to see how they combine to produce a particular kind of citizenship education.

There are various strategies to conduct the cross-case analysis and how a researcher proceeds depends largely on the questions the research is intended to answer as well as the findings yielded by the individual cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 2006). In this research the cross-case analysis closely followed Ragin’s methods to analyze patterns of diversity⁸ (2000). The first step was identifying configurational differences across cases, or how the cases were similar and varied from each other. To do this, I turned each dimension of the analytical framework (personally-responsible, participatory, justice-oriented and multiculturalism) into a component or attribute of citizenship education. Then, I identify the presence/absence of the component or attribute in each case. What resulted from this initial exploration is that the cases “differ by kind or type” specifically in terms of the classroom practices teachers employ to promote active civic engagement (Ragin, 2000, p. 74). Another relation the research found is that teachers’ conceptions of good citizenship and their associated ways to promote civic engagement influence whether and how citizenship education responds to social and cultural diversity.

The identification of types is not based on simplistic relations of one variable for example, but rather on complex configurations with shared patterns and characteristics (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Consequently, another layer of analysis was performed with the goal of identifying the elements and characteristics of the emergent types of practices for civic

⁸ It is important to note that Ragin’s diversity-oriented research methodology is concerned with the study of a large number of cases, about 20 (Ragin 2000, Ragin & Amoroso, 2011). However, I use the concepts and procedures he puts forward to systematically study difference across the cases. Particularly useful to this research has been his approach to the case as a configuration wherein parts and aspects are combined in different ways which produces different results.

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engagement in order to present a context of what the type looks like as seen in the situated classroom experience.

Quality

Quality refers to the credibility of the research findings (Maxwell, 2005). However, identifying standards of quality and verification for qualitative research is an issue of debate among the community of qualitative researchers. For qualitative researchers, the conventional criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity are not appropriate for qualitative research since these criteria value the notion of naïve realism—the belief that there is an apprehendable truth out there—which in turn emphasizes the salience of method(s) over interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Yet, the quality of a qualitative inquiry lies in the “conflation between method and interpretation” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 178). In other words, method by itself does not yield local and context-grounded findings, but such results emerge from the process of interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Therefore, in qualitative research argues Lincoln and Guba (2000) there are two parallel forms of research rigour: of method and interpretation. Any qualitative inquiry is faced with the question: can the research findings be trusted?

This research—a context-bounded interpretative inquiry—follows Lincoln and Guba’s (1985, 2000) trustworthiness criteria, which includes four components: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability, which together serve to assess the rigor with which a research endeavor has been conducted (Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000; Merriam, 1988). Each criterion and the sources of trustworthiness in this study are discussed. While efforts have been made to ensure the rigour of this inquiry, it is

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important to note that there are limitations to this study that need to be considered. This section ends with a discussion of the limitations of the study.

Trustworthiness of the Research

Credibility. The first criterion refers to whether the research findings capture and properly represent a credible construction of the phenomena under study. Three techniques are built in this research design to ensure the credibility of the findings: prolonged engagement in the field, constant observation and triangulation. Prolonged engagement aims at building trust and learning about the culture of those under study, in this particular case, the classroom culture that contextualizes the teaching and learning of citizenship education in multicultural classrooms (Creswell, 1998, Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addition, prolonged engagement in the field also allows to “check[...] for misinformation that stem from distortions introduced by the researcher or [the participants]” (Creswell, 1998, p. 201). Although there are no rules regarding how long is sufficient time on the site, a general good rule is when things happen repeatedly, thus there is nothing new to learn (Spindler & Spindler, 1997). Observations of citizenship instruction took place for a minimum of one quarter of the total of instructional time in each civics classroom. In two classes, I spent a total of three full weeks which amounts to a one-third of the total instructional time. In Willow High School, the teacher invited me to attend classes for a full week to get familiar with the class and students, but without collecting any data. In Maple High School, I collected data for three weeks. During the time I spent in the classrooms I carried out constant observation to identify the characteristics and elements that are relevant to teaching for good citizenship in multicultural classrooms. Engagement in the field and constant observation allowed me to document how citizenship education is taught in each classroom.

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Triangulation, the third strategy of quality assurance, was sought in three ways: triangulation of sources, of methods and of analysis. Triangulation of sources includes interviews with the classroom teachers and students taking the course to gain their perspectives into citizenship education. The use of different methods of data collection—interviews, observations, and document analysis—aim at clarifying meaning and corroborating the research findings. Finally, as contended by Stake, a case study must triangulate findings within and across cases. Triangulation then is first assured within the cases by making sure that the picture of each case is “as clear and suitably as we can get it, relatively free from our own biases, and not likely to mislead the reader” (2006, p. 77). Triangulation of a single case in turn assures that the process of triangulation across cases since the “assertions” or the findings about the phenomenon under study are rooted in the case findings, which are rooted on the how citizenship education occurs and is experienced in public high schools (Stake, 2006).

Transferability. It refers to whether or not the findings can be generalized and applicable to other situations. Two strategies are used in this research that aids an assessment of the transferability of the research findings to other situations. One is thick description and the other is comparison across cases. Thick description is a strategy through which readers can determine whether the findings can be transferable to similar educational contexts or situations (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As such, I provide detailed descriptions of each classroom context and the processes involved in citizenship education.

Dependability. In qualitative research dependability is the criteria for reliability, which relates to whether the same results can be obtained given that the research is repeated again with the same or similar subjects under the same or similar contexts. However, obtaining the same results in a qualitative inquiry is extremely unlikely since qualitative research is largely

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interpretative, thus even in similar conditions, researchers might arrive at different conclusions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988). Therefore, in qualitative research dependability lies in the research design; in ensuring that the study has followed a “logical, traceable, and [well] documented” process (Schwandt, 1997, p. 164). Dependability can be ensured by the same techniques used in credibility—prolonged engagement in the field, constant observation and triangulation—since “there can be... no credibility without dependability” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 316). Yet, dependability also pays close attention to the data collection, analysis and interpretation so that both the research data and findings are dependable, consistent and accurate as they properly describe the phenomenon under study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Merriam, 1988). To enhance the dependability of this research, I used specific data management strategies, such as the creation of a fieldwork journal wherein field notes entries were registered and properly identified by date, school and classroom as well as audiotaping and transcribing verbatim the participants’ interviews. These strategies increase the dependability of the findings because they provide a reliable record of the raw data used in this research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Confirmability. This fourth criterion exists when the research results are “determined by the subjects (respondents) and conditions of an inquiry and not by the biases, motivations [and] interests... of the inquirer” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). A rigorous and systematic methodological approach can ensure confirmability. Lincoln and Guba suggest three strategies that are adopted in this research: triangulation, reflexive journal and an audit trail. The first two have already been explained in previous sections. The audit trail consists in verifying if the interpretations and conclusions are properly supported by the data. To do so, it is important to describe in detail the data collection methods, the strategies of analysis and interpretation, which is one of the main purposes of this chapter. “Essentially, researchers should present their

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methods in such detail ‘that other researchers can use the original report as an operating manual by which to replicate the study’” (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, cited in Merriam, 1988, pp. 172-173).

Ethics

This research followed the Tri-Council Policy for Research on Human Subjects guidelines and the Ottawa-Carleton Council School Board in-school research requirements. Participation in the research was voluntary and the anonymity of the participants and the schools is being protected by the use of pseudonymous and the removal of any potential revealing data. Furthermore, the participants’ personal and cultural beliefs and/or activities were not judged as the research tried to understand the teaching of citizenship education in Ontario public schools.

Limitations of the Study

As with all research, there are limitations to the interpretation of the research findings. In this research, limitations stem primarily from the scope of the study and methodology employed. This study took place in four Civics classrooms; therefore the sample it is not meant to be representative of all high schools in Ontario. The sample is too small, and therefore, it is not possible to make definitive generalizations or extrapolations about citizenship education for the entire school board. Nevertheless, the themes and theoretical constructs developed from these particular cases still provide valuable insights about how citizenship education takes place in multicultural settings, particularly for schools that share similar characteristics (Creswell, 1998; Stakes, 2006).

Another limitation is that there are many other potentially influential variables at play (e.g., local neighborhood, events or organizations, socioeconomic status) that the study cannot

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control for. However, an effort has been made to situate the cases by providing the relevant the context and relationships that characterize each case (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1988).

Finally, in any qualitative inquiry, the researcher is the main research instrument. The research design including the interpretation of the findings is colored by the researcher's personal experiences (i.e., school teacher and immigrant) and own biases of for example my own believes of what good citizenship education should be. Nevertheless, efforts were made to minimize this limitation. I systematically used the researcher journal, to reflect on what I observed and heard during class instruction, interviews and interactions with the participants throughout the research.

Sample Group Characteristics

Before reporting on the research findings, the focus of chapter 4 through 8, a description of the school board and the schools that participated in this research is presented. For each one, a profile that highlights relevant characteristics, such as location, student enrolment, programs offered and demographic statistics has been developed. The intent is that these profiles help contextualize the research findings.

The research was undertaken in three high schools all belonging to the same school board. The Ottawa School Board is the largest board serving the City of Ottawa and the seventh in the province of Ontario. It has under its supervision 150 schools across the city out of which 25 are secondary schools (School Board [SB], 2009). The board offers a wide range of programs including elementary and secondary education as well as a vocational, alternate and an adult day program. At the secondary level, two language programs are offered: French Immersion and the Regular English program. Other programs include ESL and English Literacy Development (ELD), which focuses on improving the learners' English skills, and special education programs

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for exceptional students including a gifted program. In October 9, 2009 the Ottawa School Board reported an enrolment of 24,823 students at the secondary level and 47,606 students at the elementary level for a total of 72,429 students across schools (SB, 2010).

School boards in the city of Ottawa do not make public statistics about their student demographics, such as migratory status, ethnicity, income, and language. Nevertheless, in their web-sites, they do acknowledge the rich social and cultural diversity found in their schools. The Ottawa School Board, for example, states its commitment to “value, embrace, and encourage diversity in our schools” (SB, n.d.). Furthermore, the school board has in place an antiracism and equity education program which aims at creating “a welcoming environment, free from prejudice and racism, where cultures are valued” (SB, n.d.). In what follows, I present relevant information of each school participating in this research.

Spruce High School. It is located in a central residential neighborhood and it is one of the largest high schools serving the city of Ottawa, with an enrolment of 1474 students (SB, 2010). According to the *School Report Cards* by the Fraser Institute (a Canadian think tank organization), 17.3% of its student population is ESL, which means that a total of 255 students that attend Spruce High School first language is other than English. In addition, 10.6% of the population is reported to have special needs. The parents’ average annual income at this schools is \$92,900 (ninety two thousand nine hundred dollars) the highest among all ESL secondary schools. Based on the compulsory provincial standardized testing performance in Grade 9 Math and the results from the Ontario Secondary School Literacy Test (OSSLT) administered by the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO), Spruce High School was graded 7.1/10, which is above the 6/10 average for all secondary schools in 2009. In addition, it received an actual grading of 0.4 predicted on based on the parents’ average income. This latter grading

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means that the school is exceeding expectations based on predicted performance due to family income level. It is important to note, however, that the report does not explain the procedures employed to reach this conclusion.

Maple High School. It is located in a suburban neighborhood in the south end of the city, but not far from the city's downtown core. It has an enrolment of 747 students (SB, 2010). According to their website, the school offers both a French Immersion program and French extended certificate (school website, n.d.). Maple High School is a very multicultural school wherein 24.9% of students are ESL learners. In addition, 20% of the student population is reported to have special needs. \$62,100 (sixty two thousand one hundred dollars) is the average income of the families whose children attend this school. In 2009, the school received a 5.7/10 rating, which is just below the average 6.0 for the year 2009 (Fraser Institute, 2009). Compared to the predicted performance based on the families' income level, the school received a 0.1 rating, which means that the school performs as expected for their family income level (Fraser Institute, 2009).

Willow High School. This school is located in a suburban neighborhood at the south of the city. The school has a population of 669 students. This school is one of the most multicultural schools in the city of Ottawa and the one that reports the highest percentage of ESL students: 30.2%, the largest percentage of all secondary schools that offer ESL program (Fraser Institute, 2009). In fact, during my initial interview with the school principal, she commented that over 70 countries and languages are represented in the students' background (personal communication, May 8, 2008); yet, there is a higher Middle Eastern student population. At the entrance of the school, there is a one and a half meter mural with the word "hello" spelled in various languages spoken by the students at the school. At the center of the mural, there is the school name and the

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word welcome. Surrounding the drawing are pictures of youth from different ethnic and racial backgrounds. The school has 23.6% of students with special needs. With a family average income of \$50,600 (fifty thousand six hundred dollars), it is the second lowest income for an ESL secondary school in the Ottawa School Board (Fraser Institute, 2009). Based on provincially-wide standardized testing results, the school was rated 3.8/10, below the average 6.00 for 2009. In previous years, the school was rated 4.5 in 2008 and in 2007 5.4; although these are better ratings, the school rated under the average for each year since 2005 (Fraser Institute, 2009). Based on the expected performance compared to the family income level, the school was rated -1.4, which means that performance is below expectations according to the family income level (Fraser Institute, 2009). It might be important to note that one other school with the lowest family average income of all secondary schools that offer the ESL program in the Ottawa School Board also has a low rating, 3.1, and it has consistently performed below average for the last five years, similar to Willow High School (Fraser Institute, 1999).

Summary of the Study Method

This chapter has outlined the research approach used to investigate the practice of citizenship education in multicultural classrooms. The study follows a qualitative multiple case study research design. The research used ethnographic data collection methods, such as non-participant observation, interviews and document analysis, which allows the investigation and documentation of how citizenship education occurs in natural school settings. By doing both detailed case descriptions and cross-case analysis it is possible to better understand and characterize the kind of citizenship education that is being delivered in multicultural high school classrooms in Ottawa. In addition, by doing a comparative analysis across schools, it is possible to explore whether citizenship education is different in different school contexts. The goal then is

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to gain insights into the hows and whys that can explain commonalities and differences in educating for citizenship in socially diverse educational environments as well as the processes, complexities and issues surrounding citizenship education in multicultural classrooms.

***PART II: CASE STUDIES OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN MULTICULTURAL
CLASSROOMS***

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Part II presents four cases of how citizenship education occurs in four Grade 10 Civics classrooms. Citizenship education in Canada varies from school to school and from one class to another even when teachers follow the same provincial and curriculum guidelines. As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework of three types of citizens—personally-responsible, participatory and justice-oriented—is used to examine teachers' approaches to citizenship instruction design and implementation in multicultural classrooms, and Banks' (2003) approaches to multicultural content integration: contribution, additive, transformational and social action is used to analyze whether and how teachers respond to their classroom cultural diversity, specifically, and the multicultural nature of society in general. Although *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies*—the provincially prescribed citizenship education curriculum—outlines the goals and learning expectations as well as the teaching and assessment strategies (OMET, 2005), in practice each teacher interprets and makes sense of the mandated curriculum in different ways, a process clearly reflected in the range of instructional choices teachers have. While there is limited research on the practice of citizenship education in high school classrooms in Canada including the province of Ontario, research elsewhere has pointed out that teachers' conceptions, attitudes and values greatly influence their teaching practice and what they expect their students to learn (Gay, 2010b; Nieto, 2004; Oakes, 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

The purpose of the chapters in Part II is to examine the kind of citizenship education that occurs in four multicultural high school classrooms in Ottawa, and how teachers' conceptions of good citizenship shape the kind of citizenship instruction that is provided to their students. Are there significant differences between different teachers' conceptions, attitudes, and approaches to educating for good citizenship? How do these differences play out in the classroom? How do

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teachers respond to the social and cultural diversity found in the classrooms or in Canadian society at large? Do their conceptions of good citizenship shape how they respond—or not—to student diversity? These questions are examined in this chapter.

Through individual case analysis, I present a situated portrait of how citizenship education occurs in each classroom. In assessing these classes, however, it is important to keep in mind that the delivery of these classes is at times affected by teachers' multiple demands and time constraints. Teachers, for example, have to prepare lesson plans, mark assignments, document students' progress, meet parents and attend professional meetings—activities that often require more time than what has been allotted within their schedules. In addition, the dynamics of classroom management can make teaching more complicated. Teaching involves making difficult decisions about conflicting objectives (e.g., content coverage versus in-depth understanding), assessment methods, dealing with students' behaviours and tailoring instruction to meet both provincial standards and students' needs. Moreover, it is important to note that an effective citizenship instruction depends largely on the teachers' expertise and familiarity with the content of instruction, skills for teaching, and classroom management. However, assessing teachers' teaching efficacy or how well they achieve their instructional goals is not the focus of this study.

Teachers play a critical role in the type of instruction that is designed and delivered. In addition, citizenship education is influenced by the provincially mandated curriculum, which specifies the knowledge, skills and values targeted for instruction, as well as the civics textbooks, which are the main aids to assist teachers with their day-to-day instruction. In what follows, I provide some background context to better understand the context of citizenship education in these four classrooms. I introduce the four teachers who participated in this study, briefly

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describing their postsecondary training, teaching experience, course load and personal experiences with civic participation to better understand their preparation for citizenship instruction. Next, I describe the goals and overall organization of the Grade 10 Civics curriculum (CHV20). Finally, I discuss the Civics textbooks and how teachers used them to provide instruction.

The Civics Teachers

Teachers are democratic citizens themselves. They already possess what can be called a “civic framework” that includes knowledge, values and skills and visions of democratic citizen engagement, a framework that they have acquired through their life experiences (Schugurensky & Myers, 2003b). While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to probe how teachers’ lifelong civic learning impacts their citizenship instruction, providing a brief account of their teaching experience and significant experiences with active citizenship help contextualize their day-to-day classroom practice.

Of all the teachers, Ms. Sarah Montgomery (Case 1) is the one with the most postsecondary education. She told me that she has university undergraduate majors in history, English and French, and minors in sociology and psychology. In addition, she has teaching specialities in French and Law and has had advanced training in special education. For the most part, Ms Montgomery teaches the Grade 11 Understanding Canadian Law for the university (CLU3M) and workplace (CLU3E) streams as well as the Grade 10 Civics course (CHV20). She teaches these courses in both the Regular English and French Immersion programs. With regards to civic involvement, Ms. Montgomery is a member of the Canadian Bar Association, “an organization” concerned “with imparting knowledge of the legal system to the students” (Teacher interview, May 22, 2008). Ms. Montgomery expresses great interest in organizing

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school activities that help students understand the political institutions and procedures of democracy, such as mock elections and trials.

At the time of the research, Ms. Judith Keller, who also teaches in Spruce High School (Case 2), had been assigned the Civics course for four consecutive years. Other courses that are regularly part of teaching load are the Grade 10 Discovering the Workplace (GLD20) and Navigating the Workplace (GLN40) courses, for the university and workplace streams, respectively. In terms of her own personal civic activities, Ms. Keller shared reflections on the influence that early family experiences with political activism had on her political involvement. “I was an activist from a pretty early age,” she stated, “I had great role models... I have all these great stories of social change from my parents” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Her father worked for the World Health Organization focusing on reducing smoking in Canada. He worked together with anti-tobacco activist Heather Crow, the well-known Ottawa waitress who died from lung cancer. They travelled across Canada talking to high school students to raise awareness of the dangers of smoking. Another significant experience comes from accompanying her mother in the union struggle for maternity benefits. She stated:

I remember going to a strike on Parliament Hill with my mom when I was about seven... That particular strike was for maternity leave benefits, actually just the right to take maternity leave, and that union was one of the first ones to get maternity leave. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

She explained that these experiences made her realize how important it is to be a role model for others but especially for students (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Hence, she volunteered to be the school’s union representative. In addition, she has served as the teacher advisor to various students clubs (e.g., Amnesty International) and special initiatives (e.g., 30-

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hour famine fundraiser). With regards to the Civics course, she was instrumental in adding to the taught curriculum a hands-on activity that allows students to experience being active citizens in the local community. She and two other teachers from the Social Science department implemented the Make a Difference civic action project. She also helped develop what she refers to as the “Civics binder,” which contains an array of materials that teachers can use to teach the course and detailed descriptions of various citizenship education learning activities.

Ms. Martha Williams is a relatively new teacher and at the time of the research she was teaching the Grade 10 Civics course for the first time at Maple High School (Case 3). She has a Masters of Arts degree in history and had recently completed her teacher education program. Her responsibilities at the time of the research included teaching American History and World History in both the university and workplace streams. Ms. Williams’ previous experiences with civic involvement come primarily from volunteering. “When I was growing up,” she said, “I participated in the... Mayor’s Youth Committee to give my perspective.” On a youth initiative, “we had a skateboard park... built in [the community]” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). These early forms of citizenship participation taught her that citizens have voice and can play a significant role in the decision-making process especially at the community level (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). She also volunteers in a veteran’s home. “As a historian” she explains, “this kind of service is very important to me” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). In terms of political involvement, she said, “I have thought of joining a political party, but I have always stopped for whatever reason. But, I am always very active in my inner circle, like... cajoling, browbeating my friends into voting” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

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At the time of the research, Mr. Anthony Bennett's work load at Willow High School had included teaching the Grade 10 Civics course and the various courses in the ESL and ELD programs over the previous six or seven years. He also brings a wide range of his own personal community and political experiences to the classroom. He belongs to "five or six different groups" including "quite a large number of athletic organizations." He is also politically active. As he explained:

I have helped out the _____ Party in my riding. I have been on various marches [to protest against] missile testing and... boarder security issues... So, I try to stay on top of it, but, you know, you feel like you could do more. Next year, I am actually taking a step [further]. I am going to go and volunteer with OXFAM in Africa. I am taking a year off. (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

His trip to Africa is a self-funded project, and it emerges primarily from feeling "frustrated and guilt[y for] not helping more with whatever particular cause" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). He expects to do some teaching in programs related to AIDS and gender equity issues. For Mr. Bennett, being actively involved in the community, regardless of what the activity is, is the way one becomes aware of the existence of struggle. As he explains, central to any involvement is the recognition of "the human condition... [and] people struggle" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

As these brief profiles show, all four of the teachers who participated in this research have had advanced university training in social sciences, and with the exception of Ms. Williams, they have significant experience teaching the Grade 10 Civics course. While each has a distinct background, all have appropriate training and have had personal experiences that are

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directly relevant to teaching students about the role of citizens in a democratic society. In terms of racial categories, all of them identify themselves as White.

The Grade 10 Ontario Civics Curriculum (CHV20)

The Ontario Curriculum specifies that the Grade 10 Civics course (CHV20) aims to educate an “informed and participating citizen in a democratic society” (OMET, 2005, p. 64). The curriculum identifies fundamental civic knowledge and understandings that students are expected to learn in the course, such as “the elements of democracy in local, national, and global contexts, about political reactions to social change, and about the political decision-making process in Canada” (OMET, 2005, p. 64). Another aspect that the civics curriculum stresses is that of citizenship as participation, as an activity that allows citizens to come together and “explore their and others’ ideas about civic questions and learn how to think critically about public issues and react responsibly to them” (OMET, 2005, p. 64). The civics curriculum is organized into and encourages the development of three citizenship strands: informed, purposeful and active citizenship (OMET, 2005). Informed citizenship stresses the understanding of “the concepts, structures, and processes” of and for practicing democracy; while, purposeful citizenship focuses on “understanding the role of the citizen, and the personal values and perspectives that guide citizen thinking and actions” (OMET, 2005, p. 63). Central to purposeful citizenship then, is developing an understanding that there are “contrasting values, multiple perspectives, and [that] differing purposes coexist” when defining the common good (OMET, 2005, p. 63). Active citizenship, the third strand, refers to the learning of “basic civic literacy skills and have opportunities to apply those skills meaningfully by participating actively in the civic affairs of the community” (OMET, 2005, p. 63). Key civic literacy skills are “research..., critical and creative thinking, decision making, conflict resolution, and collaboration” (OMET,

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2005, p. 63). What emerges through an analysis of the teachers' citizenship education practice, in many instances, is the existence of an important gap between curricular goals and actual instruction (Bickmore, 2006; Evans, 2006; Hughes & Sears, 2008; Llewellyn et al., 2010; Sears et al., 1999).

With regards to the provision of citizenship education in multicultural high school classrooms, a wide spectrum of responses to social and cultural diversity are found in the Grade 10 Civics classrooms—from efforts to avoid issues of multiculturalism to critical engagement with the topic. As detailed below, while some teachers consciously decided not to include issues of multiculturalism in their citizenship education, these issues do appear and were dealt with during class instruction in all four classrooms.

The Civics Textbooks

Textbooks are key resources that can have a significant influence on the way courses are taught and what students learn about citizenship. The OMET (2010) has approved eight textbooks for the Grade 10 Civics course. Each of the three schools where this study took place used a different civic textbook. At Spruce High School, *Canadian by Conviction: Asserting our Citizenship* (Brune & Bulgutch, 2000) was chosen as the civic textbook. At Maple High School, Ms. Williams used *Citizenship: Issues and Action* (Evans, Slodovnick, Zoric, & Evans, 2000), while at Willow High School, Mr. Bennett used *Civics Today* (Watt, Sinfield, & Hawkes, 2000). None of the teachers participating in the research was involved in the selection of the textbook that they used because they were not teaching the course at the time the selection was made. In addition, as buying textbooks represents a large expense for school boards, selected textbooks might be used for about 10 years or more before they are replaced. While teachers have no choice in the textbook, they do decide which chapters and the extent to which they are used.

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All teachers regard the civics textbook as a key resource to their instruction. Teachers commented that the textbook assists them with the overall organization of the course (units and lesson plans). In addition, the textbooks clearly present the information students are expected to learn. While every textbook is different and some of the differences might be very significant, in general, all of them have similar content. This is because textbooks are written in response to the provincial prescribed curriculum; therefore, in order to be approved they must reflect the goals and learning priorities outlined by the official curriculum.

While my research did not systematically analyze the textbooks and the degree to which teachers rely on them for instruction, the findings do show that teachers use them selectively. Ms. Keller, for example, explained, “I follow the textbook. I do it by chapter, [but] I use... other textbooks and resources” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In addition, teachers are not always in agreement with the suitability of the textbook. “I write my own materials” Mr. Bennett told me. He continues, “I am trying to teach [with] a global perspective... [Thus,] we deal relatively quickly with municipal... and provincial issues,” topics that are emphasized in the civics textbook that was chosen by his school (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

The Analytical Framework to the Examination of the Case Studies

Part II presents four cases of citizenship education in three multicultural high schools located in the City of Ottawa. Each case study begins with a brief description of the classroom setting and the overall organization of the course and the learning activities used to provide instruction. Then I describe the teacher’s self-reported conceptions of good citizenship and goals for teaching. To identify the conceptions that govern citizenship education efforts in each class, I examine each teacher’s stated understandings of good citizenship and goals for teaching as well as what they do to promote good citizenship in their classroom and at the school level. In other

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words, I examine both the explicit and implicit messages that are communicated to their students through citizenship instruction. Next, I focus on the actual citizenship instruction and examine instruction in relation to four dimensions: (i) civic knowledge and understandings (ii) citizenship participation, (iii) multicultural education and (iv) justice-oriented citizenship education—an analytical frame that emerges from the research conceptual framework, which captures the debate and tensions in the field of citizenship education.

The first dimension, civic knowledge and understandings, focuses on describing the knowledge base that each teacher sees as fundamental to their citizenship instruction. This knowledge base includes what students are expected to know by the end of the course, including the concepts, processes, and behaviours. Citizenship participation, the second dimension, centers on classroom efforts that aim at engaging students in public, civic affairs and encouraging active citizenship participation. In the third dimension, multicultural education, I explore the connections (and disconnections) between citizenship education and socio-cultural difference, particularly as they relate to culture, ethnicity and racial categories. Does citizenship education support a vision of Canada as a pluralistic society? Does citizenship instruction acknowledge the diverse racial, ethnic and cultural groups that are an integral part of the Canadian society? To explore these questions, I analyze two primary aspects of multicultural education: culturally responsive teaching and the multicultural content integration into the taught curriculum. I investigate culturally responsive teaching by examining how each civics teacher responds to the diversity found in the wide range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds of their students. In addition, I investigate the extent to which they include multicultural content in the Civics class—in particular, the voices, experiences and issues that are of relevance to different groups that are part of Canadian society. I focus primarily on content related to racial and ethnic difference,

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which are two of the key social categories identified as contributing to Canada's multicultural society, keeping in mind that these identities are conflated with other types of difference—social class and gender, for example. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to understand how teachers respond to the diversity found in the classroom and how race and ethnic relations are framed within citizenship education in public schools.

The fourth dimension, justice-oriented approach to citizenship education, probes citizenship education in the light of building a more equal and just society. In this dimension, I focus on whether citizenship instruction teaches students about the interplay of social, political and economic structures that create and maintain inequality (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). A justice-oriented approach recognizes the multicultural nature of society, but moves beyond to interrogate inequality. Therefore, it brings to the forefront issues of power, equity and justice as they relate to issues of race, social class, sexual orientation and gender to mention some (Sleeter & Grant, 2007). This category is examined last as the evidence from analyzing the practice of citizenship education in these four classrooms seems to indicate that teachers who teach with a justice-oriented conception of good citizenship also recognize and respond to their classrooms social and cultural diversity. To conclude, a discussion of the findings of each case is provided.

CHAPTER 4

CASE 1: SPRUCE HIGH SCHOOL: MS. SARAH MONTGOMERY'S CIVICS CLASS

Ms. Sarah Montgomery, an experienced civics teacher in her early 50s, taught a class with 22 students. Although I was not able to collect data on students' migratory status and ethnicity, the teacher estimated that three quarters of the students in her class were new immigrants and first- and second-generation immigrant students particularly from Asian countries like Vietnam, Taiwan, Hong Kong and China. There were also students who were born or immigrated from countries like Jamaica, Syria and Nigeria. The classroom atmosphere that I observed was rather formal. The students' desks were arranged in rows facing the chalkboard at the front of the room and dialogue between the teacher and students and among students was minimal and mostly limited to commenting on or asking questions about an assignment or a test.

Course Organization and Teaching Techniques

Ms. Montgomery organized the course in two parts. For the first seven weeks, instruction focused on civic knowledge acquisition, and the last two weeks were devoted to the development of active citizenship.

To impart citizenship instruction, Ms. Montgomery employed both teacher- and student-centered techniques. Teacher-centered techniques, such as lectures accompanied by short question-answer exchanges and handouts, were used primarily to impart civic knowledge. Students' civic knowledge was periodically assessed through quizzes scheduled at the end of every two textbook units and a final test was administered at the end of the course. According to the teacher, student-centered activities had somewhat different aims including, but not limited to, reinforcing and applying the civic content taught in class and engaging students in issues of

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public concern. *The Current Events Report*, the *Outstanding Canadian Citizen* assignment and the *Make a Difference* project were the main activities that students were required to complete in this course. The Current Events Report consisted of compiling a total of 10 newspaper articles—three for each level of government (municipal, provincial and national) and one reporting on international affairs. The students wrote a one-page report describing each article and their own observations and opinions about the issues raised. They then presented three articles to the class. According to the teacher, the main goal of the Current Events Report is to promote informed citizenship. Her rationale is that by encouraging students to read, listen and watch news broadcasts and commenting on them, the students will not only know what is happening in society, but will also form and express opinions in a wide range of public issues.

The Outstanding Canadian Citizen assignment aimed at providing examples of “individuals [who have made] an effort to make a difference” (classroom observation, June 4, 2008). The students were asked to build a poster of an outstanding Canadian citizen by answering five questions: (a) “who is the outstanding citizen, and how did s/he get started?” (b) “What did s/he do?” (c) “Why and how did s/he do it?” (d) “What evidence is there that the person has made a difference?” And lastly, (e) “why is this person an outstanding Canadian citizen?” (classroom observation, June 4, 2008). Each student had to consult at least three sources and then prepare a five minute presentation on their outstanding Canadian citizen.

The teacher also aimed to develop active citizenship. The two weeks of instruction focused on the Make a Difference project, a learning activity part of Spruce High School’s civics curriculum that aims to promote student active involvement in the community. Designed as the course “summative” project—as both civics teachers at this school refer to it—the students plan and implement an action in response to an issue or problem that they care about, either

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individually or in small groups. After completion, the students present the project results to the class and write a five-paragraph essay about the experience. To guide the process, the teacher asked the students to complete an action plan for their Make a Difference project, outlining three steps: (a) brainstorming and identifying an issue of concern, (b) explaining the action(s) that they will take and how they will contribute to making a difference and (c) detailing the steps, deadlines and resources required. Together these are the teaching strategies Ms Montgomery used to teach for good citizenship.

Ms. Montgomery's Conceptions of Good Citizenship and Goals for Teaching

Ms. Montgomery has goals and learning expectations that she aims to achieve through her class instruction that are closely connected to her conceptions of what good citizenship is and the pedagogical approaches that will best achieve her visions.

In explaining what a good citizen means, Ms. Montgomery echoed the three strands of the civics curriculum and stressed active citizenship as a primary goal of her civics class. "A good citizen", she affirmed, "is somebody who is either informed, purposeful, or [an] active citizen. Preferably active and that is what we are trying to get the students to become with this civics course" (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). Then she explained how she promotes active citizenship in her class. "Well," she said:

The first thing is understanding how our system in Canada works, [the] government... the parameters of our political system, so that they understand that there are three different levels of government: federal, municipal and provincial, and that they have to address their concerns to the three different levels [of government]. (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

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The statement above offers valuable insight into what civic knowledge Ms. Montgomery regards as fundamental to citizenship instruction, but it provides little information on how she promotes active citizenship. Thus, I inquired about the main goals she had established for the course. Once again, she declared active citizenship as a top priority of her instruction. She said, “I want my students to learn how to become active citizens” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). She then proceeded to detail the civic knowledge that to her is fundamental to active citizenship. This time, though, she focused on “the legal component[s of] how our legal system works” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). She explained, in Civics, “we start with the [court system including] the provincial court, court of appeals [and] the Supreme Court of Canada” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). She made it clear that in her class she aims at “imparting legal knowledge to the students;” therefore, she is keen in teaching “how a trial works and what a crown lawyer does, and what a defence lawyer does and the role of the judge” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

That Ms. Montgomery stressed civic knowledge content acquisition at every attempt she made to try to explain how she promotes active citizenship in her classroom is connected to her vision of what citizenship participation is. In her view, understanding, for example, “the different powers within each of the levels of government” and “how a bill becomes a law” is critical

[s]o that if they have a particular concern about a particular area which is under the jurisdiction of the federal government, they would know [to...] contact their MP [member of Parliament] and if it was somebody who wanted to talk about something that was under the jurisdiction of the provincial government, they would contact their MPP [member of Provincial Parliament], and if it was something that was under a municipality jurisdiction, they would contact their city councillor, so they would be able to be active

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citizens within their community. So they would know how things work so that they would know where to go to make complaints or to make suggestions. (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

Thus, for Ms. Montgomery citizenship implies a strong connection to government, and citizens must know the government structure and organization in order to be able to participate and be active citizens. Civic knowledge, from her point of view, is an important prerequisite for active citizenship—if you do not know how the system works, you will not be able to participate effectively.

Promoting Active Citizenship at the School Level

Ms. Montgomery has been involved in coordinating projects at the school to strengthen student citizen participation. In 2007, through the Civics class, she implemented a school recycling program and a mock election. The recycling program, initially a student civic action project, is still in place at the school. Student Vote, the mock election, backed by Election Canada (coincided with the Provincial election of October 10, 2007), aimed at gaining deeper understanding of the processes of democracy and responsible citizenry participation. The students “learned [about] the voting process, [including] count[ing] the ballots, run[ning] the ballot boxes... and cross[ing] the [voters’] names off. They... also learned about the candidates [running] in the election, and about the first-pass-the-post system” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). In the near future, she would like to implement a mock trial. She elaborates:

I would like to do a mock trial with them ... and I am working towards that.... They [the students] would have to have a fixed script because they have no idea [of] the legal system and it is not a very long course, and we only have a couple of weeks to cover

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chapters five and six [that address the Canadian legal system]. So, if something is presented to them where they can role play, it would be very good. (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

Of the three activities that Ms. Montgomery has been involved at the school to promote active citizenship, two encourage voting and advocate for developing a deeper knowledge of the judicial system and the rights and duties of citizens within the system. The third initiative, developing a school recycling program, is aligned with a vision of an active citizen who undertakes projects that benefit the community at large. This vision is the one inspiring the implementation of the Make a Difference project, the main strategy to promote active citizenship at this school for the 2007-2008 school year.

In her citizenship instruction, Ms. Montgomery also favoured certain forms of active involvement and deterred students from other forms of participation that could be considered more political. Ms. Montgomery showed *The Cochabamba Water War*, a video that addressed the huge disparities in water abundance and access to drinking water among countries. The video narrates the experience of the inhabitants of a community in Bolivia where the municipal government privatized the water supply system, leasing it to a multinational consortium for 40 years. The price for water soon doubled and tripled, turning drinking water into an expensive commodity. Even rain water was not permitted to be collected as it was property of the transnational company. Cochabamba citizens formed a civil society organization to protest the new system. The video explores the role that citizens have in acting on public issues and more specifically the duty of good citizens in the face of situations where access to vital services is in jeopardy. The video ends with 10 ways to conserve water, such as taking short showers and using rain water to water grass and wash cars.

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After watching the video, the teacher remarked that the Spruce High School does not have any projects and has not given donations about water. “As far as being concerned for other countries,” she said, the school has raised “money for Ecuador” to build and improve schools. She continued, the school also supported the program “to give goats for people in Africa” (classroom observation, May 29, 2008). She then recalls that as a school they have not done “anything specific about water.” Then, she told students that in order to make a difference “you do not have to get involved” and that following the “ten ways to conserve water” is sufficient (classroom observation, May 29, 2008). It seems that for Ms. Montgomery to be an active citizen, it is enough that students contribute to laudable causes and behave responsibly (e.g., by conserving water). Other forms of involvement that might help students to become conscious of local and global inequities and ignite a desire to promote change are not encouraged by the teacher, such as becoming a member of organizations and pressure groups that seek to promote change.

For Ms. Montgomery a strong civic knowledge of the structure and function of how the government works is critical to enable active citizenship. Therefore, for her, students first need to understand the basics of the democratic system, and then, they are able to participate. Ms. Montgomery aims to foster active participation in two ways. First, “by giving them the knowledge of how they could become... active [citizens] and participate in our society,” and by providing opportunities to “be an active citizen” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). The opportunities of active involvement that she envisions stress doing *good* actions that benefit the community and others in need.

Civic Knowledge and Understandings

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As explained above, for Ms. Montgomery civic knowledge acquisition is central to her citizenship instruction. In this section, my aim is to show the kinds of civic knowledge and understandings that are deemed important and therefore central in classroom instruction. In addition, attention is given to the strategies used to teach these types of knowledge and the demands and expectations placed on the students.

Knowledge of How the Government and its Institutions Work

In this class the formal learning about democracy and its institutions is a critical aspect of citizenship education and one that receives special attention and more instructional time. As Ms. Montgomery affirms, “I think it is really important to understand our political system and our legal system” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). Ms. Montgomery observes that the Grade 10 Civics course has a “very heavy content” to teach in a short period of time.

Lectures, worksheets and brief question-answer exchanges are the pedagogical strategies that dominate day-to-day class instruction in order to transmit large amounts of citizenship content. In her class, students learn about the structure and function of the Canadian government at the federal, provincial and municipal levels as well as the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judicial). For each level and branch of government, its institutions, departments, subsidiary units and official representatives are studied in detail with an emphasis on functions and responsibilities. Other important topics are the federal and provincial political parties and the electoral system.

This emphasis on civic knowledge acquisition was echoed during student interviews conducted towards the end of the civics class. All nine students reported learning about the structure and function of the government and its institutions compared to only two students who mentioned learning how to be active citizens involved in their community. When asked what

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they have learned in the civic class, some students like Daren highlighted learning about key democratic governmental structures, functions and principles. He said:

I have learned about the different parties and basically how they do things and [the] rule of law.... I have learned about different forms of government and the way government does things, and the different [types] of laws, The House of Commons..., and elections. (student interview, June 13, 2008).

Other students answered that they had learned about government officials:

Nathan: All the people like you know [the] Govern[or] General, all these people and what they do, [and] who they are, the senator[s] and who runs our city. (student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008).

Others centered on democracy as a form of governance:

Jessica: The types of governments. We are [a] democracy.... We learned the drawbacks and benefits of each type of government. We found out like the origins that Athens was the origin of democracy. Oh and about the elections who can be elected... to be... a prime minister. (student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008).

Another aspect illuminated is that civic knowledge is not always readily transferable to civic action. After a group reported that the City of Ottawa turned down their petition to increase the crossing time in a traffic light near school, the teacher asked the presenters and the class what else they could do to achieve their objective. After some minutes of silence the teacher asked, “where or to whom can you send the letter to?” The students responded that they sent their petition to the City of Ottawa. The teacher continued to probe them and asked, “but, what can you do next?” A student responds, “talk to the mayor.” The teacher said “good” and continued to probe, “who else could you talk to?” After some silence the teacher asked, who is your city

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councillor? A student said the councillor's name. The teacher continued to ask, "who else you could send the petition to?" The teacher responded, "your MP" and "the city council" in charge of this area (classroom observation, June 12, 2008).

Being Informed About Current Events

Students in Ms. Montgomery's class were expected to learn about and be critical of current events and issues happening nationally and internationally by reading, watching or listening to news articles or broadcasts. More specifically, they were asked to put together a report containing 10 news articles on which they wrote and presented their opinion(s) to the class. Overall, as the teacher explained, the Current Events Report pedagogy is aimed at increasing students' interest and awareness of a range of current events—something that was new for many students. And the project seems to have been effective in achieving this. Adrian, for example, said:

When you are looking for the right article, you have to look through a whole bunch of other articles, and you end up reading more than just that one, so it gives you more information than what you are looking for. (student interview, focus group 1, June 10, 2008).

This learning activity allowed students to explore a wide range of topics. Students said that they read news about politics, the environment, the economy, the city, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and national and international events like the earthquake in China. Other students followed local issues that directly affect their daily life. For example, Asha, who lives in the suburbs and relies on public transportation, closely followed all news related to the City of Ottawa public transportation system. She expressed strong disapproval with Mayor Larry O'Brien's decision to cancel the proposed O-train expansion and the slow approach to solve the

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existing problem. “Transportation in Ottawa... is bad” she said. “Now [it] is going [to take...] another two or three years before they [the municipal government] actually *just start* [an alternative plan]” (student interview, June 16, 2008, my italics).

Student interviews, classroom observations and examples of students’ Current Events Reports reveal that some students were driven to “hard” and “soft” news⁹, while others reported having no interest in keeping themselves informed. Both current events presentations that I observed discussed soft news, or articles that report on less critical events. Liana’s article discussed the dangers of listening to I-pods after a teenager in British Columbia was hit by a car because s/he did not hear it coming. Liana explained that she chose the article because “it is not illegal to listen to music while crossing the street,” but it is important to listen to it “not too loud” (classroom observation, June 2, 2008). After her presentation, the teacher asked the students to pose two questions, which Liana answered and sat down.

Joseph reported on the Supreme Court of Canada’s decision to overthrow a provincial ruling on a lawsuit over compensation against an Ontario water bottle company. After finding two dead flies in his water bottle, the plaintiff sued the company, arguing that he suffered major psychological distress and trauma after the experience. A provincial judge allowed him to sue the company \$341,000 dollars but the federal court found the claim to be outrageous and dismissed his case. He had to pay \$30,000 dollars to the water bottle company to compensate for their legal fees as well as the legal costs of the Ontario Court of Appeal. Joseph concluded, “I think it is stupid when people sue.” In this case, he thinks “throwing the water bottle away” would have been the proper thing to do (classroom observation, May 28, 2008). Joseph answered the two questions by his classmates and sat down. The teacher then used the content of this article to

⁹ In journalism, news stories are divided in two kinds: soft and hard news. Soft news provides background information mainly about events and incidents. Hard news, in contrast, includes major significant political, economic and war-related news that require a government response (Patterson, 2000).

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explain the term tort law, which is a type of law that compensates negligence that causes physical injuries or psychological damage.

A small number of students interviewed expressed no interest in reading and watching news broadcasts. Nathan said he followed the news just “a bit” because “it is not really something that [is of] interest[...] to me” (student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008).

Liana also expressed no interest in following the news; “but my parents watch the news, so I am kind of forced sometimes to just sit there and listen to it” (student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008). “Depressing” and “boring” were the words these students used to qualify how they felt about listening to news broadcasts (student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008).

Despite the lack of interest reported by some students, the Current Events Report did help many students become more informed and form opinions about public issues. Some students chose news articles that are considered “hard” news and reported on issues and events that were timely and more important. “Canada’s house market cools down in April,” “FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] sees food prices staying high for 2-3 years,” and “transitway to wipe out west-side homes” in Ottawa are some examples of titles of news articles that report on hard news or issues of high and medium importance that affect society and its citizen in significant ways.

It seems that the emphasis of the Current Events Report is on having students identify the level of government a piece of news corresponds to and present the article and point of view in a well organized class presentation, and not as much in selecting news articles that are critical and of concern to society. Therefore, to fulfil the assignment students might decide on less complex news stories, like the ones Liana and Joseph chose; articles that students feel confident of delivering a strong classroom presentation and providing well-written commentary.

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Consequently, some students may intentionally avoid commenting on news articles that they regard as difficult or too controversial.

The Current Events Report promotes informed citizenship since every week the students have to select a news article, prepare a critique and present it to the class. Nevertheless, it may fall short of promoting class discussions into issues central to democratic living. Judging from the students' comments on what kind of news articles they select and from the students' current events presentations I observed, it seems that the articles the students chose to discuss in class lack the political and social content needed to help students become civically-minded citizens. As the teacher also concludes, through the Current Events Report students "write... and... say opinions, but no, there has never been any debate" (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

Role Models of Good Citizenship

Learning about good citizenship through role models of exemplary citizenship is another instructional strategy Ms. Montgomery used to teach students about citizenship. Students were asked to select an outstanding Canadian citizen and prepare a poster and a five-minute class presentation. The criteria provided for choosing an outstanding citizen were fairly minimal, basically anybody "who is well-known." "For instance" the teacher explained, students could choose

David Suzuki, whose family was thrown into an internment camp during the war, and who has gone on to be a very successful... scientist and researcher. Or Jim Carey, who was not particularly successful at high school... but ended up being a success due to his sense of humour.... They can name anybody politically, any actors, any politicians.

(Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

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Overall, students were driven towards citizens in positions of power, such as politicians, scientists and celebrities. Students chose recognized politicians, such as John Alexander Macdonald, Lester B. Pearson and Stephen Harper. For Ruby, John Macdonald “is an outstanding citizen because of his wisdom [in] politics and his passion for Canada” (classroom observation, June 2, 2008). Outstanding citizens also included important scientists and artists like Alexander Graham Bell, Frederick Grant Banting and Tom Thomson. Alexander Graham Bell, wrote Jessica, “is an outstanding citizen to the world because he was a successful scientist who[se inventions] ...started an explosion in human communication” (classroom observation, June 2, 2008). Sports figures, actors, and singers, such as Don Cherry, Jake Dunlap “Mud Bowl Hero,” Lance Armstrong (though he is from the US), Mike Myers and Neil Young were also selected as outstanding Canadian citizens. Kadife wrote, “Neil Young is definitely an outstanding citizen because to me he is one [of] Canada’s best and most successful musicians” (classroom observation, June 2, 2008).

All the outstanding citizens students selected fulfill the established criteria that stress the qualities of being famous and successful, and not necessarily a civically-engaged citizen concerned and working towards the common good. All outstanding citizens the students chose were White males; there were no women, racial/ethnic minorities, and community activist outstanding citizens in this class.

Citizenship Participation

Ms Montgomery emphasized, in keeping with both the school and the provincial civics curriculum, that a key goal of her class is to educate active citizens. This section aims to explain what kind of student citizenship participation is promoted in this class and how this is done. Class instruction during the last two weeks of instruction focused on active citizenship through

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the Make a Difference project, the key learning activity designed specifically to promote active citizenship in the civics course at Spruce High School. The design and implementation of the project, as well as the discussion and evaluation of student projects and students' own observations about their experiences offer an opportunity to understand what kind of active citizenship is provided in Ms. Montgomery's class, and what kind of engagement with the community or with society is expected of ideal citizens. It is important to note that other strategies to promote civic engagement and participation, such as class discussions and deliberations, role playing and research projects were not used in this class.

Preparing Students for Active Citizenship

In class, Ms Montgomery explained to her students that the goal of the Make a Difference project "is to make a difference in your community." Through this activity "you are making a difference as an active citizen" (classroom observation, May 28, 2008). At the time of my interview with Ms. Montgomery, her students were deciding what they would do for their project. Ms. Montgomery mentioned some of the choices that the students were considering:

Some students... would like to pick up the garbage around the school.... Another group is going back [to volunteer] at their elementary school.... Another group is hoping to paint [some of the school walls that have] graffiti because they feel that it is necessary to help the [school] care staff. Another group wants to get involved with the food bank. (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008).

In describing the requirements of the assignment, the teacher emphatically stressed to the students, to "make sure you show and explain how you are making a difference in your community" in both the oral presentation and the written report (classroom observation, May 28, 2008). For example, she said, if you are doing a recycling project, "explain why you are

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recycling in the school” and how the project improves a problem in the school. If you are painting the school walls, “explain what the problem in the school is” and how the project makes a difference (classroom observation, May 28, 2008). The teacher assigned one day of class instruction, called library day, for the students to do research and any work related to their civics projects. In addition, students had to turn in their action plans for approval before they were able to undertake their projects. The action plans were graded.

In Ms. Montgomery’s class, the preparation phase previous to the implementation of the civic action projects was rather minimal. Besides clarifying the goals and the requirements of the civics project, students were left on their own deciding what civic project to undertake. However, literature on community service stresses how critical the preparation phase is to the outcomes of the community service experience. In the preparation phase, students explore issues that they can act on as well as the intended results of their efforts (Newmann, 1975; Root & Billing, 2008).

Students’ Active Citizenship Initiatives: The Make a Difference Project

A total of 10 civic action projects were undertaken, all of them implemented in the local neighbourhood or community. Based on the scope and aims of the student projects (here and in the other class at Spruce High School), I was able to clearly identify two kinds of projects: service-oriented and issue-based projects. Service-oriented projects align with the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship. In these cases, students carried out an action to improve their community, to help people in need or to contribute to a good cause. The aim of these projects was to do something positive and good, but not necessarily to try to create change or address an identified problem or social condition. In contrast, issue-based projects closely correspond to the participatory conception of good citizenship. These projects are those where students tackle an existing problem and their course of action involves working with private or

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public institutions and organizations to effect change. There were no projects aligned with the justice-oriented citizenship conception. In other words, none of the projects sought to question and address the underlying causes of social problems, like the reasons why there is poverty in the community.

In Ms. Montgomery's class, 8 of the 10 civic projects were service-oriented projects. They included six cleaning campaigns in public parks or school grounds, one clothes donation project to support a women's social service organization, and one essay-writing project to raise awareness about global warming. The latter, although it had great potential to promote participatory citizenship to address a serious environmental issue, was considered a service-oriented project because the focus of the project was on crafting a well-written argument as part of a provincial competition. The essay was never sent to a private or public institution where it may have had some impact. Of the two issue-based projects, one consisted of petitioning to the City of Ottawa Traffic Control office to increase the crossing time in a traffic light close to school between 3:00 p.m. and 3:20 p.m. on weekdays. This is an issue-based project because the students identified a problem and decided to submit a petition to try to change the identified situation. For the second issue-based project, Daren, Jamil and Peter organized a corporate food drive. They requested donations from three major food stores and collected 11 boxes of non-perishable food, which they donated to the Ottawa Food Bank. This is an issue-based project because it required students to coordinate efforts with private or public organizations in order to achieve their goal, although the project did not directly tackle the root causes resulting in the need for food banks. Although all students developed a project that contributed to society in one way or another, there are notable differences in the projects that students undertook and what they reported learning from their experience.

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The first step of the Make a Difference project was **deciding on an issue to act on**. This step represents a critical moment in determining whether students would undertake a service-oriented or issue-based project. In this class, for about a third of students, deciding on an action to undertake was not an easy task. As Asha, Kadife and Mahira narrate in their report:

When we were handed the task of our civic summative, we did not think it would be as tough as it was. The greatest concern for us was to choosing an issue. Thankfully we got one. As an issue, we decided to clean a public park. (student essay, June, 2008).

While not all students struggled to identify an action to undertake, student interviews and essays and classroom observations revealed that more than half of the students who decided on doing cleaning campaigns (representing the majority of projects undertaken), had explored other options for their projects that involved providing a direct service. Asha, for example, said that her group wanted to volunteer at the Ottawa Food Bank, but their school schedules conflicted with the food bank hours of operation (student interview, June 16, 2008). As the deadline approached, Asha's group decided to provide an indirect service and organized a cleaning campaign. Other students were inclined to do service-oriented projects for more practical reasons. Suzanne, Adrian and Thuc thought about reading to the blind and a food drive as potential projects, but as Adrian explains, "that was the end of it because it was really few [choices] to choose from that she [Ms. Montgomery] suggested" to the class (student interview, focus group 1, June 10, 2008). They decided on a cleaning campaign "mainly... because we have very tight schedules right now. We could have done something bigger, [but] we found a decent way to be an active citizen" (Suzanne, student interview, focus group 1, June 10, 2008). Minimal preparation to community involvement may explain why a large number of students decided to undertake cleaning campaigns.

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Research, Planning and Execution

There are three main differences between service-oriented and issue-based projects. Issue-based projects required research; more careful planning and execution; and working with other people and public or private organizations to their completion.

Research. In all but one case (writing an essay to raise awareness about global warming), service-oriented projects did not require any research. In contrast, both issue-based projects had a research component to understand the problem at hand and identify solutions that were realistic and feasible given the timeframe of the assignment. In their presentation, Daren, Peter and Jamil, explained that while searching the city of Ottawa Food Bank web-site as part of their food drive project, they “discovered that there is a hunger issue in Ottawa;” an issue that they were “pretty unaware of.” They learned that an estimated of “40,000 people per month rely on the food bank” out of which “40% are children” (classroom observation, June 10, 2008). The research they conducted helped them decide to conduct a corporative food drive. As they explain, “time was a factor.” They did not have much time to publicize a food drive at school, so a corporate food drive had more potential for more significant donations in a shorter period of time. Corporations, they asserted, “could give a big donation if they wanted to.” They decided to solicit donations from three corporations (classroom observation, June 10, 2008).

Jessica, Liana and Nathan, who petitioned to increase the crossing time at a light near school, conducted field research to document their petition. They interviewed a fellow student who got hit by a car at the intersection and recorded his experience. In addition, the students did their own evaluation of the traffic light, recording both the number of cars passing through the intersection and the number of people crossing between 3:00 p.m. and 3:20 p.m. They found out that about 200 people crossed the intersection, the majority of them Spruce High School

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students. Based on their findings, they decided to petition for an increase of three seconds to the walking sign on each side of the street, so there would be enough time for people to cross the street.

Project planning and execution. Because the two issue-based projects were more ambitious, their success depended on a well-formulated, step-by step plan of action and careful execution. Students who conducted issue-based projects reported reflecting more on the goals, tasks and resources needed to complete their projects. For example, the organizers of the corporate food drive drafted a letter to formally request donations, scheduled meetings with the operation manager of the Ottawa Food Bank and the head of food distribution in each targeted corporation, and made arrangements to transport donations from the store warehouses to the food bank warehouse. Similarly, students who petitioned for an increase in the crossing time had to identify the municipal government office responsible for traffic control, collect data to document their case, draft a petition for people to sign, and get people to sign the petition. In contrast, the success of service-oriented projects lay primarily on having the materials needed to complete the cleaning—such as gloves and garbage bags—or the clothes to be donated, and be present the day and time agreed to execute the activity.

Working with organizations. The type of project students chose shaped the type of interactions they would have with people or organizations outside of the school. Service-oriented projects required that students contact a person in the community or an institution to schedule the time and day to do their planned activity. For example, the cleaning campaigners at a neighbouring elementary school had to consult with the class teacher the best time to do the cleaning. Similarly, to clean the school soccer field, the students needed the authorization of the school head custodian. Overall, however, the level and type of interactions were minor. In

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contrast, students who conducted issue-based projects soon realized that their projects required working with public or private institutions to achieve their aims. In doing so, students experienced different degrees of participation in the public sphere. To illustrate, the students who petitioned the city about the traffic light experienced first-hand the processes and difficulties involved in promoting change in the community. In their presentation, the students reported that the City of Ottawa rejected their petition. In a letter, the Traffic Control officials thanked the students for calling the issue to their attention and acknowledged that this intersection is “heavily used by pedestrians.” However, Traffic Control officials assured that the times allocated in the traffic light meet the provincial requirements and stipulations for this kind of intersection and that there would be no change to the light (classroom observation, June 12, 2008). For the other issue-based project—the corporate food drive—meeting with the operation manager of the food bank was crucial to their plan and “put into perspective the importance of this project.” They learned that over the last few years, there has been a steady “decline in donations and the increase of users of the food bank” (classroom observation, June 10, 2008). In addition, students also met with the head of food distribution at each store targeted for requesting food donations. In their presentation, the students spoke of the importance and delicate aspects of the meeting. They elaborated, “store managers are very busy” so “they could only afford five minutes” to meet. Students often found that they had to “give a mini-presentation in the few minutes available.” We had to be “concise” and “clear when meeting with the store food managers” (classroom observation, June 10, 2008). Overall, the two issue-based projects, in comparison with the service-based projects, required much more organization and effort; required more interaction with people or organizations outside of their school, and faced more uncertainty and unexpected problems that students had to solve.

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Service-oriented and Issue-based Projects: Very Different Types of Active Citizenship

Participation

The type of project that students undertook shaped the type of knowledge they were exposed to and the type of participation in community civic and public life. Through their projects, students had a concrete experience with a variety of issues, some in very “active” ways, while others were of relatively minor importance to our day-to-day democratic living. Based on the learnings students reported in the interviews, their class presentation, and their final essay, I found two main differences in student learning. The first one is on becoming aware of public and social issues, and the second is related to direct learnings in the personal, social and civic areas.

Becoming aware of public and social issues. The purpose of this section is to identify what students who undertook issue-based and service-oriented projects report learning with regards to public and social issues. Through their Make a Difference projects and exchanges in the classroom, students became familiar with four different public or social issues: littering, global warming, pedestrian safety and poverty. As supported in the literature, the type of social issue and level of involvement provided students with different experiences and civic knowledge (Andolina, Jenkins, Keeter, & Zukin, 2002; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Metz et al., 2003; Stoneman, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Wade, 2008).

Students who conducted cleaning campaigns, a service-oriented project, reported learning about the problem of littering. In their presentation Suzanne, Adrian and Thuc asserted, “we all learned that people should not litter because it is bad for the environment and it pollutes or dirties up” (classroom observation, June 11, 2008). Shay, a cleaning campaigner, said:

With what little effort it takes to walk over [to] the garbage, I feel this should not be an issue.... Reduc[ing] the amount of litter... is not a very hard thing to do. If people knew

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the difference it makes to public places, they would think twice before they stomp their coke can... or toss away their empty pack of smokes. (classroom observation, June 11, 2008).

With regards to global warming, another service-oriented project, Adele investigated the impact of electric cars to reduce carbon emissions, a major contributor to global warming. In her essay and presentation she explains how gasoline-powered cars damage human health and the environment and the specific reasons why electric cars can help to curb global warming (classroom observation, June 11, 2008).

The students who petitioned to increase the crossing time at a light near school—an issue-based project—believe that their project has had some impact at both the City of Ottawa and the school community. At the city level, “through this project” they “have made the city aware of [a traffic] problem” to their school, and at the school level they “have draw[n] attention to the situation... reducing the chances of car accidents” (classroom observation, June 12, 2008). In addition, these students have a better understanding of the process of petitioning as a mechanism to affect societal change. Not only they report learning “how to write a valid petition and the [importance] of conducting research to back up any project,” but they also reflected on the reasons their petition was not successful (classroom observation, June 12, 2008). In reflecting on the process, they think that the city staff did not take the petition “too seriously” because it only had 50 signatures, the majority of which were Spruce High School students (classroom observation, June 12, 2008). They also agree that they could have documented more accidents that have occurred at the intersection, which would have strengthened their case. In the end, they learn that participating as citizens through existing government structures can be effective, but it has to be done in certain ways. This view was also supported by the teacher’s comments after

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their presentation. In this case and in others, there was no critical assessment of how existing structures and procedures shape or limit civic action.

Two other projects dealt with poverty in the City of Ottawa, although from two different perspectives: one that stressed service and the other that focused on poverty as an issue. In the service-oriented project, Lenka, Rubi and Fayina explained why they decided to donate clothes to a women's service institution. "We looked at the issues and decided that these women need help... They deserve to get help. They deserve to have a chance, and so do the kids that come into the institution as well" (student essay, June 2008). The students became knowledgeable about the services the institution provides, such as "food, shelter, clothes and counselling services to women who have been abused or for some reason cannot provide for themselves" (student essay, June 2008). Further, by working in this project the students were sympathetic of the hardships that these women suffer. They said that by doing this project they were able to "start imagining how hard it would be raising a family" without social service institutions. They reflected that "without [institutions like this], women who have children will not be able to support them" (classroom observation, June 5, 2008). The students identified two main contributions of their project. First, the clothes donation will "help these women; help them get one step further to be on their own," and secondly, it will help "to minimize [the] number [of women who attend the center] and [we] are confident it will be minimized later on in the future" (student essay, June 2008). However, while their efforts were clearly altruistic and represented a genuine intention to help poor women, these students did not talk about women's poverty and violence against women as issues that demand intervention beyond satisfying the victims' basic needs. The contributions the students attach to their project seem to indicate that these students

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may have a superficial understanding of the magnitude and complexity of the issue of women's poverty in Canada, the very issue they are acting upon.

Daren, Peter and Jamil organized a corporate food drive, another project addressing poverty, but in a very different way and with very different learning outcomes. These students also felt that helping others in need is a worthy cause to undertake. By doing this project, the students report learning two things. First, they “gained perspective on the severity of the hunger issue” in Ottawa, and secondly, they “learned about organizations” that help people in need. These students learned about the services and modes of operations of the Food Bank. “The Food Bank,” they stated, “follows a very careful process in storing the food, so everything is used before the expiration date” (classroom observation, June 10, 2008). These students also reported learning about poverty, something that “none of us were aware of before the project” (classroom observation, June 10, 2008). Although these students did not question the existence of food banks or inequality due to income differences, they saw that their project could “make a positive difference in our community [by] helping to relieve hunger... and to contribute to an organization we strongly believe in” (student essay, June, 2008).

Personal, social and civic development. Taking concrete actions turns into a real opportunity for students to participate as active citizens in the community at large, and to discover different forms of public engagement that they could pursue in the future. Overall, all students regarded the Make a Difference project as a positive experience that helped them understand that they can make valuable contributions to society. For many students, this learning experience enhanced their self-esteem and strengthened their sense of social responsibility. For example, the students whose projects helped others in need by donating their own clothes wrote the following reflection, “we are proud to have been one of the donators that get to make a

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difference in these women's lives" (student essay, June 2008). For others like, Adele, the project represented a source of future career inspiration. In her final essay, she wrote, "in the future, I hope that I, along with others, can participate in the development of technology of electric cars.... I believe [this] is the dream of many people around the world" (student essay, June 2008).

Mixed responses, however, were given by the students involved in cleaning campaigns. For some, the project led to a change in self-reported personal behaviour. Shay, for example stated, "I will think twice about the amount of garbage I produce and [I will] always put it in the garbage instead of casually tossing it aside for someone else to clean up" (student essay, June 2008). Suzanne, Adrian and Thuc concluded that cleaning the public park "was a very satisfying task. It meant that other members of the community who go there would have a nice clean park to spend time in" (student essay, June 2008). In other cases, it seemed as if the students were not touched by the project that they undertook. In fact, I perceived a sense of dissatisfaction when the teacher asked one group of students whether they would clean a city park again. The three students looked at each other. Then, one of them looked down, while the other softly smiled. One of them said, "maybe." The other added, "maybe with a bigger group." It is difficult to know the reasons for this unenthusiastic response. One possibility might be that the students felt that their efforts would not have any lasting effects; sadly, the park will be dirty once again. Mathew, who also did a cleaning campaign, also expressed a similar view: "it will be more important to help an orphanage than cleaning the [soccer] field" (classroom observation, May 28, 2008).

Reflections by the students who undertook the two issue-based projects expressed a sense of personal fulfilment. Their responses also signal having acquired a greater sense of civic efficacy—the sense of seeing oneself as capable of effectively participating in public life (Kahne

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& Westheimer, 2008). The organizers of the corporative food drive, Peter, Jamil and Daren indicated that their project encouraged them to actively participate in society in the future. “This project was a great experience for all of us, because we proved to ourselves and others that you can help your community as an individual or in a group, no matter who you are” (student essay, June 2008). Similarly, Jessica, one of the organizers of the petition to increase the crossing time at a traffic light near school, saw herself and her counterparts as capable of bringing about change and making a difference in their community. She said:

I never really thought that like just us, high school students could actually... make a change like this in the community. Not that we have it yet... but we can still do [it]... We can reach the City of Ottawa and we can make big changes and we are only 15 years old. (student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008).

The Make a Difference project was instrumental to the development of important skills. Overall, students learned valuable lessons about teamwork, problem-solving, developing action plans, and identifying various ways of being a contributing member—as well as valuing being a contributing member—to their community. Students who carried out issue-based projects seem to have acquired additional skills. They reported learning about how to contact city officials, how to write convincing letters and petitions based on evidence and logical arguments, how to work and coordinate with organizations, and how to persuade people to support their cause. Consequently, students who engaged in issue-based projects had a more meaningful and real opportunity to learn first-hand what it takes—the processes and constraints—to being involved in promoting change, which, in this case, strengthened students’ sense of internal civic competence (Kahne & Westheimer, 2008). However, not all community projects students undertook lead to an increased sense of personal civic efficacy—a sense that one can make a difference. In fact, the

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students that conducted projects that provided an indirect service to the community, especially those who did cleaning campaigns, reported lower levels of personal satisfaction and did not seem keen in engaging in voluntary forms of service in the near future. Kahne and Westheimer (2008) contend that providing students with efficacious community-based experiences where students experience some level of success is critical to develop in students a stronger sense of civic efficacy. Their research shows that when the goals are too difficult to achieve, students might feel discouraged to participate. Nevertheless, results from this research seem to indicate that when community involvement is too easy and its results do not seem to have a greater impact may also deter students from engaging in collective efforts.

The Make a Difference project is the main approach through which participatory citizenship is promoted in Ms. Montgomery civics class. By planning and implementing a civic project that benefits their neighbourhood or local community, students are able to envision different ways that they can become active citizens, which in turn promotes citizenship participation. The type of project that students undertake, however, leads to different kinds of understandings of what good citizenship is and what good citizens do. Students who develop issue-based projects developed a stronger sense of civic efficacy in that they felt competent and empowered to act purposefully to bring about positive change in their communities. A minimal preparation phase could explain to a large extent why the majority of many students decided to undertake cleaning campaigns—6 out of 10 civics projects were cleaning campaigns.

Multicultural Education

Issues of social and cultural difference were not addressed directly in Ms Montgomery's class as part of one of the taught curriculum. To analyze how socio-cultural differences affect citizenship education in this class, I rely primarily on my interview with the teacher, as well as

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an examination of those moments when issues of cultural difference, ethnicity, or race emerged in the day-to-day instruction, often in unplanned ways. Overall issues of social difference were almost never raised deliberately, but at times they did emerge—especially in the documentary films that were presented toward the end of the class.

Recognition of Students' Cultural Diversity

Ms. Montgomery recognizes that she teaches in an ethnically and culturally diverse classroom. Nevertheless, she asserts that the multicultural nature of her classroom does not affect the way she plans and provides instruction. As she explains, the main learning expectation of the civics course for all students regardless of their background is “to understand our *Canadian* system” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008, my italics). In comparing how she has taught the civics course in a more homogeneous or more diverse classes, she explains, “I teach it in the same way, but I might modify my testing slightly depending upon... their knowledge of English” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). For example, the oral presentations and written essays of ESL students do not “have to be very long, [but] they have to show that they can speak... and write in English even if it is [with basic] sentences” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). Therefore, Ms. Montgomery’s main goal is to provide the support needed to those students with limited English proficiency and those who are at risk of falling behind so that they can meet the educational expectations. However, Ms. Montgomery did say that teaching about citizenship in a diverse classroom can be beneficial as students with different life experiences enrich the class by providing different perspectives into the various topics covered in class—although during the 11 sessions of class instruction I observed, I did not witness any student contributions related to his or her cultural background. And contrary to the other three cases, Ms. Montgomery said that aside from the challenges associated with language

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ability, she does not feel that a diverse student population makes teaching citizenship education more difficult or challenging. Overall, based on what she told me during her interview, the teacher feels that the social and cultural differences that do exist are not very relevant when teaching about citizenship.

The curriculum is anything and everything that occurs in classrooms and schools whether it is planned or not (McLaren, 2007; Schugurensky, 2002). In Ms. Montgomery's citizenship instruction, an overt written curriculum coexists with a hidden one. The overt curriculum outlines understandings critical to citizenship education and the learning activities geared to teach those targeted understandings, while the "hidden curriculum" refers to "*the unintended outcomes of the schooling process*" (McLaren, 2007, p. 212, emphasis in original). The remaining themes and categories identified in Ms. Montgomery citizenship instruction can only be explained by looking into the classroom's unintended curriculum.

Although Ms. Montgomery did not attempt to connect citizenship education with issues of multiculturalism, more specifically issues that address race and ethnic relations, she presented to the students various videos that explore such relations. She explained to me though that the videos are not part of the course content. One of the main reasons why she shows the videos is because she had covered all mandated curriculum content and there was extra instructional time. The issues raised in the documentaries and how Ms. Montgomery manages the content presented in the videos provides a window of opportunity to understand how both issues of multiculturalism are addressed, the second theme in this category, and issues of social justice (the next category) are framed and understood in the context of citizenship education in multicultural classrooms.

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A total of 18 audio-visual materials including movies, documentaries, and videos of various lengths were presented to the students in this classroom. At first, Ms. Montgomery made an effort to connect the video to a lesson, but as more and more videos were played, it became obvious that they were not intended to teach or reinforce class content, but to be used for the extra instructional time. In fact, while watching a video, the teacher approached me and whispered in my ear: “the videos are not part of the class only the [Make a Difference] projects.” She continued, “we have covered all the curriculum content” for the class (classroom observation, June 5, 2008).

Before playing the first video, the teacher informed the students that the video watching would not be graded (classroom observation, June 5, 2008). Not surprisingly, it was only the first video that had a 12-question guide. The remaining 17 videos were watched one after another without any lesson plan attached to them. Nevertheless, from reading the jacket of one of the videos played entitled *Tapped Out: The World Water Crises*, I learned that the video is suggested as a learning resource to teach subjects as civics among others as it meets the OMET curricular expectations. In addition, with the collaboration of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers’ Federation (OSSTF, 2007) a complete kit that includes the lesson plans and evaluation rubrics is available to all teachers who are interested in teaching about “the impact of globalization and the privatization of water,” which can be downloaded for free from the OSSTF web-site.

The videos are part of the resource teaching materials of the school Social Science department and are available to all teachers. With few exceptions, the audio-visual material are well-documented and take a critical stance in the topics they address. 13 of the 18 videos that were shown were produced by *Media That Matters*, a non-profit organization that produces documentaries on criminal and economic justice, the environment, human rights, immigration

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and racial justice, among others. As written in their web-site, this organization is committed to produce “films that inspire action” (Media that Matters, n.d.). The teacher also showed four documentaries, two of which focused on social and political issues around the world, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of Roméo Dallaire* and *Mahatma Gandhi: Pilgrim of Peace* and two other videos that address water scarcity. Finally, the movie *Bend it like Beckham* completes the list of audio-visuals showed to the students in this class.

Addressing Social and Cultural Difference in Citizenship Instruction

Does citizenship education take into account the multicultural nature of today’s society? How does citizenship education prepare students to be engaged citizens in the context of an increased multiracial and multiethnic society?

In this classroom, I do not recall a direct reference made by the teacher or the students that assert that Canada is a multicultural society, where people from different ethnic and racial groups work and live together. Nevertheless, the idea of multiculturalism, or the existence of people from different cultural, ethnic and racial backgrounds, was present through the videos students watched in this class. Students watched five videos and one movie that explore race and ethnic relations. In what follows, I briefly describe their content and the class discussion whenever the latter occurred. *Slip of the Tongue* and *Yellow Fever* explore ethnic and racial stereotyping. While the first one asserts that ethnicity is something that is created, the second one, *Yellow Fever*, explores stereotypes attributed to Asian and Indian boys that make them less popular compared to White guys. Asian boys, for example, lack body hair, assertiveness and coolness. The main message is that stereotypes provide inaccurate information, which we usually use to assess and relate to others; yet, human behaviour and stereotypes do not correlate. *A Girl like Me*, a video on race and beauty, focuses on the struggles that young, Black women

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experience when confronted with Euro-centric standards of beauty. The video engages the viewer in a conversational exploration with five African American girls who explain the meanings they attach to hair and skin color. For them, having “good hair” (meaning straight) and “lighter skin” means that they are more beautiful. The movie *Bend it like Beckham* relates the story of Jess a British-Indian 17 year-old girl living in London who wants to play soccer professionally, a career choice her family does not support. The film, with mixed reviews in terms of its utility in teaching about race relations (see Sharma, 2006), takes the viewer through the deeply-held values, traditions and expectations for the members of this South Indian family. The film ends with Jess’ family changing their traditions to embrace British ones (one of the major critiques of the film) and deciding to support their daughter’s dream of becoming a professional soccer player. All these videos were watched with no comments or questions.

The two other videos were met, one with a response by a student, and the other, with a comment from the teacher. After watching the video *Hate Machine* a student says that she did not understand it. The teacher asked the class whether they want to see it again. A few students say yes. The teacher played it again. In what appears to be a television studio, kids are being coached on how to read their lines. The lines include positive, negative and neutral messages told by kids from different ethnic/racial backgrounds. Then, the kids’ lines are mixed up to produce a hate speech against immigrants and Blacks. The final message contains statements, such as this country is not safe; “there are too many of them;” my parents blame it on the “Arabs,” “the Chinese” and “Black people.” “They are” “lazy,” “stupid,” “and dirty.” “If this country were a house, I would lock the door.” “Think about it.” After being played a second time, there were no questions or comments about racism or how hate messages are constructed. Nevertheless, important analysis has been done on how the media constructs and misrepresents people of color

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and ethnic minorities and the consequences those constructions have to the maintenance of distrust and prejudice among and between groups (see Henry & Tator, 2002).

With black and white images of the civil rights movement and with Martin Luther King's famous speech "I have a dream," as the soundtrack, *Eyes on the Fair Use of the Prize* informs us that the internationally acclaimed documentary, considered "the principal film" that narrates the most important American social justice movement in the 20th century, "*Eyes on the Prize*," can no longer be broadcast. Blackside productions could not afford the cost of re-licensing the footage used in their film and no public agency or other third party was willing to help. After the video ended, the teacher reminded the students that at Spruce High School they celebrate Black History Month. However, a discussion of the problem of racism in Canada, or the implications of silencing history, in this case, the "principal film" that documents the fight for human freedom and equality did not take place.

Ms. Montgomery uses a contribution approach (Banks, 2003) to include multicultural content as part of her citizenship instruction to acknowledge the multicultural nature of Canadian society. During instruction, students are reminded of ethnic and holiday celebrations observed at Spruce High School like Black History Month. A major critique of this approach is that it reifies a Euro-centric curriculum that reflects the values of the dominant culture (Banks, 2003). This critique is found in Ms. Montgomery's citizenship instruction wherein the students' cultural diversity plays a minor role in the design and provision of citizenship instruction. In Ms. Montgomery's own words, the main goal of her instruction is that all students "understand our *Canadian* system" (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008 my italics). Therefore, while Ms. Montgomery recognizes that many of the students attending the class are racially and culturally diverse, for her an important goal is to help these students, particularly those who do

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not speak English, to experience academic success and to adapt to the mainstream culture (Sleeter & Grant, 2007). Therefore, providing the necessary educational supports, such as curricular adaptations and accommodations and ESL classes are seen as the main avenues to meet the needs of culturally different students (Sleeter & Grant, 2007). It seems that when a contribution approach is used to address cultural diversity in citizenship education, cultural difference is more likely to be brushed away. This in turn creates the illusion of a common culture protected by democratic principles and institutions where all social groups regardless of their social positioning participate equally (Banks, 2003; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 2007).

Justice-Oriented Citizenship Education

Democracy is not just about the structures, processes and institutions, but above all, it is about building a more equal and just society. In this context, an important goal of citizenship education is to help students understand the interplay of social, political and economic structures that create conditions that perpetuate inequality. A justice-oriented approach to citizenship education (the third perspective in Westheimer and Kahne's citizenship education framework), therefore, brings to the forefront issues of power, justice and equity. In this section, I describe the context in which issues of social justice are presented and dealt with in the class.

As explained before, teaching for social justice is a stance that Ms. Montgomery did not adopt when planning and providing citizenship instruction; nevertheless, the videos that she showed touched in a wide range of critical issues of social inequality nationally and internationally. I have identified six themes that videos addressed. Documentaries like *Mahatma Gandhi: Pilgrim of Peace* and the videos *The Cochabamba Water War*, *Water Warriors*, *Tapped Out: The World Water Crises* centered on **civil action in the pursuit of justice**. While the first

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video discusses Gandhi's civic disobedience as a way to defy the British imperial rule, the other videos analyze contemporary civil movements where citizens organized themselves to fight government decisions that severely affect them as citizens through protest, demonstrations, marches and town council meetings. Is it a citizen's right "to disobey the government's law?" is a question posed to the viewers in one of the videos. A leader of a civil organization explains that civil disobedience is the only means citizens have to influence government policies, and secondly, it is a duty citizens have to direct their own future "and do not leave it up to a few to decide for them."

Racism and its role in crimes against humanity was explored through the documentary *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of Roméo Dallaire* and the video *In Transit*. Before playing the video, the teacher briefly explained that this video is part of a unit on the United Nations. The video explores, she states, "the United Nations position in the Rwanda genocide" (classroom observation, May 28, 2008). The teacher provided the students with a 12-question guide to be discussed after the class. Just before playing the video she informed the students that this activity would "not be graded." This had a clearly observable effect in the class. Suddenly, some students put their heads down on their desks, others put the handout inside their notebooks without even taking a quick look at it, and in the end only a handful of students attentively watched what is a thought-provocative video on one of the most tragic, preventable genocides of the 20th century (classroom observation, May 28, 2008). We watched the video without any pauses. When the video ended, a few students responded to each of the 12 questions read by the teacher. The majority of the questions queried students about factual information, such as "why was Romeo Dallaire in Rwanda?" "What are the two main Rwandan ethnic groups?" "Of which European nation was Rwanda once a colony?" or "how was the Rwanda mission unsupported

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and underfunded?” (classroom observation, May, 28, 2008). While these questions provide contextual information needed to understand the Rwanda conflict, to answer the questions students had mainly to recall information provided during the documentary. For example, to the first question about why General Dallaire was in Rwanda, a student answered: “he was in charge of the peacekeeping mission in Rwanda” (classroom observation May, 28, 2008). The guide did not include more difficult questions that interrogate the United Nations and the world’s response to the Rwanda genocide, for example, instead of asking how the Rwanda mission was unsupported and underfunded a more poignant question would have been *why* it was unsupported and underfunded. Similarly the significance of the colonial legacy and its lasting impacts on Rwanda and other African countries was not explored.

In transit shows the brutality of interracial conflict. Opening with scenes of various sick-looking women, who have difficulty walking, getting into a pickup truck, we soon learn that these women are going to the only city where they can get medical attention, for many an eight-hour drive. These women have been the victims of the Interahamwe Hutu Militia, who “waged a campaign of sexual violence against Congolese women.” Once in the safety of the hospital, women speak. They tell about the brutality of the attacks (e.g., gang rape and sexual mutilation), and their shattered lives and dreams, and they wonder if they could ever forgive. The video ends without any questions or discussion.

Poverty as a lived experience was explored from different angles through peoples’ lives. Interestingly, these videos are some of the few that the teacher commented on. In *Recycling*, we meet Mr. Miguel Díaz, a middle-aged, Spanish-speaking immigrant, homeless man living in Los Angeles, California. As he describes his life, his family: other indigents living in the same area; his hobby: taking care of street animals; and his occupation as a recycler and a farmer. Every

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day, he searches in the city dump for anything useful, such as food, bottles and cans. Together with other destitute people, on what seems to be the highway median, he grows corn and other crops for self-subsistence. After the video ends, the teacher informed the students that the City of Ottawa has a bylaw that makes it illegal to search in peoples' garbage. "If found, a person can be fined" the teacher explained. Some students seemed to be surprised by this and there were small exchanges between students, but as a class, there were no comments or questions on issues of poverty, indigent survival strategies, or the City of Ottawa bylaw that regulates garbage picking.

No Child takes issue with the US No Child Left Behind Act's requirement "that all high schools give all students' names and addresses to the military." Feeling vulnerable and a target of military recruiters due to their low-income and working class condition, the students formed the anti-recruiter movement Youth against War and Racism. *No Child* contrasts two military recruiters, one who knows he/she is being videotaped and the other who does not know. The video shows that young people are being misled and misinformed in order to be persuaded to join the US army forces. For example, the recruiter who does not know that s/he is being videotaped informed the young male that there is a small chance of being deployed to Iraq and that there are ways to leave the military, if desired, statements that are not supported by the officer who knows he is in the video. After the video ended, the teacher told the students in Canada "we do not do this" (classroom observation, June 5, 2008). In Canada, she said, "students have to attend school by law until they are 18 years old" (classroom observation, June 5, 2008). While the Canadian Armed Forces might not engage in aggressive recruitment strategies, they do a fair share of it in elementary and high schools. In fact, in 2007 the Council of Canadians launched the action campaign: *Stop Military Recruiting in Our Schools* (The Council of Canadians, 2007). Moreover, counter-recruiter organizations contend that low-income

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neighbourhoods and high schools are more likely to be targeted by military recruiters. With promises of paid postsecondary education and a stable salary, youngsters are more likely to accept military enrolment as a way to progress (The Council of Canadians, 2007).

The third video *Book'em: Undereducated, Overincarcerated* explores the relationship among school zero tolerance policies, youth delinquency, youth incarceration and poverty. The video contends that there is a “school-to-prison pipeline,” meaning “there is a straight road from the school to the juvenile justice system.” Zero tolerance policies in high schools are intended to punish any behaviour that violates school rules. Students who are expelled from school are at greater risk of committing delinquent acts, which increases the likelihood of youngsters ending up in detention centers, paving their way into the adult prison system. This is particularly prominent in low-income and working-class schools, which are predominantly attended by African Americans and immigrants. Zero tolerance has made it easier to suspend and expel students on sometimes questionable behaviours, such as yelling in the corridors and arriving late to class. The video ends with the following reflection: “Once you get suspended you have a foot in the door.... This pipeline is closer than you think.” When the video finished, Ms. Montgomery asked the students, “does suspension lead to a detention center?” After some minutes of silence, a student responded saying that suspension to her means that she “stay[s] home for two days.” Another student is of the opinion that suspension does not mean that a student is going to end up in a detention center (classroom observation, June 5, 2008). Although the video focuses on the US, there was no mention of or comparisons with the zero tolerance policy introduced in Ontario through the enactment of the *Safe School Act*, which came into effect in schools in September 2000 (Bhattacharjee, 2003). In addition, there was no discussion of how a zero tolerance policy might disproportionately affect some student populations more than others, racial minority

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students and students with disabilities (Bhattacharjee, 2003). The class discussion ended up downplaying how the school system through its zero tolerance policy, puts some teenagers at a higher risk of engaging in delinquent acts that eventually puts them into the juvenile justice system, sending the message that while these problems exist in the US, they are not significant in Canada.

Other videos also raise important question about the **war in Iraq**, the contradictory logic of **capitalist democracy**, and **queer rights**. Through the combat experiences of a 26 year-old US marine who served in Iraq, the video *Night Visions* focuses on the psychological effects of the war. The contradictory logic of capitalist democracy is exposed in *How Wal-Mart Came to Haslet* when financial resources outweigh state and municipal laws. Wal-Mart Corporation threatens the Haslet Township to take legal action against them if they oppose the construction of a new Wal-Mart on the city's wetland—something against the city and state regulations. Township meetings and civil protests resulted insufficient to stop the construction of Wal-Mart in the Haslet's wetland. Queer rights are explored in the video *Permission* when a young male is knocking on doors and asking people for their permission to marry. The video ends with the caption, “how would you feel if you had to ask 260 million people for the right to marry” (classroom observation, June 5, 2008).

Through the videos the students were exposed to issues central to democracy in Canada and abroad. The students found the videos to be very informative and a source for learning about key issues happening “around... the world that we should be aware off” (Omar, Student interview, June 11, 2008). However, the teacher did not provide opportunities for any further learning and discussion. This may be in part because they are “extra” activities to fill instructional time, but there is a clear lack of interest in taking advantage of the opportunity to

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engage with important social justice issues. In Ms. Montgomery' class there is not a vision of democracy rooted on the values of justice, equity, diversity, equality and transparent decision-making. Consequently, in her view, citizenship education has no bearing in responding to issues of discrimination, race, social class, gender, and language and cultural diversity. Her decision to show these videos stems from the fact that she has covered all mandated content—the political and legal structure of governance—and there is extra instructional time. Nevertheless, aware or not, this video watching, characterized by a minimal response to the critical issues, becomes a teachable moment from which students are learning.

Discussion of Case 1 Findings

Ms. Montgomery endorses both a personally-responsible and participatory conceptions in educating for good citizenship. Yet, overall the personally-responsible conception is the one that takes primacy in her instruction. Ms. Montgomery's conception of good citizenship pays particular attention to civic knowledge and civic behaviour. For her, citizenship education ought to teach a strong knowledge base of the legal and political structures that underpin democracy. Therefore, three quarters of instructional time was dedicated to civic knowledge acquisition. As Suzanne explained, "a lot of it [class content] is facts" (student interview, focus group 1, June 10, 2008), as opposed to discussions of complex or controversial societal issues. The special emphasis on civic knowledge acquisition is corroborated by both Ms. Montgomery's statements and instruction and by all nine students I interviewed. All said that class discussions and deliberations were very limited. The students recalled that Ms Montgomery "brought a lot of stories that she knows of" (Nathan, student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008) through which "she told... what is legal, what is illegal and what can be brought out to court" (Jessica, student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008). The students participated by "giv[ing] their

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opinions randomly. It is more like talking about it rather than discussing it” (Liana, student interview, focus group 2, June 12, 2008). Overall, the students reported having learned important lessons about government structure and function, particularly of the Canadian judicial system. For some like Suzanne, taking the civics course has been a source of career inspiration; she is considering law as a future career choice.

Ms. Montgomery associates good citizenship with good behaviour. “To become a good citizen” she stated, it is important to teach to students “what is right, what is acceptable and not acceptable in society [and] this is part of the [Civics] course” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). The Outstanding Canadian Citizen assignment and the Make a Difference project are the two main activities that aim to instil in students good and exemplary behaviour. While the outstanding Canadian citizen provides students with role models who display the qualities and actions that distinguish exemplary citizens, the Make a Difference project aims at having students display desirable citizenship behaviours. From the teacher’s point of view all the projects taught students to be active citizens, engaged in the betterment of their communities, even though some of the projects—issue-based projects—had much more meaningful objectives and aimed to address an existing problem. What becomes clear is that the teacher understands active citizenship as acting responsibly by helping others in need or providing a service to one’s local community, and not as engagement in social and political issues that affect democracy and its citizens (Crick, 2007; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

In this civics classroom a predominantly personally-responsible conception of good citizenship coexists with a participatory vision of good citizenship. According to Ms. Montgomery, “by giving them the knowledge of how they could become an active citizen, [the students] can participate in our society” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). In her

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view, civic knowledge precedes civic participation. The underlying rationale is that if students “know how things work” they will be able to be active citizens in their community because “they would know where to go to make complaints or to make suggestions” (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). The kind of participation that is encouraged is within the structures the government provides to participate. In other words, citizens are active within the system, not necessarily for public engagement, but for the smooth and unchallenged functioning of the state (Heater, 1992; Parker, 2003). The teacher’s focus on the rules inhibits and discourages any forms of participation that are associated with breaking the rules. As such, petitioning, letter-writing and volunteering are sanctioned while protesting and involvement in civil organizations are not.

Another characteristic found in Ms. Montgomery citizenship instruction is that the social and cultural diversity found in the classroom—or in society—has little to no effect on the way she plans and delivers citizenship instruction. As she asserts, the main goal of the class is that all students “understand our political and legal system” regardless of their background, (Montgomery, teacher interview, May 22, 2008). It seems that when a personally-responsible approach dominates citizenship education, there is no need to take into consideration cultural and ethnic diversity. As a result, the multicultural student body has very little to no impact on instructional content and classroom pedagogy. In fact, the lack of discussion about the films presented in class seems to indicate that Ms. Montgomery deliberately eschews dealing with issues of social and cultural difference when they emerge in the classroom. Not surprisingly, all of the outstanding citizens students selected were White men.

Since educating for citizenship education is a normative concept, in practice, this means that there are many competing visions of what “the good” constitutes, and Ms Montgomery’s citizenship instruction speaks to that complexity. Her instruction is a combination of

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methodologies that provide students with the knowledge and skills needed to take their roles in the democratic process and encourage active participation in the public sphere. However, I believe that a close attention to her goals as well as to her practice, especially to what is taught and what receives primacy compared to what is seen as secondary and not part of the content of the instruction can help discern the conceptions and understanding that drive her citizenship efforts. Overall, Ms. Montgomery's approach to citizenship education can be qualified as educating citizens who are knowledgeable of how the government and its institutions work, clearly understand and follow the rules, are informed of what happens around them, and do acts of goodness to help others and their community.

CHAPTER 5:

CASE 2: SPRUCE HIGH SCHOOL: MS. JUDITH KELLER'S CIVICS CLASS

Ms. Judith Keller, a teacher in her mid-forties, teaches a small, diverse class of nine students, six of which are either new or first-generation immigrants. The countries where these students and/or their parents were born are Jamaica, Zimbabwe, Bulgaria, Serbia and Syria. This classroom had a relaxed classroom atmosphere. Students sat in a circle and there were often informal conversations and friendly jokes about events happening at school or in the news. On Fridays, the day scheduled for class discussions, students took turns bringing in food to share.

Course Organization and Teaching Techniques

Ms. Keller used teacher- and student-centered teaching strategies in her citizenship instruction. Teacher-centered techniques, mainly lectures supplemented with handouts and occasional discussions, were used primarily to impart civic knowledge. Students' knowledge was assessed at different times during the semester with quizzes, a mid-term and a final exam.

Two student-centered activities were implemented in this class: the Current Events Report and the Make a Difference project. The Current Events Report followed the same format as in Ms. Montgomery's class. Students compiled 10 newspaper articles—three for each level of government (municipal, provincial and federal) and another on international affairs. The students wrote a one-page report describing the issue and sharing their opinion, and did a presentation on three articles to the class. According to the teacher, this learning activity encourages informed citizenship as students have to read, listen and watch news broadcasts to complete the report. In addition, it promotes critical thinking skills as students analyze and critique current public issues. It also encourages class discussions of current civic issues that are of interest to students. In this

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classroom, Fridays were scheduled for the students' current events presentations. While sharing food, students presented their news articles and opinions about the issues addressed. Often, the teacher encouraged students to ask the presenters questions and engaged the students in a conversation about the articles presented. Judging from the classroom observations and student interviews, the Current Events Report was a learning activity that the students enjoyed.

The Make a Difference project was the main strategy to promote active citizenship and it had the same requirements and timeframe as in Ms. Montgomery' class, but there were significant differences in how students were prepared for their project. During the last two weeks of class instruction, students were asked to design and implement an action in response to an issue or problem that they cared about, either individually or in small groups. Afterwards, they presented to the class the results of the project and wrote a five-paragraph summative report about the experience.

Ms. Keller's Conceptions of Good Citizenship and Goals for Teaching

Ms. Keller integrated the three citizenship strands outlined by the OMET into her own conception of good citizenship. She identifies two kinds of citizens: the first she refers to as "a minimally good citizen," and the second as "a good citizen" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). A minimally good citizen "is informed and purposeful" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Informed citizens are those who "understand how their government works... [have a good knowledge of] the political system and the parties [and] who is running in their riding...; and [are aware of] their rights and responsibilities with regards to the law" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Purposeful citizens are those who "vot[e... and] fulfill their obligations... [by] doing [the...] things that are expected of them, [like] showing up for a court

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date if they have [one].” In short, purposeful citizens “do the things that are asked of them by their government” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). By contrast, a good citizen

[w]ould be one who is a *little bit more active*. Maybe writes a letter from time to time on something that upsets them, or does some kind of work in the community to improve things and not just letting other people do everything. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008, my italics).

Different levels of citizenship are important departure points for Ms. Keller’s citizenship instruction. At the onset of the course, she outlined with her students the various levels of citizenship. As she explains, “I have... a poster that I make... where we talk about the three different levels of citizenship as outlined by the Ministry in Ontario: the informed, the purposeful and the active [citizen].” Prompted by the poster, Keller and her class discussed the significance of each level and how each level would be approached throughout the course (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In addition, Ms. Keller strongly believes that each level of citizenship can be successfully promoted through citizenship instruction. The first level—the informed citizen—can be achieved when students

[d]o what I ask [them] to do and pass all the tests and do all the assignments at a minimum [they] are going to be informed citizens.... As long as [they] remember all the stuff that I have told [them]. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

The second level—purposeful citizenship, or fulfilling one’s civic responsibilities—is in Ms. Keller’s view, “more for the lifelong learning when [they] grow up;” however, the foundation is laid in their citizenship education (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). And, the third level, active citizenship, is targeted in a civic action project where the main goal is to

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[g]et them to do something a little bit more active. Sometimes it is just writ[ing] a letter or run[ning] a bake sale or whatever, so that they get sort of a taste of what [it] is like to make a difference. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Ms. Keller recognizes the importance that citizenship education has in preparing students with the knowledge and dispositions needed to become responsible and civically engaged citizens. Civic knowledge and active citizenship are two aspects that are central to her citizenship instruction. They are guiding principles that help, on one hand, to organize her day-to-day citizenship instruction, and, on the other, to delineate the overall goals and expectations for the course. She explained:

I think my goals for the civics class is really to give them a basic overview of ... how the government works and their connection to the government. But my main goal is really to show them how they can do something, or kind of empower them, I guess, to greater civic responsibility.... At the minimum they are going to vote and at the maximum they are going to do more actions... based on their beliefs. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

For Ms. Keller, civic knowledge lays the foundation for active citizenship. Her vision of citizenship participation is built around the notion that students first need to understand the political and legal structures in order to participate. In other words, civic knowledge acquisition precedes citizenship participation. As she elaborated:

I think... they really need to understand how th[e] government is structured in Canada... and the responsibilities of each level of government. I think if they are going to be taking some action..., they need to understand that kind of [knowledge,] so they do not hassle

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the federal government about garbage collection. I think that that is really the main thing for me. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Promoting Active Citizenship at the School Level

Ms. Keller shared insights about how teaching the civics course led to a process of renewing her own civic engagement. She was assigned the course just after returning from maternity leave. As a new mother with a heavy course load, she dedicated herself to preparing and teaching the assigned courses. In her Civics course, she always stressed the importance of being active citizens involved in ones' community. Yet, as she was teaching the Civics course, a moment of realization happened:

As I was teaching the course, I was telling them to be active. A student came to me and said: we want to run this 30-Hour Famine event to raise money for World Vision. My first thought was, oh my god, so much work! Then, I [thought,] I am telling these kids: you need to be active! You need to be active! And I am not really being very active.

(Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Teaching the Civics course, explained Ms. Keller, is what “really pushed me to re-engage my civic activism” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). At the time of the research, she was still supervising the annual 30-Hour Famine event. As previously mentioned, she had also become a teacher advisor for the school Amnesty International Club, and at the time of the research she was the school’s union representative. To her, helping students to get and stay involved is a “really rewarding” experience. From Ms. Keller's perspective, the enthusiasm of students for staying engaged “when they are in senior school” has its roots “in their Grade 10 Civics class” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). This enthusiasm is further ingrained after the students have had meaningful community-service experiences. On a personal level, Ms.

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Keller went on to say that “as a citizen, I have these responsibilities to do something about my beliefs” and by being involved and helping the students to be involved, she honors something that is important to her—that is being an active citizen herself (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Active citizenship is a vision of good citizenship that Ms. Keller aims to instill in her students through her citizenship instruction. In this class, this vision is promoted mainly through the Make a Difference project. The project aims to serve as a springboard so that students get “a taste of what [it] is like to make a difference.” This experience can become the catalyst young people need for understanding the value of one’s active participation in public life (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). However, in order to develop active citizenship in her students, Ms. Keller feels she must first impart a solid foundation of civic knowledge, including how the government and its institutions function. As in the previous case study, there is the notion that civic knowledge precedes citizenship participation.

Civic Knowledge and Understandings

From Ms. Keller's point of view, students need to acquire civic knowledge and develop certain understandings to be able to become civically-minded citizens. As discussed above, in Ms. Keller’s class, civic knowledge acquisition was a central component of citizenship education. As the teacher said, an “understand[ing of] how the government works” is not only a critical learning outcome, but also a cornerstone of citizenship participation (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In addition, Ms. Keller identified specific skills and values that are fundamental to educating for good citizenship. In what follows, I detail the civic knowledge and understandings students are expected to learn and the strategies employed to impart this knowledge.

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Knowledge of How the Government and its Institutions Work

In the Grade 10 Civics course, “there is so much information to get through,” declared Ms. Keller (teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In fact, when she was first assigned the course, she often asked herself how she would teach all of the content specified in the provincially-prescribed curriculum. Students are expected to learn the structure, functions and responsibilities of the three levels of government (federal, provincial and municipal) and the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judicial). In addition to these overarching political structures, students are required to understand elections and related procedures (e.g., political parties, ridings, first-pass-the-post system) as well as how a bill becomes law. In terms of the individual in society, students must also familiarize themselves with the rights and duties of Canadian citizens. Concerned about the amount of information that has to be taught and the high number of ESL students in her class, she developed a teaching strategy and structure, which she explained as follows:

I take about a week to do a chapter. But I set it up. It is all lecture notes, but I have a fill in the blanks sheet for the kids, so... they are not writing the whole period.... I just blank out the key terms that they need to know...and every once in awhile in the lecture notes we stop and discuss something... so that the kids can get it. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Therefore, lectures, worksheets and brief question-answer exchanges are the pedagogical strategies that dominated class instruction during the first seven weeks of instruction, to help transmit large amounts of civic content in a short period of time.

Student interviews reveal that students acquired civic knowledge that Ms. Keller targeted for instruction. Students recalled learning about key figures in the Canadian government and

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their roles, as well as the main government institutions. Fatima, for example, reported learning about “the MPs, Governor General, [the] Queen, the House of Commons, [and] the Supreme Court” (student interview, January 22, 2008). Similarly, Albert said that he learned about “all the parties [and] their [platforms]; the different positions you can get in the government; the ways they proceed; how they are elected; who has more power and who gets more paid” (student interview, January 18, 2008). Vanessa also said that she acquired knowledge about federal and provincial governments. She explained, “I really did not know what MPs and MPPs were” (student interview, January 10, 2008). However, she also reported developing a better understanding of the shortcomings and privileges enshrined in Canada’s democracy. Through formal citizenship lessons of how the government works, she learned:

The territories do not really have much to say. They have one seat in the House of Commons.... And, I learned about how being Canadian gives us much more privileges like free health care, which I thought that most countries had. But in the US if you break your arm, you pay 400 dollars to have it fixed and some people just cannot afford that. So, I did learn, again, that we are very privileged. (student interview, January 10, 2008).

Civic Skills and Values

While civic knowledge is central to her citizen instruction, Ms. Keller also identified skills and values that are key in the provision of citizenship education. With regards to skills, she stated, “being able to form an opinion and support it... is the skill I focus on in this course” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Teamwork and presentation skills are other skills she encouraged through class instruction. To her, teamwork is important because “working with other people is what we do as adults and as citizens” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14,

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2008). However, as she affirmed, “it always comes down to the same thing: forming an opinion and being able to support it” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Respect, democratic decision-making, and participation are values that Ms. Keller identified as important to teach students about. For her, respect is the most critical value students need to acquire. As she said, “respect for other people and respect for the classroom... is what it boils down to” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). “The values of democratic decision-making [are] also really important, so when we make decisions as a class, we make them in a very democratic way so that they have a say.... Everybody gets to explain themselves” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Participation is another value that she aims to develop in her students. More specifically, she wants her students to understand “that they can do something, that as... citizen[s], they have a responsibility to do something if there is something that is bothering them” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

While great efforts were made to incorporate these values and skills throughout her citizenship instruction, the teacher identified class discussions as the best teachable moments to develop civic skills and values. Democratic values and skills come together and can be reinforced in classroom discussions. The teacher explained:

We set out the rule that you have to respect each other and you can disagree about things. And I mean that is what Civics is. You have to bring your opinion to the table and you have to be able to back it up, but you also have to be respectful towards the other people. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Being Informed about Current Events

Educating an informed citizen who is knowledgeable about what happens locally, nationally and globally was another important goal of citizenship instruction in this class. The

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Current Events Report is the main learning activity designed to promote informed citizenship. Ms. Keller considers that this activity “is quite structured, even though it seems kind of free form” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Its goals are twofold. First, it aims at promoting informed citizenship by having students read, listen and watch news broadcasts, which in turn encourages class discussion of current events that are of interest to the students. Secondly, it seeks to promote critical thinking skills as the students write a critique on 10 news articles. Besides these pedagogical goals, there is another reason why Ms. Keller implements this assignment. She recognizes that a heavy lecture format “has its own problems” and that students need more than “only doing lectures a lot of the time” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). The Current Events Report is a way to address these concerns. It “provides the kids with an opportunity to share” their opinions and points of view in the context of different current issues, an activity that “the kids usually love” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In other words, it makes learning more active and engaging for the students, something that is more difficult to achieve through lectures.

Interviews with students show that overall they did enjoy the Current Events Report. For Fatima, this was the learning activity that she liked the most. She said:

I like bringing the articles because I get to discuss [them...]. I look for an article in the newspaper and I get to discuss it with my class and... they [her classmates] seem interested in it and we talked about it and, yes, I like... having discussion in class, debates, those kinds of things. (student interview, January 22, 2008).

Besides being an activity that they enjoyed, the students regarded the Current Events Report as an assignment that helped them to become more informed. Both Keifer and Fatima observed a substantial change in their own behaviour. Keifer, who now sees himself as someone who is

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“informed,” explained that before taking the course his “grandmother would talk about what is going on [in the] government and [he] would have no idea what she was talking about” (student interview, January 16, 2008). Similarly, Fatima says that through this activity, she has become “really interested in international politics [and that she is] reading the paper daily” (student interview, January 22, 2008). Others, like Vanessa, saw the assignment as an opportunity to deliberate; thus, she “tr[ie]d to choose kind of controversial” articles to generate “a healthy debate” (student interview, January 10, 2008).

In this classroom I observed five Current Events presentations where students discussed articles related to the creation of a water park, cell phones allergies, an international conference of oil producers, Facebook and the adoption of a Nunavut child. Contrary to Ms. Montgomery’s class, the Current Events Report presentations did result in class discussions during which students put forward their opinions and listened to others’ ideas. In this section, I focus on the types of articles that students selected, and analyze the quality of the class discussions in the next section.

While many of the articles selected by the students relate to things that are of interest to them, the news articles differed in terms of their civic content and significance as public issues. With the exception of the adoption of a Nunavut child, a news report that underlies the living conditions of Indigenous peoples (which will be discussed in the multicultural education section), the news articles that students chose tended to focus on popular news and current events. In terms of the types of conversations that were generated, some articles were more effective than others. Vanessa’s article about Facebook, for example, was very interesting and closely related to students’ day-to-day activities (all students were Facebook users). It contended that social networking has created a new type of community, the online community, where

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people come together around a particular interest. Fatima chose an article with the catchy headline “allergic to your cell phone” that alleged that the nickel used in cell phones can cause allergic contact dermatitis. This article attracted a lot of interest among students; nevertheless, its content is rather thin and generated very little in the way of insightful debate. Another presentation focused on the possible construction of a private water park between the cities of Ottawa and Montreal. Another report discussed Canada’s participation in an international conference of oil producers taking place in the United Arab Emirates. This latter report could have had led to a discussion of controversies associated with climate change, but the presentation—like the article itself—focused mainly on factual details about where the conference was taking place and what countries were attending and much less on the purpose of the conference. Therefore, this article facilitated neither new learning nor a fruitful discussion on the topic of the oil industry.

Ms. Keller’s citizenship instruction stressed not only substantial civic knowledge acquisition relating to how the government works, but also the importance of being informed about events happening at the local and global level. Civic knowledge is seen as the foundation upon which other aspects of citizenship, such as citizenship participation, are built.

Citizenship Participation

For Ms. Keller, an important goal of both the Ontario Civics curriculum and the school’s Social Science Department is to encourage the development of active citizenship in her students. As such, her citizenship instruction paid closer attention to students’ civic engagement and involvement within the public sphere. Class discussions and the development of the Make a Difference project were the two main pedagogical approaches geared towards developing student active participation.

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Class Discussions of Current Issues and Events

The discussion of “current local, national, and international issues and events in the classroom” has been identified as a promising practice for improving citizenship education (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003, p. 24). In addition, discussions can be more meaningful when they address issues and events that young people see as relevant to their lives (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003). Ms. Keller sees class discussions as a way to promote civic engagement and the importance of discussion is a notable difference in the provision of citizenship education between her Civics class and the other one at Spruce High School, demonstrating again the key role of the teacher in citizenship education.

What kind of discussions took place in Ms. Keller’s classroom? What was the quality of these discussions? These are the two questions I focus on in analyzing the discussions that took place in Ms. Keller’s class. Class discussions were generated by two different learning activities. Discussions stemmed from the students’ presentations of their Current Events Reports as well as from the teachers’ explorations of societal issues to help students prepare for undertaking their active citizenship projects. The topics and the quality of the discussions associated with these two activities were substantially different.

The quality of the class discussions depended greatly on the teacher’s expertise leading them as well as on the topics addressed in the articles the students chose. To facilitate productive class discussions Ms. Keller saw herself as a moderator. She explains, “I am always the moderator.... I am trying to summarize what somebody might have said, to clarify what they are saying, or to cut somebody off if they are just not making a point” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Another important aspect of Ms. Keller’s role is to ensure the quality of the discussions. Thus, she pays close attention to see that the students “present their opinion and

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back [it] up... with whatever facts they have at their disposal” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). She also decides if a discussion “cannot be finish[ed] or [continued] because we do not have all the facts.... If there are no facts available to us in the discussion there is no point in arguing it anymore [because the students] are... getting off into opinions without facts” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In facilitating class discussions she also must decide when to share her opinion. “I used to be torn about giving my opinion,” she told me (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Her concern stems from the recognition that she is an authority figure; thus, she is afraid that the students might automatically accept and not challenge her viewpoints. However, after careful pondering the matter, she came to the conclusion that:

Giving my opinion... and backing it up is important because it gives them a model for what I am expecting them to do, and hopefully, the kids will argue with me. I mean, that is what I am trying to get them to do. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Class discussions derived from the Current Events Reports. In this section I present two class discussions that generated a lot of interest and dialogue. The examples illustrate the types of topics elicited by the articles and the quality of the discussions that took place.

Vanessa’s article about Facebook reports that the network has over 250,000 members in Ottawa, which means, as Vanessa said, that “about one quarter of the population of Ottawa is on Facebook” (classroom observation, January 11, 2008). Communities, she explained, are becoming communities even in the absence of proximity; communities can and do exist in the internet. She provided a specific example in the Canadian context. “People who are Irish and born in Canada can still be connected and form an Irish community in the internet” (classroom observation, January 11, 2008). Facebook has facilitated the forming of extensive online communities, where “people can have hundreds and hundreds of friends; although people

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probably never will meet face to face” (classroom observation, January 11, 2008). Vanessa also highlighted some of the problems with Facebook, such as stalkers and issues of anonymity and false identity that make Facebook somewhat dangerous, especially for more trusting people.

After her presentation the following exchange took place:

Albert: If you are not seeing the person, you are not judging them on color, race, or gender. You do not judge people in Facebook.

Vanessa: But people have profiles and pictures. A lot of people judge me as a loser because I do not have a picture. I have a question mark instead. They judge me because I do not feel comfortable putting a picture of myself in the internet.

Teacher: Is it possible to connect with people that you already know face to face?

Vanessa and other students: Yes.

Teacher: Do you have to accept them before they become your friends?

Vanessa and other students: Yes.

The teacher then took the floor and explained how her mother uses Facebook to stay in contact with her family members that live farther away. Fatima picked up the discussion again and added:

Fatima: Some people write private information, for example, where they work and live, their age and birthday. I think this is dangerous.

Teacher: People do not understand how accessible the information is. They can put themselves at risk by inviting people that they do not know. It might be a stalker, a pedophile, or someone fleeing from the police. I am not saying that teenagers should not use Facebook, but use it with caution. Another concern is that people can spend a lot of

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time on it. It is a different way to procrastinate (classroom observation, January 11, 2008).

In the discussion of the Facebook article there are different interests at play. The students brought forward how issues of multiculturalism—race, ethnicity and gender—are experienced through Facebook. Vanessa, for example, explained how Facebook is a tool for immigrants and minorities to create and maintain a connection to an ethnic community. Albert is of the opinion that because in Facebook communication is not face-to-face, people are not readily judged based on skin color, a point that was challenged by Vanessa. However, Ms. Keller took the discussion to a more comfortable place, stressing both the usefulness of Facebook in being connected with family and friends and the risks of using Facebook. Ms. Keller may have felt compelled to address the dangers young people are exposed to when using Facebook, but some key issues raised by the students were not discussed.

Fatima's article discussed the case of a dermatologist who treated a young adult who had a severe allergic reaction to nickel, a material very commonly used in cell phones. The article suggested that one way to curb teenagers' cellular phone addiction is by telling them that if they do not use their phone sensibly, they can become allergic to them. The article presentation provoked the following exchange:

Teacher: What is your opinion about the article?

Fatima: This is an article for the parents to scare their children.

Albert: Was it false advertisement?

Teacher: Do you think something should be done about this?

Albert: The article is completely false advertisement.

Monica: He is allergic to the cell phone.

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Teacher: (Talking to Fatima.) Your critique of the article is that it is inaccurate or misleading.

Fatima: Yes.

Vanessa: But, some people have allergies to nuts, so they could also be allergic to nickel (classroom observation, January 11, 2008).

Overall, the discussions stayed on topic and the students seemed at ease presenting arguments that were not always in agreement with the teacher's. However, the topic lacked meaningful content for the purposes of educating citizens concerned with public life. Finally, and more puzzlingly, is the teacher's call for action on the case of the cell phone allergy. The article simply exposes a health issue concerning people who might be allergic to nickel and who might be allergic to their cell phones, and how this knowledge can be used to reduce teenagers' heavy cell phone use. Overall, the discussion dealt with what might be considered a fairly minor issue, and did not make connections to the broader theme of corporate responsibility for the safety of their products. The issue did not generate much enthusiasm or a recognition that civic action is sometimes needed to protect people's health. As such, an opportunity to teach students about the relevance and importance of participating in the public sphere was missed.

Class discussions derived from the exploration of societal issues. On one occasion while working in groups, the teacher asked the students to identify issues in the newspaper that they were concerned about or things that they thought were harming society. One group identified the controversial public policy issue of the legalization of marijuana. After they proposed legalizing marijuana, the following discussion ensued:

Vanessa: Because we are teenagers, they will see us as marijuana lovers who want to legalize marijuana.

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Albert: Marijuana has multiple uses, especially in medicine as a pain reliever.

Rasil: We have to be sure how to present the issue and the downsides.

Vanessa: Yes. My mother will not sign something if she knows that adolescents can have easy access to illegal drugs (classroom observation, January 7, 2008).

This discussion, although brief, demonstrates that given the opportunity, students can identify and deliberate problems that are of public concern. In this case, students analyzed and weighed arguments for and against the legalization of marijuana with the information they had at their disposal.

Preparing Students for Active Citizenship

Ms. Keller conducted various activities to prepare students to undertake their active citizenship projects. These activities included listening to a motivational reading, defining the goals and expectations of the project, identifying issues that they could deal with in their projects, and writing an action plan based on the students' strengths and social concerns. This is an important difference between Ms. Keller's approach and Ms. Montgomery's implementation of the Make a Difference project, which provided much less preparation.

Defining the Goals and expectations of the Make a Difference project. A motivational reading from Reader's Digest magazine was the first step in preparing students for active citizenship in this class. Ms. Keller read an inspirational narrative about a citizen who wanted to do something to contribute to his community. All he could think of were big projects that were all too daunting, and for a long time he did nothing. One day he decided to donate 10% of his salary (about 350 dollars a month) to a social service institution that provided food for the poor. After making the donations and volunteering in the kitchen from time to time, he felt that his contribution was meaningful and made a difference to those in need in his community. Over time

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he became a very important philanthropist, providing extensive financial support to different charitable institutions locally and across the country. In a dialogue about the reading, two related messages were highlighted by the teacher. First, that sometimes a person does not know how to contribute and ends up doing nothing, and secondly, that most people start small, but after seeing the impact their actions have, they get more and more involved. As such, doing something, no matter what it is, is the first step towards making a difference.

After reading and reflecting on the story, Ms. Keller specified the goals and expectations of the Make a Difference project. Students were told that she expected them “to make a small difference about something or to someone.” It is a way, she told them “to connect with the community, with your neighbourhood” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). In addition, she reminded the students that in their presentation and final essay they needed to explain how their projects made a difference in the community and what they learned by doing the project. Ms. Keller asked them to give examples of actions that could make a difference. Astrid gave the example of “taking care of a little kid” while the parents are at work (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). The students and the teacher also discussed projects that other students had done in the past. Ms. Keller mentioned a fundraising project to raise money for clean water in Africa, putting up a stop sign at a busy intersection, and having a guest speaker talk to the class about issues like child soldiers and child labor (classroom observation, January 8, 2008).

Identifying issues to address through their civic projects. Ms. Keller conducted group-work activities to help students identify, with the help of newspapers that were provided or based on their own experiences, issues that they could address in their civic action projects. She asked them to identify three issues that they were concerned about. Then she invited them to propose at least one action for each issue that could be taken to improve the situation. Finally, she asked

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them to assess the feasibility of the suggested actions. Working in groups, students generated a list of nine issues, including the privatization of alcohol, the legalization of marijuana, funding amateur athletes, child soldiers, protecting endangered wildlife, using fluorescent instead of incandescent light bulbs, the shortage of family doctors, government control over the media, and the re-election of a new mayor since the mayor at the time, Larry O'Brien, was facing criminal charges.

During the exercise, it became evident that civic knowledge is not always readily transferable to civic action. Most student groups needed help identifying actions that could be taken to address an identified problem. One group, for example, could not think of an action related to the legalization of marijuana. The teacher asked them to determine what level of government is responsible for marijuana legislation. Once the students identified that it was the federal government, the teacher asked them, "what can you do" so that "government officials would become aware of your intentions of legalizing marijuana?" The students suggested writing a letter to the government. The teacher approved and continued to probe, asking, "what else could you do?" With help from the teacher, the students identified other possible actions, such as organizing a petition or a rally to request the legalization of marijuana (classroom observation, January 7, 2008). During this exercise students commented on some of the issues. For example, Vanessa, reading a news article about limiting the number of students who would be accepted into the Faculty of Medicine said, "we need more doctors and less people are being trained." In her view, this was a critical issue since "many people now cannot find a family doctor. Imagine when we get old" (classroom observation, January 7, 2008).

Writing an action plan based on the students' talents and issues that they care about.

Before writing their action plan, the teacher asked the students to write down all the issues that

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they cared about. Then she asked them to list their talents; she asked them, “what are you good at?” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). The next step was to choose an issue that they could address in their civic project with the talents that they possessed. The students then were asked to write their action plan for their civic project, which was submitted for approval and grading. Overall, Ms. Keller provided a lot of guidance in helping the students identify their capabilities and resources that could be used to promote change.

For some students, in this case two groups out of four, it was difficult to decide on an issue to act on. Reflecting back on his experience with the Make a Difference project, Keifer thought that the project should be done by older students. When asked why, he said “trying to change... our community... like trying to do something that will influence other people” is something that is “a bit difficult for our age” (student interview, January 16, 2008). As he pointed out, for him and his partner “finding what to do” was the most difficult step and “took a few days” (student interview, January 16, 2008). Finally, as the deadline approached, it was the teacher who suggested raising funds for a World Vision program. For Fatima’s group, what was particularly difficult was not identifying issues, but rather finding issues that “we care about” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). A worthy cause materialized when Fatima, watching television, spotted a commercial asking for donations to help kids with cancer (student interview, January 22, 2008). Coincidentally or not, these two groups that struggled to identify an issue to act on, conducted service-oriented projects—both did fundraising campaigns. Four days of class instruction were given to the students to plan their civics projects. In-class time was also assigned for preparing the oral presentation and write the final essay.

A preparation phase is critical to community civic involvement (Newmann, 1975; Root & Billig, 2008; Stoneman, 2002). Ms Keller’s instruction is concerned with helping students

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identify concrete issues that they care about and that they can act on through their Make a Difference project. This preparation phase may have played a key role in students' final decision on what project to undertake. As the next section reveals, the four projects students designed—although different in their goals—genuinely intended to make a positive difference to their society.

Students' Active Citizenship Initiatives: The Make a Difference Project

A total of four civic action projects were undertaken. Based on the scope and aims of the student projects, I identify two kinds of projects that students undertook: service-oriented and issue-based projects. There were two service-oriented and two issue-based projects. Service-oriented projects are more aligned with the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship and their main goal is to provide a service by helping people in need or contributing to a worthy cause. In contrast, issue-based projects, which closely correspond to participatory conceptions of good citizenship, require working with private or public institutions and organizations to effect some level of change. There were no justice-oriented projects that sought to address the underlying causes of an identified social problem.

In the two service-oriented projects, students fundraised for the Canadian Cancer Society and for World Vision. Fatima, Astrid and Miriam did a bake sale. At school, they sold pancakes, brownies, cupcakes and chocolate bars. They collected \$56.70, which they donated to the Canadian Cancer Society. Following a World Vision program, Keifer and Rasil sold popcorn at school to raise funds to buy antibiotics for people in Africa. Their goal was to collect \$30, but due to their lack of preparation, they could only raise \$11.00.

The two issue-based projects focused on environmental issues. Vanessa took issue with a government building that kept the lights on throughout the night. She decided to write letters to

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the Minister of National Defense, the Honorable Peter McKay, her Member of Parliament, and to the Ottawa Citizen newspaper to request turning off the lights at the headquarters building of the Ministry of National Defense. She also designed posters that she put around the school that advised on three ways to save energy: (a) Turn off the lights in a room if you will leave for more than 17 minutes; (b) If everyone in Ontario uses energy-efficient light bulbs instead of regular bulbs, we can save 600,000 watts; and (c) Turn off the computer monitor and have the computer stand by when not in use. Albert and Edward participated in the Green Bin high school contest that was sponsored by the City of Ottawa, which consisted of designing a poster to support the city's new recycling program. I considered this an issue-based project based on the students' goals of promoting the city's waste management program. "Our action" they explained, "was to create this poster [to] inform people about the Green Bin.... We are trying to ask to compost things" (classroom observation, January 21, 2008).

Research, Planning and Execution

There were three main differences between the service-oriented and issue-based projects. Issue-based projects required research, more careful planning and execution, and working with other people including public and private organizations to bring about their completion.

Research. Issue-based projects required research to be successful. To write officials about turning off the lights at a government building, Vanessa investigated the negative effects that having the lights on causes to the environment. In her presentation she explained how having the lights on burns fossil fuels, which raises the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, thereby contributing to global warming (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). She also conducted field research. As she explains, "I decided to surveillance the buildings' lights because I need proof" (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). She recorded the buildings that had the lights

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on for three consecutive nights. Edward and Albert, who also did an issue-based project, realized that to create a poster for the Green Bin program, they needed to learn about the program. They investigated the program goals, what it requires from Ottawa residents and the benefits to the city, particularly in diverting waste and reducing the need for more landfills, which is both environmentally and financially costly. In contrast, service-oriented projects required less research to be successful. Keifer, for example, explained that on the World Vision web-site “we saw listed” the different programs and the suggested donation “price range and we thought... [of] doing the antibiotics” (student interview, January 16, 2008). Rasil, his partner, further explained that they learned by reading the World Vision webpage that “every thirty dollars [can] help ten people to get antibiotics” in Africa (student interview, January 16, 2008). Similarly, Fatima, Astrid and Miriam researched the Canadian Cancer Society website to get details of how to make their donation.

Project planning and execution. The goals and nature of the issue-based projects that the students undertook required that they think more carefully about the goals, steps, and resources needed to complete their projects. For example, to design the poster Edward and Albert said that they needed to learn about the Green Bin program. Similarly, Vanessa’s project entailed writing a convincing letter to government officials and print-media editors. The letter writing involved identifying the recipients of the letter and conducting research to support her case. In contrast, the main concern fundraisers had was to request permission from the school authorities to sell goods during school hours. Once approval was granted, their success depended on being prepared for the sale.

Working with people and public or private organizations. The students who undertook fundraisings simply had to search the websites of various organizations mainly to obtain

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information about donation programs as well as related donation procedures. Issue-based projects, in contrast, required students to learn about government programs and procedures as well as to contact government officials. Edward and Albert, for example, searched the City of Ottawa website to learn about the new recycling program and the requirements to participate in the city of Ottawa Green Bin high school contest. In addition, this pair of students asked for feedback from their peers. Twice they presented their Green Bin poster to their classmates who in turn asked questions and offered suggestions to improve the design of their project.

An initial obstacle to Vanessa's letter writing was "not knowing who to write to" (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). Once she decided whom she would make aware of this issue, she searched government officials' websites to find the procedures to write to each one of them—Peter McKay, the Minister of National Defense, responsible for the buildings in question, and her Member of Parliament. In addition, she talked to her English teacher about her civics project and asked her advice on how to write a strong letter that could be published in the Ottawa Citizen newspaper. As was the case in Ms. Montgomery's class, students who did issue-based projects had to do more work and organization to complete their projects, and their projects enhanced their knowledge particularly as it pertains to civics and the environment.

Service-oriented and Issue-based Projects: Very Different Types of Active Citizenship

Participation

The projects that the students undertook allowed them to have a first-hand experience with different civic and public issues as well as with different forms of civic engagement. In what follows, I analyze what students reported learning from their Make a Difference civic action projects.

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Becoming aware of public and social issues. Something in common among the students who did issue-based projects was an increased concern for the environment. Vanessa began her presentation affirming, “global warming is a real issue” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). Through the project, she became more conscious that “we need to do something about the environment.” For her, “raising public awareness about the environment in general and electricity in particular” as well as passing “better legislation [to save...] energy” are two important steps in curbing global warming (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). Similarly, Albert and Edward expressed concern with the fact that humans “are speeding up the greenhouse effect” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). They spoke of their poster character as a superhero. Indeed, they affirmed, “we are trying to make the Green Bin into a super hero.” And to them, the Green Bin “is a super hero” because “it is getting rid of the garbage and composting it to make a greener world” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008).

In addition, issue-based projects made students reflect on current government policy and decision-making. For example, Vanessa was critical of what she perceived to be the government’s failure in fulfilling its responsibilities and living up to citizens’ expectations. “I decided to make this [turning lights off at night in public buildings] an issue” Vanessa explained, “because the government should set an example for people and they are not.” She continued, they should set an example “by conserving energy... and [not] waste taxpayers money because ...they use taxpayers money to pay for the light in the buildings” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). Issue-based projects also allowed some students to develop knowledge and understanding of the social, economic, and political aspects at play in political decisions and public policy. Through her research, Vanessa learned some of the reasons why governments around the world do not take a stand against global warming. She said:

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It will take enormous amounts of money to make a huge difference, [and] that is why government[s] are kind of shying away from the issue and choosing to quote the scientists who say, oh well it [is a cycle] that happens every few hundred years... It is all fine. (student interview, January 10, 2008).

She also learned how economic factors directly affect government decisions about environmental regulations. “I recently found out,” she said “that if the US bans drive-throughs, they will automatically meet their Kyoto’s accords, but the Bush administration does not want to... stir the pot; they do not want to make people upset” (student interview, January 10, 2008).

Both service-oriented projects focused on raising funds to tackle health issues nationally and internationally. The team raising funds to buy antibiotics for people in Africa said that they have become “aware of organizations that are out there” that provide assistance to the poor (Rasil, student interview, January 22, 2008). They also learned that “a lot of people outside of Canada need help” (Keifer, student interview, January 16, 2008). Similarly, in their letter to the Canadian Cancer Society, Fatima, Astrid and Miriam wrote, “we chose to do a bake sale to help someone and save someone’s life” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). While the students were sensitive towards human suffering, neither of these students seemed to have acquired a deeper knowledge of the issues that they were acting on. In fact, they provided very little background information on the problem or the conditions that their projects dealt with. Rasil and Keifer limited themselves to say that “in some places like in Kenya they do not have basic medical needs ... like antibiotics for diseases” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). The students who raised money for cancer simply stressed repeatedly the importance of donations to help the fight against cancer and to save more lives.

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Personal, social and civic development. All of the students, even those for whom the civic project proved to be a challenge, regarded the Make a Difference project as a valuable experience that helped them to realize that they could make a contribution to society. Students, who helped others through their fundraising projects, expressed a great sense of personal fulfillment. Fatima, Astrid and Miriam in their presentation remarked, “helping others makes you feel good and happy while [it] aids the people who get it” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). In addition, the project has strengthened their desire to volunteer to help others. Miriam for example said how in the future she wanted to participate in “more sales, donations and fundraisings for the Cancer Society [because] it will give a little bit of hope to someone” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008).

The students who did issue-based projects also found the projects to be personally rewarding. Their reflections indicate that through their civic projects, they have acquired critical civic knowledge that led to changing previously-held understandings about the government and citizen investment in public interests. Vanessa’s explanation clearly exemplifies some of the rationale young citizens have that can preclude citizenship action: “before [doing the project], I thought of the government as a machine that does everything perfectly, but they do not. They are people and have flaws” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). Another previously held notion that Vanessa had that changed concerns assumptions about government officials’ responses to ordinary people. She said, “I thought that it would be kind of hard to talk to someone important [and that the letter would go through] a lot of middle men, but not. I learned that it is easy to communicate with your MP. You just write to them” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008).

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Other students realized that one of the key functions of governments is to legislate and make decisions about issues that affect citizens. This realization prompted new insights about being an informed citizen. Edward exemplified this aspect when he stated, “I have learned [to] look harder trying to discover what is around me because I was not aware [that] the Green Bin was coming out so soon” (student interview, January 18, 2008).

Issue-based projects also helped students recognize the importance of having a voice in society and in the democratic process. Vanessa stated, “I wish that my voice could be heard a little bit more.” Therefore, for her, having the letter published in the newspaper is a mechanism to make her voice heard as she would like “that everyone in Ottawa” reads the letter requesting that the lights in government buildings be turned off at night (student interview, January 10, 2008).

Students who did issue-based projects also expressed a sense of civic competence—the perception that one is capable of effectively participating in public life. Vanessa, who is critical of national and international government inaction to reduce global warming, felt compelled to do something to change a condition that is of great concern to her. “I feel almost like if someone does not do something then the whole world is going to heat up and we are going to have malaria in Canada” (student interview, January 10, 2008). Edward concluded that by doing this project he learned that:

We are all able and... we can all make a difference. At the end [of the project what,] I want to achieve [is] to inform people, to make them understand that this is an issue... that... is very important and [that] it concerns all of us. And, if we all try, we can change the future. (student interview, January 10, 2008).

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These research findings are congruent with previous research that focuses on the educational outcomes of—to use the language used by the province—student community service (Root & Billig, 2008; Wade, 2008; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Overall, community participation through a civic project contributed to students' personal development, particularly in developing a disposition to carry out actions that benefit society at large. In addition, experiences of community service supported the development and the practice of civic and academic skills as well as the acquisition of civic and academic knowledge (Billig, 2000; Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005; Wade, 2008). However, the most significant findings emerge when contrasting what students reported learning from issue-based and service-oriented projects. Students who did issue-based projects reported becoming aware of public and social issues that demand public attention (Billig et al., 2005; Metz et al, 2003; Wade, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). They also reported a greater sense of personal civic competence whereby they feel more capable of effecting societal change (Billig et al., 2005; Kahne & Westheimer, 2008; Stoneman, 2002; Wade, 2008; Walker, 2002). The projects students undertook, however, allowed only for a modest increase in students' external political efficacy, or understandings of how citizens act in response to the government and its institutions' responses to their requests and demands (Kahne & Westheimer, 2008). This is because the issue-based projects' final objectives were not intended to change public policy, but to raise awareness and to give the students an opportunity to act as judicious citizens concerned with the public good.

Promoting student citizenship participation was an important goal of Ms. Keller's citizenship instruction. Class discussions and the Make a Difference civic action project are the two main strategies she used to accomplish this goal, strategies that students enjoyed participating in. The topics that dominated class discussions in Ms. Keller's class were those of

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current events which tend to be soft news, or articles that report on less serious matters; nevertheless, discussions of more relevant public issues took place when students explored issues that were of public concern. Active citizenship, whereby students implement actions that benefit others and the community, was pursued through the Make a Difference project. As in the other class at Spruce High School, the type of project students conducted favoured different kinds of civic learning. Overall, issue-based projects were more effective in developing civic knowledge and skills, a personal sense of civic competence and a better understanding of government and citizens' roles in public decision-making.

Multicultural Education

In this section, I examine whether and how Ms. Keller responds to cultural diversity in her instruction. First, I describe how she responds to the cultural and racial diversity that emerges from the students ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Then, I explore how her citizenship instruction addresses issues of social and cultural difference as found in today's society.

Recognition of Students' Cultural Diversity

While of course fully aware of the fact that more than half of her students were either new or first-generation immigrants, Ms. Keller nevertheless asserted that this multicultural diversity did not influence the way she planned for and delivered citizenship instruction. Then, as if she were reflecting back on what she just said, she added, "I would like to say it does, but it does not really" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Ms. Keller is sympathetic to the struggles and challenges that immigrant students face to adapt to a new environment and succeed in the Civics course. "If the kids have arrived from another country, they are just starting from zero, so I have to kind of take another step back to explain it a little bit more thoroughly" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In addition,

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she acknowledges that fostering critical skills, such as developing one's opinions about public issues, can be difficult as "sometimes they come from places where they do not have any experience forming opinions, and it is more challenging for them in that way" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Although Ms. Keller recognizes that, for some immigrant students being successful in the Civics class might be difficult, she implements minimal instructional accommodations and adaptations. The few accommodations and adaptations that she implements are derived from her past experience teaching the course. "I taught the course a few times," she said, and "I was, like, wait. This is not working!" With an extensive prescribed content to cover, she often found that "the immigrant or the ESL students [got] bogged down, and the Canadian ones [were] bored" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Hence, she came up with an instructional arrangement that consists of "lecture notes" supplemented by "fill in the blanks" handouts. The students quickly learn that the blank spaces are "the key terms that they need to know" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). From her point of view, this instructional method while "it is equal, it is not necessarily equitable; [but] everybody gets the same information" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). Even with this instructional arrangement, Ms. Keller knows that there is a difference in terms of achievement, particularly for ESL students. "I do not think they always get it. But if they are reasonable students, and they try hard, I think they get a minimum. But they often do not get as much" (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). This instructional arrangement also responds to her differentiated goals and expectations for her students. She admits to "have different goals for... ESL or immigrant students... [than] for the Canadian-born students." For the former, the goal is:

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Just to... get a grasp of the basics, to improve their English if that is an issue, and, you know, for the Canadian-born students it is really more about the engagement with the discussion and... gaining more argumentation skills. Whereas with the immigrants or ESL, it is just... the basics of providing argumentation skills. So, it is really sort of the level the basic versus the more deep understanding of things. So, yes, I do have different expectations. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Ms. Keller affirmed that she would not change the instructional format to respond to the social and cultural diversity in the classroom. In fact, she states that in planning and providing citizenship instruction, “I do the same thing; same thing for everybody” regardless of the multicultural composition of the class (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

However, notwithstanding the challenges it brings, for Ms. Keller, teaching citizenship education in a multicultural classroom also presents benefits. While Ms. Keller’s instruction does not make special efforts to reach students who are culturally or racially different from the majority, the experiential knowledge of these students is considered an asset, and therefore welcomed as it “enrich[es] the classroom and [provides] multiple perspectives.” This cultural enrichment is something that Ms. Keller considers “a fundamental quality of democracy” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). She recalled a vivid discussion on corporal punishment in schools, explaining that the immigrant students:

Had a variety of experiences and stories... on what it was like for them where they came from. So, that was, I think, valuable for them to be able to share; that they had valid experiences before they came to Canada. But, also, just for the other Canadian students to hear as well because then they are becoming citizens of the world and understanding more international stuff. (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

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However, for Ms. Keller, teaching citizenship education in a multicultural classroom “is a challenge for sure.” What makes it “very challenging” is that the Grade 10 Civics is an open course; thus, students are not streamed according to their perceived level of ability. Therefore, as Ms. Keller affirms, the teacher “ha[s] everybody in there... gifted..., special education and ESL” students (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). The main challenge from her perspective then is not necessarily responding to students’ social and cultural diversity, but rather on providing instruction in class where students are perceived as having different levels of ability.

Addressing Social and Cultural Difference in Citizenship Instruction

Classroom observations and interviews show that Ms. Keller did not incorporate multicultural content into her citizenship instruction. Nevertheless, when a student brought attention to a newspaper article dealing with the adoption of a Nunavut child by a non-Aboriginal couple, class discussion turned to the treatment of Aboriginal people. This is the only incident that I either witnessed or that was reported to me when citizenship instruction dealt with the experiences of distinct groups within Canada.

Astrid presented her current events newspaper article about the adoption of a child from Nunavut by a Newfoundland couple. The article reported on the decision of a teenage mother from Nunavut to give her baby up for adoption on condition that she would have visiting rights. The teacher then explained that this is an example of an “open adoption” where the biological parents can visit the baby. Albert then asked, “how old is she? Astrid answered by explaining that it does not say in the article. The Albert asked, “she is a teen, right? How old can she be?” The teacher responded saying, “maybe 15 or 16. We do not know” (classroom observation, January 11, 2008). The teacher then took the lead and moderated the discussion. “One of the biggest issues with the adoption of native children,” she told the students, “is the loss of their

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culture.” Then, the teacher provided some historical information specifically on the Canadian government’s policy of forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their families and communities. Up to “the 1970s, there was a policy of the Canadian government,” which allowed the removal of “Aboriginal children from their families” to be given “to White families to raise them.” This policy was argued as being appropriate based on the assumption that “it was better for the kids.” A student asked, “like residential schools?” The teacher said that “residential schools were part of it” but there was also full support for “the adoption of Aboriginal kids by White families” (classroom observation, January, 2008). Ms. Keller then discussed some of the negative impacts on both the children and their communities. The removal of the kids from their parents’ care meant that “the kids did not learn their culture and language.” For Aboriginal communities, this policy was seen as a way to “kill their cultures and it was” (classroom observation, January, 2008). Then she asked the students for their opinions on the adoption. She asked, “since it is a teen pregnancy,” do you think that “the adoption could work?” She reminded students that the baby would not have access to his or her own community and therefore to his or her own culture. Edward raised his hand and asked, “I am just wondering, where is this teen problem?” The teacher responded, “in Nunavut.” Then, another student asked about the reasons people have to adopt children rather than having their own. The discussion quickly shifted to the reasons couples or individuals have to adopt. Critical issues, such as the removal of Aboriginal babies from their communities, the fact that Aboriginal communities have the highest levels of teen pregnancy in Canada, or the reasons why teen mothers decide to give their children up for adoption were not discussed.

Keeping in mind that the teacher had no advance warning that this issue would become a topic of discussion and to prepare for it, I believe that this discussion is nonetheless a good

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example of how multicultural issues, particularly those that involve marginalized minority groups, are dealt with in this classroom. There are three occurrences that I believe are problematic in terms of helping students develop a critical understanding of issues surrounding multiculturalism in Canadian society. First, Ms Keller automatically assumed that the young woman giving up her baby was an Inuit woman. Second, she framed the issue primarily as a cultural one. Thirdly, she seems to implicitly support the adoption.

After listening to the news article, the teacher assumed that it must be an Aboriginal teenager, more specifically an Inuit woman who is giving her child up for adoption. The teacher is likely making an informed guess based on the fact that 84% of the population that lives in Nunavut are Inuit (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2008), that teen pregnancy in Canada is the highest among Aboriginal peoples, and the knowledge that poor socio-economic conditions that characterize Aboriginal communities can push a young mother to give up their child for adoption. The students, however, may lack this background information to reach the same conclusion. By not exploring important contemporary context, the discussion provides an ambiguous message to students, leaving them unaware of the circumstances their fellow citizens face, and possibly reinforcing false stereotypes about innate differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples—that they are dependent on the government for financial assistance and cannot provide for their families (McConaghy, 2000). Consciously or not, the class discussion that occurred reinforces the notion that it is normal for an Aboriginal person to give up their baby for adoption.

The second problem in the discussion of the adoption lies in the framing of the issue primarily as a cultural one. Ms. Keller explains that the child will likely lose his or her culture through the adoption. By doing so, the teacher de-politicizes the issue and avoids discussing the

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economic, political and social factors leading to teen pregnancy in Aboriginal communities (McConaghy, 2000). With a focus on the cultural aspect, what is at stake are not the conditions that give rise to teen pregnancy and that force a young mother to give up a child for adoption, but rather the loss of a specific cultural background for an individual person. In this way, Aboriginal culture is treated as an object, and what is lamented is that the adopted baby will likely not have access his or her native culture (McConaghy, 2000).

In addition, Ms. Keller provided what can be considered an incomplete historical contextualization when trying to illuminate current and past realities of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The teacher explained how in the past Aboriginal peoples lost their culture through unjust government policies. She highlighted how hurtful this policy was to the maintenance and survival of Aboriginal culture. Yet, at no point in time are the government's racist practices questioned, suggesting instead that at the time government officials thought they were doing the right thing. Words, such as discrimination, racism, and oppression were never used to describe the policies of the Canadian government. As Kincheloe and Steinberg point out, "when non-white history is taught without a critical edge, students gain little insight into the problems facing different peoples in their culture's history and how these problems affected history in general" (1997, pp. 231-232). Ms. Keller provided a brief review of past wrong doings; nevertheless, there was not a careful analysis of how racist practices of the past continue to affect Indigenous peoples in the present, and more specifically how that past has shaped current social problems and conditions, such as teen pregnancy. The problem, therefore, is seen as personal rather than systemic. In this way, the news article becomes a one-dimensional story of a Nunavut teenager that got pregnant and cannot raise her own child. The discussion could have instead been an

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opportunity to critically analyze the history of racism and discrimination that continues to manifest itself today.

Finally, there is an implicit support for the adoption that can be read between the lines when the teacher asked the students to consider whether the adoption would work “since it is a teen pregnancy.” The mother’s age (and perhaps also her ethnicity) raises doubts about the young mother’s capacity to raise her baby. There are of course serious health and social concerns about teen parenthood that need to be discussed. Yet, in this class discussion, such issues were not raised. Not asking the reasons why this teen mother has to give her baby up for adoption is an example of how we participate in perpetuating inequality. Unintentionally, the residential schooling mentality is enacted once again: just as Aboriginal peoples were deemed unfit to provide for their kids, so too is this young Inuit woman. The governing rationale seems to be that although one is sympathetic with the young woman, it is probably in the best interests of the child to be raised by someone else, outside of the community.

Ms. Keller uses none of the approaches outlined by Banks (2003) to include multicultural content in her citizenship instruction. Indeed, the only instance in which instruction addressed cultural diversity was the case described above. However, during our interview, Ms. Keller said students with different cultural backgrounds are an asset to her instruction through their distinct perspectives on concepts and issues in the curriculum. It is important to note, however, that in practice, I did not witness any instances in which students’ different cultural background and experience provided additional points of view to class content. Ms. Keller did provide certain instructional accommodations to assist the academic performance and integration of immigrant students into mainstream society. In this class, however, the students’ cultural diversity played no role in the design and provision of citizenship instruction. The major goals that the teacher

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identified for her citizenship instruction, that students understand “how the government works... and their connection to the government” as well as to “be active citizens” were pursued without taking into consideration the students’ diverse social and cultural background (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

In this classroom, at least rhetorically, the contribution approach to multicultural content was present particularly in the recognition that the students’ different experiences can provide different perspectives on class content and discussions (Banks, 2003; Gay, 2010a; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). However, cultural difference is not part of the taught curriculum. Consequently, when issues of inequality emerge, such as in the case of the adoption of Aboriginal children, historical and contextual explanations fail to critically examine how structural problems create current conditions of deprivation and disadvantage, and ultimately social problems are rendered as individual and not systemic (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Justice-Oriented Citizenship Education

A justice-oriented approach to citizenship education (the third perspective in Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) citizenship education framework) is concerned with equity and justice as pillars of democracy and democratic living. Therefore, citizenship education with this approach makes it a priority to teach students about the structures that help maintain the status quo, such as racism and classism. The discussion of the adoption of a Nunavut child by non-Aboriginal people provided an excellent teachable moment to draw students into a discussion about systemic racism and how it can create socio-political conditions that greatly disadvantage Aboriginal peoples. But a justice approach to citizenship education was not found in this class. Instead, the discussion centered mainly on the reasons why people have to adopt children. As critical pedagogues contend, when relations of domination go unchallenged, the socio-economic

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conditions causing these relations tend to be reproduced and perpetuated (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 2007).

Discussion of Case 2 Findings

Both the personally-responsible and participatory conceptions of good citizenship are found in Ms. Keller citizenship education. These two conceptions are explicitly articulated in her instructional goals and also in the pedagogical approaches used to teach for good citizenship. Her conceptions of good citizenship and of good citizenship education echo the basic model of citizenry participation (Barber, 2003; Crick, 1978), which is composed of three components: the government, the citizens, and the relationships between them. As she affirmed, “my goals for the Civics class [*sic*] is... to give them a basic overview of... how the government works and their connection to the government” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008). In addition, her model envisions citizens as active participants engaged in the betterment of their communities. Her vision of active citizenship is best captured when she describes that her “main goal is... to show them how they can do something, or kind of empower them... to greater civic responsibility” (Keller, teacher interview, January 14, 2008).

Student interviews reveal that Ms. Keller’s goals and understandings of good citizenship closely correspond to the teacher’s vision. The majority of students interviewed reported learning that citizenship is about the relationship between the government and those who are governed, as well as citizens’ active involvement in the community. Edward, for example, said, “well [what I have learned] the most is probably about the government. How it works, what it does for us, and how to get involved, participate, become an active citizen” (student interview, January 18, 2008). Similarly, Keifer makes reference to the components of the citizenship model as well as the idea of civic involvement. “I have learned” he said, “to be involved and... aware of what is

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happening, and who is in government” (student interview, January 16, 2008). Vanessa’s response indicates her surprise about the emphasis on active citizenship. She said:

I learned the obvious parts the def[initions of] oligarchy, democracy, dictatorship [and] things like [that], but I did not realize that there would be more focus on what you can do... so, like our... project of being an active citizen. And I think that she [Ms. Keller] is just trying to make us more aware that we can make changes... We can make a difference in the world even if we are only one person. (student interview, January 10, 2008).

Ms. Keller’s classroom pedagogy stresses both civic knowledge acquisition and civic engagement and participation. Civic knowledge acquisition focuses on teaching a strong knowledge base of the politico-legal system and government structures. Her lecture system—although dull, as she recognizes—allows covering large amounts of instructional content in a short period of time at the same time indicates to students the key concepts they need to know that will be part of the course examination.

Citizen participation and civic engagement are promoted through class discussions of current issues and events and the implementation of a civic project—both are identified as promising practices in educating for good citizenship (Arthur et al., 2008a; Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003; Hess, 2009; Parker, 2003). With regards to class discussions, Ms. Keller provides instructional opportunities to have discussions among students to promote student engagement with public life by encouraging them to be informed and develop opinions on a range of issues. However, for critical citizenship educators, high quality class discussions are those that aid in the creation and maintenance of a democratic life and that therefore include topics that address significant public problems and issues that people and society face. This is something that was usually missing from Ms. Keller’s class discussions (Banks, 2004a, 2007;

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Gutmann, 1999; Hess, 2009; Parker, 2003). The majority of the discussions that occurred in her class can be considered “classroom talk” about current events and not authentic class discussions on issues and problems of public concern (Hess, 2009, p. 36).

With regards to active citizenship, the vision that dominates in Ms. Keller’s instruction is that of the “helper” (Walker, 2002). Active citizenship is primarily understood as doing acts that benefit others and the community at large. While this is a desirable trait to develop in students and a valuable educational outcome, of concern is the absence of a more political conception of active citizenship where citizens can influence public policy in order to promote social change (Barber, 2003; Parker, 2003; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). From the teacher’s point of view, all the projects students undertook taught them to be active citizens engaged in the betterment of their communities, even though some of the projects—the issue-based projects—had much more meaningful objectives and aimed at addressing existing social problems.

Another characteristic found in Ms. Keller’s citizenship instruction is that the social and cultural diversity found in the classroom—and in society—has little to no effect on the way she plans and delivers citizenship instruction. It seems that her conception of good citizenship, as the interaction between the government and citizens, is not influenced by the citizens’ diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds or other forms of social difference. In other words, the underlying rationale appears to be that as long as the students possess the knowledge of how the government and its institutions work and a disposition to participate in society, a citizen’s cultural background is not relevant.

Citizenship education is a complex and nuanced process that can only be fully understood by examining how it occurs in practice. In this classroom, citizenship pedagogy consists of both a personally-responsible approach that stresses knowledge acquisition and participatory one that

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accentuates active involvement in one's community. Taking into account her goals for instruction; the content of the class; the pedagogical approaches she used, overall, Ms. Keller's approach to citizenship education can be characterized as educating citizens who understand how the government works; who understand themselves as citizens who interact with the state and its institutions; who are informed about what happens locally, nationally and internationally; who see themselves as active citizens who can make a positive contribution to the community; but who pay little attention to social difference and do not challenge the status quo.

CHAPTER 6

CASE 3: MAPLE HIGH SCHOOL: MS. MARTHA WILLIAMS' CIVICS CLASS

Ms. Martha Williams is in her late 20s and at the time of the research was teaching the Civics course for the first time. Her class had 29 students where more than half were new and first or second generation immigrants, most from Middle Eastern countries such as Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Yemen. There were also students of Latin American origin, whose parents came from El Salvador, and Asian students with family roots in India and Vietnam. Roughly one third of students in the class were White. I observed that as students came into the class and chose a desk to sit at, there were friendly conversations between the students and the teacher and among the students. The students' desks were arranged in rows facing the chalkboard and the overhead projector was located at the front of the room. In this class, students spent significant amounts of time copying down lecture notes.

Course Organization and Teaching Techniques

Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction followed a routine consisting of a 30-40 minute lecture including question-answer exchanges between the teacher and the students, followed by filling in handouts with information from lecture notes or the textbook. Students spent considerable amounts of class time copying down information presented to them on the overhead projector. Lecture notes were largely from the civics textbook, *Citizenship: Issues and Action* (Evans, Slodovnick, Zoric, & Evans, 2000), complemented with materials from other sources. Occasionally, the teacher presented a topic to be discussed in class or asked the students to complete short in-class assignments. The majority of in-class activities Ms. Williams assigned

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came from the civics textbook. Formal assessment consisted of a mid-term and a final exam, two individual projects, and the three in-class assignments.

Beside lectures, three types of learning activities took place in this class: in-class assignments; class discussions that were both teacher and student generated; and the watching of a documentary about anti-racist education. Students were asked to complete three in-class assignments. One involved preparing a class presentation on a political party's position on an issue. Another assignment consisted of creating a job advertisement for the position of Prime Minister, and the third activity had students write a paragraph position on whether the voting age should be lowered. These in-class activities supported class content acquisition on a particular unit or topic.

Ms. Williams led two discussions about public issues. One discussion centered on whether the international community should intervene in a country without permission for humanitarian reasons, and the other one addressed the Bouchard-Taylor Commission Report that looked into the treatment of religious minorities in Québec. These discussions incited students' interests and diverse points of view—the first step in a genuine discussion—but a lack of adequate preparation and background knowledge sometimes resulted in the discussions falling flat. A third topic, the US primary elections, turned into more of an ongoing discussion. Often to start the class, Ms. Williams would pose a thought-provoking political assertion or question related to the candidacy of the US Democratic Party. In contrast to the three other case studies, students in this class asked important questions central to democracy and democratic living. As such, the teacher and students had many short discussions on a wide variety of topics, including many raised by the students. A third activity consisted in watching and discussing the video

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Indecently Exposed, about a workshop where anti-racist specialist, Jane Elliot, confronted racist attitudes of Canadians toward Aboriginal Peoples.

A Negotiated Classroom Pedagogy

It was evident that Ms. Williams prepared lectures and class assignments in advance of each class, as every day she had the overheads and handouts ready for the students. However, she faced some resistance from the students toward her instructional methods. Talking and texting during class instruction, criticizing the usefulness of an assignment and refusal to complete class work are some examples of behaviors displayed, particularly during lectures. However, the response of students was mixed. While some students refused to participate and complete in-class work, others did engage with the lecture content and asked questions that pointed to a critical analysis of societal issues. Often, I was under the impression that Ms. Williams was adjusting her instructional methods to try to better engage her students. Her citizenship education pedagogy can be seen as a clash and, therefore, a negotiation between her priority of teaching the politico-legal structure and the students' resistance to being passive recipients of civic information. In the following excerpt, Ms. Williams cogently expresses this view:

What I find with the course... with this section [is that] the kids were a lot more difficult to keep on task. And I had difficulty... getting their interest in the subject. And the traditional, like, do you think you should be able to vote? And, what do you think about this issue? Just didn't really, I never felt like I was able to hook them in terms of their interest throughout. And so, it was, I don't want to use the word floundering, but almost, as we rolled through the different steps. I never, like, there was the occasional bite, but

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really, overall, I did not feel the kids were excited about it like I was. (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Ms. Williams' Conceptions of Good Citizenship and Goals for Teaching

For Ms. Williams, being informed and being active are two characteristics that distinguish good citizens. As she explains:

A good citizen to me is someone who is informed. [It is] someone who... spend[s] a lot of time talking about rights and responsibilities.... A good citizen is informed and demonstrates [his/her] responsibilities, so that means participating, whether it is through your vote or [in] other ways. And then..., the final thing would be someone who is active in their community, and that can encompass so many different things, whether it is through politics or government, not necessarily, but through the community, any types of organizations. (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

For Ms. Williams, “civics” is “about the government, yes, but...it is also about participation.... It is about becoming active and involved in your own way” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). However, for Ms. Williams, an assumption that underlies her teaching is that civic knowledge happens before civic engagement, which in turn leads her to stress civic knowledge acquisition. This notion is clearly reflected in the goals of her citizenship instruction. For her it is critical that students “learn the basic framework of our government and our society and community, so they can take a participatory role” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). Further, in her view, to have a participatory role, “they have to understand it [how the government works] and be excited about it” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

In addition to an approach to citizenship education that stresses civic knowledge, Ms. Williams also endorses a participatory conception of good citizenship. She points to two avenues

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for citizenship participation: active citizenship and engagement with public life. Active citizenship, in her view, emerges from an “aware[ness] of the types of issues that are out there.” This knowledge is critical to “help them [students] realize that they have a voice, and that they can create action and that they can create results” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). In addition, it is important to her that instruction engages students in public life. For her this is vital, since she has noticed that her students “are not excited about... politics.” During the interview, Ms. Williams expressed concern and felt discouraged with the level of apathy in politics that young people have. She asked, “what is it that we have to do as Canadians to get our young people engaged?” She continued, “it is not since... Trudeau that we have had that... engagement in our own country” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). For her, therefore, engaging students is critical “because as it stands, it is not going to serve our nation well” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). While she stresses participation in politics and communities at home and abroad, for her, citizenship participation emerges from an informed citizenry. Her citizenship instruction, consequently, emphasizes both civic knowledge acquisition and the discussion of substantial public issues. To a large extent, Ms. Williams sees citizenship participation as the outcome of effective citizenship instruction.

Promoting Active Citizenship at the School Level

One of Ms. Williams' aims is to develop a stronger link between the “civics curriculum course and community involvement” at Maple High School. At the time of research one of her goals was to implement what she calls *The Volunteering Day in Civics* (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). According to her, on this day the students “will not come to school” but will work or provide some service “in [the] local community [or in an] organization” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). For many, this activity would be “the starting

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point” to complete “the [required] 40 hours of community service.” In addition, the volunteering civics day would help bridge class content with civic action. As the teacher asserted, “I would like to see [that] one of the major tasks and evaluations is [that] the kids have to [do] research [in the] local community [and] organizations based on the[ir] day volunteering” placement. She had spoken to the department head about this, but he pointed out that “logistically it is a challenge;” however, she affirmed, “it is something I would like to pursue and take it to practice” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Ms. Williams’ Volunteering Day in Civics initiative has its roots in her participation in the Mayor’s Youth Committee, a youth-based community organization. Based on this experience, she believes that young people can have a voice and play a significant role in the decision-making process—especially at the community level. Too often, she finds that students say and feel that “nobody listens to me” and this is true to the extent that “you cannot listen to someone who is not talking” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). For Ms. Williams, a day of volunteering would facilitate “giving [youngsters] ownership and [the opportunity] to take [the] initiative about their viewpoints” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). Students would need to think about “what is important to them, [so that] they stop complaining and start doing” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Ms. Williams endorses both a personally-responsible and participatory conceptions of good citizenship. Through her class instruction, she stresses the education of informed citizens who understand how democracy and its institutions work, who are aware of and develop opinions about public issues, and who fulfill their civic responsibilities. As she states, “I always tell them, I do not care who you vote for, but be informed and go out and vote” (Williams,

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teacher interview, June 23, 2008). This in turn, is expected to help students to develop their active citizenship and become involved with issues that are of interest to them.

Civic Knowledge and Understandings

In Ms. Williams' opinion, students need to acquire important civic knowledge and certain understandings in order to effectively participate in society. In this section, I identify the types of knowledge and understandings critical to Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction as well as the teaching strategies she uses to promote the identified knowledge.

Knowledge of How the Government and its Institutions Work

In Ms. Williams' class, students are expected to learn the structure, functions and responsibilities of the Canadian government and its institutions. Through lectures, Ms. Williams taught about the three levels (federal, provincial and municipal) and the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judicial), including the tasks and functions of its official representatives (e.g., the Queen, the Governor General). Through handouts and the teacher's lectures, students learned very detailed information about how the government works. For example, in the unit entitled *Our Parliamentary System*, the teacher provided the students with four handouts that covered terms, such as member of Parliament, cabinet, minister, majority and minority governments, caucus, leader of the opposition, speech from the throne, question period and backbenchers.

In an effort "to get them [the students] more away from paper and pencil type assignments," Ms. Williams asked the students to complete three in-class activities, which were submitted for grading (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). As explained before, students wrote a position paragraph on whether the voting age should be lowered. They created a job advertisement for the position of Prime Minister of Canada. Working in pairs, they presented

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the position of a federal political party on an issue of their choice, like unemployment for example. The writing of the position paragraph was preceded by a class discussion guided by the question: should Canadians under 18 be eligible to vote? The discussion of this issue, as the teacher accurately observed, “got some interest, but not really” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). After a few opinions were shared in favor and against, Ms. Williams asked the students to write a position paragraph answering the question.

The other two class activities demanded very little from the students as they basically had to copy down information found in the civics textbook or the handouts provided. The job advertisement for the position of Prime Minister consisted of outlining “the responsibilities, qualifications and benefits” (classroom observation, May 21, 2008). Before starting the assignment, Ms. Williams reviewed basic information, such as the current Prime Minister’s name, the political party he leads and whether we currently have a majority or minority government. Ms. Williams indicated which handout and which section in the civic textbook had the relevant information (classroom observation, May 21, 2008).

To prepare students for the activity that looked into the political party policies and positions on key issues, Ms. Williams asked students to first choose a political party and an issue that is important to the party. Then the students had to “create a message about the issue.” For example, she said, “the NDP advocates for social programs,” while “the Conservatives” support “lower taxes” (classroom observation, May 21, 2008). This activity had the potential to explore and enhance student political knowledge on the political platforms of the three main political parties. However, students only had to select information from two handouts that summarized the political parties’ platform and policies with regards to various issues.

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A Contested View of Democracy

A view that Ms. Williams incorporates in her instruction is that the democratic system we enjoy today is the result of a contested history. It has taken not only a very long time to build the type of democracy that we have, but at times, the road was paved with exclusion and discrimination. Ms. Williams explored past wrongdoings, in particular, historical moments when liberty and justice was denied to certain groups and sectors of Canadian society. To illustrate, in the lesson *The History of the Federal Franchise*, Ms. Williams taught a detailed chronology of the right to vote in Canada starting in 1867 when only White men who had property could vote. Through this timeline, students learned, for example, about the Japanese internment, and how the politicians enacted legislation to either enfranchise or disenfranchise groups to pursue particular agendas, for example to facilitate their re-election.

A vision of democracy that Ms. Williams stressed was the equality of all citizens. She taught about the *Bill of Rights*, which influenced the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Her focus was on the centrality of these pieces of legislation to guarantee the principles of equality and anti-discrimination for all Canadian citizens. Indeed, the concepts of equality and discrimination were studied in this classroom. Ms. Williams presented the students with case studies of Canadian citizens and groups that claimed that their rights to equality had been violated. The students examined the Canadian court decision and the arguments the court put forward in the ruling of such cases (classroom observation, May 13, 2008). While social and political rights are enshrined in the constitutional Bill of Rights, Ms. Williams taught her students that in many cases rights are interpreted by the law, and therefore, there are grey areas, or situations in which the granting of certain rights infringes the rights of another person or group.

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Civic Skills and Values

Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction included a reflection on personal values. Her goal was to help students understand how personal values and beliefs influence action. In other words, human behavior is largely regulated by convictions about what is right and wrong. After reviewing a list of values that included responsibility, loyalty, honesty, leadership, religion and respect for others, Ms. Williams asked the students to write a paragraph that explained the values that were important to them and how they influence their views and choices when acting as citizens. For some students, clarifying and reflecting on their personal values and beliefs helped them to understand that citizenship is largely based on principled action. Adana, for example, emphatically said, "you see how it [values and beliefs] is really civics.... civics has... your values. Like... if you are being done wrong then you have to take civic action" (student interview, focus group, May 30, 2008).

Ms. Williams identified "team-work..., presentation skills and forming their opinions" as key skills that are important to develop in her students (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). As she explained, different learning activities help develop different skills. As such, "with the political parties [learning activity...], we got to practice our presentation skills and [the students practiced] forming their opinions" in relation to the party platforms on key issues (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Being Informed about Current Events

For Ms. Williams, educating informed citizens who can participate in public decision-making is an important goal of her citizenship instruction. Ms. Williams promoted informed citizenship in two ways. First, she asked students to complete *The Current Events Report*. For the assignment students compiled 10 newspaper articles—three for each level of government

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(municipal, provincial and national), and one reporting on international affairs. They wrote a one-page report describing each article and their own observations and opinions about the issues raised. As in the two previous case studies, for Ms. Williams, reading, watching and listening to news broadcasts is seen as a useful avenue to help students become informed of what is happening nationally and internationally and to develop their own viewpoints (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). In addition, Ms. Williams discussed with her students issues that involved a political decision. To illustrate, when teaching about the municipal government, Ms. Williams discussed the City of Ottawa's snow removal budget. She explained that due to an unexpected amount of snow by mid-December the city's snow removal budget had already been spent. The Mayor, Larry O'Brien, decided to use the reserve funds to pay for snow removal services for the remainder of the season and to propose a one-time snow removal fee of \$50.00 to all Ottawa residents to cover the cost (classroom observation, May 15, 2008). Another class discussion that took place focused on the crisis in Myanmar after the 2008 cyclone. The students were asked to ponder whether the international community should intervene in the country to provide help to its citizens and promote some sort of democracy (classroom observation, May 13, 2008).

When asked about what they had learned in this class, all of the students interviewed commented on learning about how the government works. However, they also said that they had learned about citizenship rights and responsibilities, the relation between the government and its citizens and the importance of informed citizenship for informed decision-making. Hiyam, for example, highlighted learning about rights and responsibilities and personal values and beliefs. "I learned" she said, "about the government and how things work, your values and beliefs..., your responsibilities as a citizen [and] the rights that you have" (student interview, focus group, May

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30, 2008). Similarly, Sharon said, “I learned about the different parts of government, how the country is run.... We have done a lot on democracy and rights and responsibilities” (student interview, June 2, 2008). For Beverly, citizenship involves a relationship between the government and the citizens. She said learning “about... different types of government, mostly, and... how it relates to people.... I think about like just how... the government affects... what we do and how we partially... affect what the government does” (student interview, May 28, 2008). Another student underscored the importance of informed citizenship for making good decisions. Civics, he stated:

Teaches you... about how the government works, how the country you are living in works, like taxes. So, it helps you [and] when you are older, you know what you are doing. You know when to pay taxes, you know about the government. You are more interested in the debates and... it gives you more knowledge about voting and all those things so that you just do not vote by personality, [but] you vote by [the] issues. (Eliot, student interview, May 28, 2008).

There are specific types of citizenship knowledge and understandings that are included in Ms. Williams’ instruction. As in the previous two case studies, the course has a strong civic knowledge component, and students are expected to learn how the government and its institutions work. Another important pillar of instruction is educating an informed citizenry that is aware of and forms opinions about issues that are happening locally, nationally and internationally. Two additional key dimensions were also part of Ms. Williams’ citizenship instruction. The first was trying to develop a critical understanding that current rights and democratic principles developed out of a history of struggles within Canada. Ms. Williams taught the historical path of moving from past injustices to the institution of rights to protect

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people against tyranny and injustice. The other dimension was a reflection on the core values and beliefs that students have, and how they influence their roles in society and engagement in public life. This exploration helped students understand that there is diversity of identities in society and differing conceptions about the common good.

Citizenship Participation

Ms. Williams made a significant effort to promote citizenship participation in her students through her instruction. More specifically, she tried to teach her students about the role of citizens in the public sphere by promoting class discussion of controversial and political issues and by having them conduct research on a specific issue they were concerned about.

Class Discussions of Controversial and Political Issues

The discussion of controversial and political issues is a recommended practice because it encourages an understanding of citizenship and participation in the public and political realms (Hess, 2009; Crick & Porter, 1978; Parker, 2003). Ms. Williams engaged her students in the discussion of global and domestic politics. In addition, in this class discussions were also generated by the students who through their comments and queries asked questions about a wide range of civic and public issues that were discussed.

It is important to note that the topics that were chosen for discussion and the success of class discussions depended largely on teacher's expertise. Ms. Williams highlighted the importance of her role as a moderator to facilitate productive class discussions, stating that in "those discussions my role is to really keep them on task.... I also found that with this group, it [the discussion] could get [off-topic] really quickly. So, it was really about bringing it back to the issue at hand and trying to engage them" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

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Discussing global politics in Ms. Williams' class. In what follows, I present two class discussions that examined international political issues. The first discussion addressed the devastating cyclone that affected Myanmar, leaving a death toll of 84,000 people (British Red Cross, 2011). The other was an ongoing class discussion about the primary elections in the US—a process that started in early January, 2008 and culminated in August 2008.

The teacher opened the discussion on the crisis in Myanmar by stating that *Time* magazine “argues that it is time for the international community to invade Burma.” After providing some basic information about Myanmar’s military form of government, Ms. Williams said to her students, “the question I would like to discuss” is “if there is a time that it is okay for the international community to invade a sovereign nation?” The question captured students’ interest and triggered a wide range of views as the following excerpt shows:

Soraya: This is not about getting involved with another country. It is about emergency relief.

Faisal: No.

Teacher: (Asking to Faisal.) Can you be more specific? Why not?

Faisal: *Does not answer.*

Eliot: Yes, because they are dying of starvation and thirst.

Amir: It depends on the situation.

Carlos: To invade like forcibly...

Teacher: That will depend on the military junta. It could be that the international community would go in and start helping... or that they face opposition because the military who controls the country opposes international help.

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Nicole: I wanted to ask you... invading like going and giving people food or taking over the country.

Teacher: Time magazine is suggesting going in help the people and setting up some type of democracy.

Faisal: Democracy! They just cannot go and help the people. They have to take over.

Kamal: They just cannot go and take over.

Teacher: How so?

Kamal: Why they can just help them, help each other out. It will be better.

Teacher: Okay.

Rebecca: Why the government does not allow help?

Teacher: A military junta controls the government, so a few generals control the country.

They are afraid of letting international help in because they can lose power and control.

From our point of view, this does not make any sense, but we are seeing the situation from our values not theirs.

Rebecca: But what are they afraid of?

Teacher: People [in power] are afraid of change and what it might bring.

Suddenly, the teacher brings the discussion to an end by saying:

Teacher: This is an interesting question and we should follow the news to see what happens (classroom observation, May 13, 2008).

In this example, Ms. Williams posed a question that brings to the forefront students' ideological political views. For some students, relieving people's suffering provides enough justification for the international community to urgently mobilize a response to the catastrophe in Myanmar. Other students are more cautious and realize that they do not understand either the

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political situation at hand or the nature of an international intervention; thus, these students ask clarifying questions. Other students question the right of the international community to get involved in a sovereign nation. Faisal's and Kamal's comments reflect that they are critical of how influential democratic nations under the banner of democracy exercise their power in other countries. These students were also vocal in their disagreement to the intervention in Iraq and Canadian involvement in Afghanistan. For them, instilling Western-style democracy—particularly in predominantly Muslim countries in the Middle East—is seen as a form of imperialism. There is a rich and contrasting range of political views among the students in this class. However, it soon became evident that Ms. Williams was not prepared to engage the students in genuine exchange where they listen to others, and analyze, weigh and learn from their peers' perspectives on the situation. The class discussion ended abruptly soon after the students presented their points of view, which is the first step to a productive exchange.

The second discussion focused on the 2008 primary elections in the US. The teacher explicitly revealed her support for Barack Obama and said to the students that she followed his candidacy within the Democratic Party. Close to a democratic convention vote, the teacher led the following exchange:

Teacher: This is the first time that a party has a presidential African American nominee or female nominee.

Madani: People say they will vote for Obama now and when the elections come they will vote differently because they do not want a Black man or a woman to be president.

Teacher: I do not think people are going to vote republican because of what has been happening in the last three years. What has happened in the last three years?

Salma: Is George Bush republican?

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Teacher and other students: Yes.

Amir: War (answering the teacher's question).

Teacher: Yes, and they have not been successful. Another issue is the economy. What has happened to the economy?

Jonathan: It is going down.

Teacher: Their debt has risen by trillions of dollars because of the spending in Iraq. They spend around 550 billion dollars a month. These kinds of issues make people move for change (classroom observation, June 3, 2008).

Ms. Williams opens the discussion by recognizing a political historical moment in the US: It is the first time a woman or an African American would secure a presidential nomination in one of the two main political parties. In addition, she drew the students' attention into key election issues, such as the war in Iraq and the handling of the economy. Although the conversation is teacher dominated since it is Ms. Williams who provides information on the issues at hand, the discussion provides an opportunity for students to learn that elections are about the proposed actions and policies that a candidate and his or her party platform support.

Discussing domestic controversial issues in Ms. Williams' class. In this section, I describe and comment on two class discussions. One centred on labour rights, more specifically the right of workers to strike, while the other looked into the 1992 disenfranchisement of convicts. While studying the responsibilities of the municipal government, a student asked Ms. Williams about labour strikes. His question "can the snow removal go on strike?" prompted a classroom conversation about the objectives, restrictions and negotiation strategies used to deal with workers' demands (classroom observation, May 14, 2008). The students were inquisitive about the reasons workers go on strike. Ms. Williams explained that strikes occur when

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employees think that their rights have been violated or when they want a change in policy to have better benefits, such as an increase in their salaries. The students continued to probe the teacher and asked:

Erick: When they strike, [do] they get what they want?

Teacher: The government [usually] forces both sides to arbitration... It is an external party who looks at all the factors and then... decides. It is a mediator.

Beverly: Why is it [snow removal] considered an essential service?

Erick: How can you move around?

Teacher: The police, ambulances and fire trucks need to get around (classroom observation, May 14, 2008).

The second discussion looked into the disenfranchisement of convicted Canadian citizens. It emerged when studying the evolution of the right to vote after the teacher informed the students that in 1988 people with disabilities were granted the right to vote, while in 1992 inmates were disenfranchised¹⁰. Ms. Williams then asked the students, “do you think that people who are in jail should have the right to vote?” Suddenly, students were commenting with each other. Seeing the students’ enthusiasm, Ms. Williams said, “let’s have a discussion about it” with the following exchange taking place:

Teacher: Why yes?

Soraya: What about if you were in put in jail for killing... They should not be allowed to vote.

Teacher: You think it [the right to vote] should be according to the severity of the crime.

Jonathan: They are already corrupt.

¹⁰ In October 2002, the Supreme Court of Canada voted that it is unconstitutional to deny Canadian inmates the right to vote (CBC News, 2008, September 22).

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Erick: What about if it is a minor [offence]?

Ms. Williams reviewed the main argument to disenfranchise inmates. At the time the legislation was passed, “people felt,” she said, that convicts “had not lived up to their responsibilities of being a citizen.” They had violated the law, and therefore, were not appreciative of “all the rights; [and consequently] their right has been suspended until atonement takes place” (classroom observation, May 16, 2008). The students continued to discuss the issue:

Cameron: How come people with disabilities can vote, but people in jail can't?

Teacher: Because someone with a mental disability has not broken his or her responsibility, but someone in jail has.

Erick: But, they're mental.

Soraya: If your case is severe, will [you] be allowed to vote?

Teacher: There are not restrictions of IQ or anything (classroom observation, May 16, 2008).

These discussions demonstrate that students are indeed interested in political issues. They become interested in issues about governance and posed legitimate questions that merit discussion: do people with severe mental disabilities have the capacity to vote? Should the right to vote for inmates be revoked depending on the severity of the crime? However, although the teacher's strategy of raising these issues was effective in engaging students who she felt to be untouched by her instruction, once she had captured their attention (and that of other students as well), she did not pursue a more in-depth analysis of the issues, but rather abandoned the topic and moved back to her usual lecture style of teaching.

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Individual Research Projects

Developing a *Public Awareness Campaign* is the final “summative project” (as Ms. Williams refers to it) whereby students individually investigate an issue that they are concerned about nationally or internationally. According to the teacher, the main goal of the activity is to make a bridge between being informed and active citizenship by raising students’ awareness and interest in issues that demand action (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). This assignment was not followed by a class presentation, but was submitted to the teacher for grading. According to the teacher, the majority of students in class addressed the issue of drinking and driving, while others chose topics related to AIDS, water scarcity, and poverty in poor countries, especially in Africa.

Multicultural Education

In this section, I first explore whether and how Ms. Williams responds to the social and cultural diversity found in her classroom emerging particularly from the students’ ethnic and cultural backgrounds. I then explore how civic instruction addresses the issue of multiculturalism or the multiplicity of racial and ethnic identities found in today’s society.

Recognition of Students’ Cultural Diversity

Ms. Williams regarded both her classroom and the school as being very multicultural, especially when compared to other schools where she had previously taught. Nevertheless, she told me that the diversity found in her classroom did not affect the way she plans and delivers instruction. “I don’t really factor in the multicultural” she asserted. Rather, she thinks of the students in the class as an entire unit: “it is more like... this is my class; this is the course, let’s get started” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). In addition, she affirmed that the fact

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that she is teaching a multicultural group of students is not something that would cause her to reflect back on how she has taught a class.

Although Ms. Williams stated that diversity of her students did not influence her citizenship pedagogy, she thinks that the students' social and cultural differences are beneficial as they enrich class discussions. As she expressed, "I thought [that] because we are in a multicultural setting, that would allow us to have better discussions.... I have been in settings where really great discussions [happen] with [people with] different backgrounds" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). As for challenges she experienced in meeting the expectations of students with distinct cultural backgrounds, Ms. Williams attributed them as related "not the background [of the students], but the individuality of the students" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). While Ms. Williams sees the problems she sometimes faces with these students as issues of personal discipline and behavior as opposed to social difference, she did make efforts to adjust her formal instruction to meet the needs of students she perceives as disengaged—many of them being immigrants or first-generation immigrant students.

Although Ms. Williams stated that the social and cultural diversity found in her classroom does not affect the way she plans and provides citizenship instruction, she intentionally made changes to both the content and methods of instruction to reach new and first-generation immigrant students who she had difficulty engaging. As she explained:

I... tried a number of different things. I cannot think of any issues that really got the kids' interest. We even looked [into] same-sex marriage....which I thought might be a bit debatable given the different backgrounds we had in the room, but it was just kind of universal, like, it is not for me. (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

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Confronted with apathy and defiant behaviors, Ms. Williams made key changes to her instruction aligned with the provision of a more culturally-responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2010a). First, she recognized the students' social and cultural diversity. When asked why she leads discussions on international politics (e.g., the primary elections in the US), she explained:

I was trying to hook those students... because that seemed to be the only thing that they were following. And the reason that they were following it is because the US election was important to their home country. So they are Canadian citizens, but they were not born here. (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Next, she identified the students' knowledge, interests and experiences and tried to integrate them into her day-to-day instruction. Realizing that her students "were not really interested in Canadian politics at all" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008), Ms. Williams decided to investigate the kinds of issues her students were interested in. "I did just a quick survey on news sources. It is mostly American news sources that these kids are watching." Not surprisingly, when asked about Canadian politics, the students were "like, what are you talking about?" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). This information was useful in establishing "the students' knowledge base" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). Then by "looking at the election process [in the US], and... looking at what is at stake right now" her goal was to move the students from their interests and priorities toward domestic politics, or in Ms. Williams own words, to "move it... to our perspective, the Canadian perspective." For her this was crucial as for her it is paramount "to get our young people engaged [with]... politics" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Contrary to the other three case studies, Ms. Williams did not emphasize the need to implement instructional adaptations and accommodations to help ESL and new immigrant

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students to meet academic demands. Nevertheless, Ms. Williams expressed concern with these students' lack of knowledge on what she calls "reference points" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). This is knowledge that is often taken for granted because it is gained from one's experience. As Ms. Williams' reflection cogently explains, providing citizenship instruction in a multicultural classroom,

[h]as made me more conscious [of] reference points... [in] Canadian history or Canadian institutions. Growing up in this country with Canadian parents, I became aware of, not through school, but through my outside education... A lot of these kids came to Canada when they were in ... grade seven, eight. So, they do not have the same type of reference points. (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

While Ms. Williams believes that both non-immigrant and immigrant students need to acquire the same civic knowledge, immigrant students have a lot more to learn due to a lack of relevant experience. The notion is that there is important content knowledge that immigrant students need to catch up so that they can participate in the class does influence the way Ms. Williams plans and delivers instruction. As she explains, "when I am planning [the] course, I spend a lot more time on democracy and the ideals behind it and the evolution... to give those kids [immigrant students] the working knowledge..., the information they need to have... discussions" into public issues (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008).

Addressing Social and Cultural Difference in Citizenship Instruction

Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction did incorporate multicultural content. She used a contribution and an additive approach (Banks 2003). In this classroom it was often acknowledged that Canada is a multicultural nation and discussed past and current treatment of minorities and minority groups. For example, the status and the right to vote for different groups

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including women, Aboriginals, and immigrants of Asian descent—the Chinese and the Japanese—was explored through the different *Franchise Acts*. Ms. Williams critically examined historical struggles of women and different racial and ethnic groups in Canada. For example, she taught her students that “women and people of Asian descent were not considered people,” but subjects of the government and therefore denied participation in the nations’ decision-making. “We like to think of Canada as a multicultural country,” she told the students, “but up to sixties or seventies, that was not the case” (classroom observation, May 16, 2008). Canada, she asserted, “was a very Anglo-Saxon country” where minorities were forced to assimilate; otherwise, “if you did not fit in the mold, there was no place for you in the country” (classroom observation, May 16, 2008).

With regards to Aboriginal peoples, Ms. Williams celebrated Canada’s National Day of Healing and Reconciliation. She discussed the meaning of this day and the legacy of the residential schools. On May 26th, she told the students, “today is National Reconciliation Day.” It is the day that “as Canadians... we discuss and recognize the treatment of our First Nation peoples” (classroom observation, May 26, 2008). Then she asserted, “as a country, we are one of the worst in how we treated Aboriginal [peoples]” and subsequently provided an overview of Canada’s residential school policy. Starting “in the 1800s up until the 1970s, Aboriginal kids were taken [from their families] and sent to residential schools run by the Anglicans and Catholics [and] other organizations” (classroom observation, May 26, 2008). The goal of these schools, she explained, was to turn Aboriginal children into “Canadians” (indicating quotation marks with her hands). Their schooling consisted “on learning domestic tasks” and not what “other kids in the rest of the country were learning.” Girls, for example, learned “how to be maids and cooks” and boys learned manual labour—“the bottom of the barrel type of labour.”

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Aboriginal children endured physical and psychological abuse: for example, “they were beaten if they were caught speaking their own language.” Through this policy, their culture “was destroyed” (classroom observation, May 26, 2008).

Ms. Williams discussed additional controversial issues that touch on relations between different groups in Canadian society. For Aboriginal peoples, she explored two key issues: land rights and racism. Ms. Williams addressed the conflict between Indigenous peoples in Ontario—and the provincial government’s granting of concessions for uranium exploitation on Algonquian land for “over 100 years without consulting Aboriginal people” (classroom observation, May 27, 2008). She explained to her students that in the province of Ontario “the [provincial] government can use any Aboriginal land without asking permission.” She then gave an example that the students could easily relate to. “It is like” she said, “they [mining companies] come in your backyard and they make holes digging for minerals and the government says, it is okay” (classroom observation, May 27, 2008).

Through the video *Indecently Exposed*, Ms. Williams brought to the forefront another reality of Aboriginal peoples—that of systemic racism and discrimination. In the documentary, anti-racism expert, Jane Elliott, divides 22 Canadians attending a workshop into two groups: the blue eyes and the brown eyes. Then she discriminates against the blue-eyed participants as a means to teach what it is like to be a victim of discrimination, while the brown-eyed people are treated with respect. After the video ended, the teacher initiated a 10-minute discussion with her students. First, they talked about the title and the workshop methodology—mistreating the blue-eyed people:

Teacher: What was meant by the title—indecently exposed?

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Jacob: Indecently exposed showed by the wrongs and how to make them right. But, we do not always make them right.

Teacher: You think she was too hard on the blue-eyed people?

Ameena: No.

Teacher: Why not?

Ameena: The blue-eyed people come out of the session and carry on with their lives. They do not have to deal with it.

Teacher: In the past, I have showed this video and students thought that she was unfair. What do you think?

Azuri: Maybe you had a White class. They do not have to suffer it (classroom observation, May 27, 2008).

Then, the teacher drew students' attention to one of the main messages of the video, that racism is about responsibility. She asked the students, "why did the producer say it is not about guilt, but it is about responsibility?" A student responded, "we have to take responsibility for [our] actions and just do not sit there and regret." To the student comment, the teacher added, "guilt is easy. It is more difficult to take responsibility over your actions" (classroom observation, May 27, 2008). Then, she highlighted the opinion of a workshop participant who said, "I never thought it was okay, but I never thought it was my responsibility" and she then asked the students, "have you ever felt the same way... even if it is something related to racism or smaller?" To this question the students fell silent. After a few minutes, Adana said, "he probably felt that he was not causing the problem, so why should he fix it?" Finally, the teacher and the students commented on the fact that only two blue-eyed people attended the meetings a week after the workshop began (classroom observation, May 27, 2008).

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Another issue Ms. Williams explored in class was the controversy related to the treatment of minorities in Québec. At the time of the research, the province of Québec was under attack for being intolerant towards religious minorities. As reported in the news, there were a series of minor incidents that triggered the debate, which led Québec Premier Jean Charest to form a commission to look “into multiculturalism and how minorities are treated in Québec” (classroom observation, May 26, 2008). In class, students discussed one of the incidents in which a Muslim girl was forbidden to wear a hijab, or head scarf, on the soccer field:

Teacher: What is going on with Québec and minorities?

Uzuri: They do not treat the minorities properly.

Teacher: Can you give us an example?

Adana: The hijab incident in the soccer game.

Teacher: What happened?

Amir: A girl was playing soccer while wearing a hijab. The coach called her and asked her to remove it or she would be taken out of the game. The coach was arguing safety reasons, but, really, it not was about safety.

Teacher: What are your thoughts about this?

Adana: Stupid.

Teacher: Why?

Soha: There is no respect for religion.

Azuri: The hijab does not really get in the way.

Adana: It is like wearing a necklace or jewellery.

Teacher: But, I remove my earrings and necklaces when I play softball because it is a safety issue.

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Adana: But the hijab does not cause that. The hijab is a headdress.

Teacher: If I were playing in a tournament, I would be asked to remove any jewellery for safety issues.

Soha: If it [the hijab] is done properly, tight, there should be no problem (classroom observation, May 26, 2008).

This class discussion was dominated by Muslim girls who did not accept the teacher's argument about removing the hijab for safety reasons. For them, as Soha put it, this incident shows that there is a lack of respect for people's non-Christian religious customs. Ms. Williams once again told the students, "we like to think we are a multicultural country." Then, she added, "but as a nation there is a lot work to be done" and reaffirmed once again, "we are not as multicultural as we say we are" (classroom observation, May 26, 2008)—in this case using the term multiculturalism to refer to an ideal, as opposed to a social reality.

Classroom observations and interviews reveal that the social and cultural diversity found in the classroom does indeed influence Ms. Williams' citizenship classroom pedagogy, although she asserted that it does not. Faced with student apathy towards a civic-knowledge based approach that stresses learning the political and legal structures of Canada's democracy, Ms. Williams took into account her students' previous experiences and interests and tried to incorporate them into her day-to-day instruction. This is conducive to a classroom pedagogy that recognizes and responds, to some extent, to the students' social and cultural diversity. In addition, Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction did recognize that Canada is a diverse and multicultural society. She taught about the contributions and perspectives of different groups as well as key issues central to living together in a democratic society with multiple identities. This approach reveals that while there are constitutional rights to protect all citizens, including

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minorities, as a multicultural society Canada is not without its problems. By critically examining past wrongdoings and exploring current problems experienced by Aboriginal people and racially or ethnically distinct individuals and groups, students learned about longstanding struggles that exist in Canadian society, such as racism, discrimination and intolerance towards religious minorities.

Justice-Oriented Citizenship Education

This section identifies whether citizenship instruction in this classroom promotes an analysis of the structures that maintain inequality and the status quo. Central to the justice-oriented approach to citizenship education is the recognition that analyzing such structures is necessary to educate a citizenry committed to the construction of a more equitable and just society (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

As discussed above, Ms. Williams' instruction taught about past injustices and current struggles of marginalized groups, especially of Aboriginal peoples. Residential schools, racism, discrimination, land claims and intolerance towards religious minorities in Canada are some of the issues that were discussed in this class. In addition, as opposed to the other cases, students in this class generated discussions into issues at the heart of our democracy, such as the treatment of delinquents and progressive taxation. While these spontaneous discussions were brief, Ms. Williams did not brush them away.

The discussion of the social status of ex-convicts emerged when a student asked about the conviction of dangerous offenders in Canada. Ms. Williams shared with the students her experience visiting Kingston Penitentiary. "The low security facility"—she told to the students "is set up as a small village," with small houses. Four inmates live in each house and they are responsible to keep it clean. At first, she told the students that she was critical of this kind

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treatment, but changed her opinion after the jail counselor explained that the goal of the program “is to teach them [inmates] the tools to be social and to reintegrate to society... so that they do not re-offend” (classroom observation, May 16, 2008). A student raised his hand and asked, “what is the point of getting integrated into society, if they cannot even get a job because [of their] record?” (classroom observation, May 16, 2008). This question resulted in the following discussion:

Teacher: Most paroles set them up with a job before they leave... A job is key to their success. Are they going to be teachers? Probably not.

Carlos: They will work at McDonald’s or something.

Eliot: How are they supposed to live, if they can only work at McDonald’s? It is not life.

Teacher: It is a vicious circle... if [they] integrate with a job that pays little money... then the temptation is to re-offend (classroom observation, May 16, 2008).

Eliot’s comments underscore an unsolved problem for most democracies: the re-integration of ex-convicts. His question touches on the problem that many if not most ex-convicts do not obtain good jobs and have to live on poverty-level wages.

Progressive taxation, which requires that residents with higher incomes pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes compared to lower income residents, was another topic of discussion generated by the students. This discussion emerged after a pair of students proposed the following slogan: “rich people should pay higher taxes. The richest takes care of the less fortunate” (classroom observation, June 4, 2008). A student said, “if they [poor people] are equal, why they do not pay the same taxes” (classroom observation, June 4, 2008). To this comment the teacher replied, “there is a difference between equal and fair.” Students debated this:

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Jonathan: Rich people are treated as bad citizens and they work hard.

Cameron: It is not fair.

Adana: They pay more money because they have more money.

Teacher: If you are poorer, you pay a lower percentage, so they are equal [in the sense that they can] have other things.

Jonathan: The problem is that rich people work harder... [compared to] someone who does cleaning...

Teacher: Actually no. People who pick up garbage also work hard (classroom observation, June 4, 2008).

The teacher then explained that in Canada the taxation system is designed to be more equitable and reduce disparities in wealth. She explained that this is the same principle as the government's equalization program whereby the federal government makes equalization payments to the less wealthy provinces. "In our country" she asserted, "we have the haves and have-not provinces." The have-not provinces receive "more funds... because we want all the provinces to have the same standard of living." Then, using the example of someone who makes minimum wage, she explained the rationale of progressive taxation. "If you have a full time job at McDonald's, you live below the poverty line." She continued, saying that poor people "should be able to pay for their apartment. They should not have to decide [whether to] get the medicine or the groceries." This is accomplished with progressive taxation, and those who "make 250,000 dollars give an extra 10,000 dollars a year." After a moment of silence Jonathan said, "it is a loss." The teacher then said, "it is a loss to whoever is making 250,000 dollars a year, but [what about] someone who makes 20,000 [a year] to give 1,300 dollars more in taxes. It is a lot. So, [this is the reason] why they do it proportionately" (classroom observation, June 4, 2008). Then,

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Ms. Williams paraphrased Jonathan's argument and acknowledged his viewpoint. "You seem to be articulating that [the progressive taxation system] punishes for being successful." She then brought attention to key points on both sides of the argument.

This discussion about Canada's progressive taxation system examines class divisions. Social justice is at the heart of this debate. For some students, like Jonathan, equality means that everybody is treated the same. Therefore, from this perspective, it is unjust that hard-working citizens whose efforts are financially rewarded have to pay more taxes to subsidize those who are less successful. What is being revealed in this conversation is that young people have, well-formed or not, ideas that about economic justice. In their arguments in favour of and against progressive taxation, some students revealed that they are subject to what critical educators call the "myths" that dismiss the existence of a society stratified along the class lines, such as the myth of equality of opportunity and a merit-based society (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 2007). Other students challenged these assumptions. But in this case citizenship instruction fell short of helping students reflect upon the social structures that maintain class inequalities. For example, students could have explored the relationship between the type or level of education a person has and how this is likely to affect their salary, social mobility and social status.

Discussion of Case 3 Findings

Both personally-responsible and participatory conceptions of good citizenship are present in Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction. As she asserts, "Civics is about government, yes, but it is also about participation.... It is becoming active and involved in your own way" (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). Her citizenship pedagogy couples civic knowledge acquisition and citizenship participation through a lecture-discussion teaching method. Day-to-day

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instruction places strong emphasis in teaching the structures and functions of the political and legal system. Lectures and handouts are the main teaching techniques used to impart the mandated civic knowledge, which is seen as fundamental for thoughtful participation. This is coupled with her vision of citizenship participation, which stresses the education of an informed citizen who is interested in and has a say about matters of public concern.

However, not all of her students were interested in the political topics that were raised. In fact, engaging all students in her instruction proved to be a real challenge for Ms. Williams. “I noticed and have said” she admitted, that “I need to come up with ways of motivating and engaging [students in] the discussion” (Williams, teacher interview, June 23, 2008). Yet, a lot of students did engage with politics, although not necessarily with the more traditional issues that are often suggested for discussion in citizenship instruction, such as lowering the voting age, questioning the role of the monarchy in Canada’s political system or the affirmation of rights for minorities, including gays and lesbians or people with disabilities. As I observed during class instruction, students were interested in issues that are central to democracy and living together. For example, it seems that granting and protecting rights of minorities is no longer a contemporary concern; however, students did take issue with the exercise of certain rights, such as when students questioned persons with severe mental disabilities should be allowed to vote. In an effort to reach her students, Ms. Williams changed the content and methods of instruction to include the discussion of controversial and political issues, both domestic and international, which had the desired effects of engaging students in the class as well as modeling desirable avenues for engaging in civic and public life.

Interviews with students reveal that Ms. Williams’ notion of good citizenship education, one that espouses a strong knowledge base and engagement with public life as the main form of

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citizenship participation, was adopted by the students. For Jonathan, for example, the Civics course prepares young people to be responsible and thoughtful citizens. He said that the course “shows us that we are part of society.... We are starting to be part of everything. We are paying taxes. We are now living in the system. Soon, we will be voting, and we should know what we are getting into” (Jonathan, student interview, May 23, 2008). Aameena shared a similar view. She said that the main goal of the Civics course is:

To learn about the government..., about politics. She [Ms. Williams] wants us to be ready for the future, and when the time comes for us to vote, she wants us to think about our Prime Minister and the laws and his promises, so when we vote we are sure about the person. Yes. And [to think about] our responsibilities and our decisions that we will make in the future. (student interview, May 23, 2008).

Other students’ responses highlight reflections on their roles as active participants in decision-making processes. Adana, for example, said that the Grade 10 Civics course teaches one to understand “what your role is in... the community, as a citizen, and what [one is] supposed to... know [like] your rights, and... also... why you should vote” (student interview, focus group, May 30, 2008). After a pause, she said, it is about “understand[ing] why” (student interview, focus group, May 30, 2008). For Sharon, however, the main goal of the Civics course is to make the students “more aware of... what exactly goes into making sure that we live in a way... where everybody has the same opportunities” (student interview, June 2, 2008). Her response illuminates a different aspect of citizens’ roles and responsibilities, one that aligns with a justice-oriented vision, where citizens are committed to equity and equality for all.

The vision of participation that is promoted in Ms. Williams’ class aligns, to some extent, with what Parker (2003) calls enlightened political engagement, which refers to a reflective and

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informed participation in the public sphere. In order to be politically engaged, a person must acquire not just knowledge of how democracy and its institutions work, but “the moral-cognitive knowledge, norms, values and principles” that shape one’s civic engagement and participation (Parker, 2003, p. 34). In this class, most students’ responses seem to endorse enlightened political engagement as a form of participation, one that favours personal responsibility to engage judiciously with public life over active participation in the community and society at large. A caveat though is that the majority of students I interviewed—five out of eight—tended to see the course mainly as a preparation for the future and not as something useful for their present lives. Beverly, for example, asserted that the lessons learned will be more useful once “you are able to vote” because at the present moment “you cannot really do anything with it” (student interview, May 28, 2008). Hiyam and Adana also shared this view:

Hiyam: Right now there is not much we can do. We are not able to vote.... We do not have to do payments or bills... We just have to go to school for an education.

Adana: We need only a small part of it [what we learn in class]. We should know [and] understand what is going on, like during elections time. But, we are not really going to use it right now.

Hiyam: Because we are not at the age.

Researcher: When do you think these lessons will be relevant?

Hiyam: When I am 18.

Adana: Or when you have your own place, or you are out living by yourself (student interview, focus group, May 30, 2008).

Another important finding in this case is how the provision of citizenship education responds to the social and cultural diversity found in the classroom and in society. Although Ms.

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Williams asserted that the diversity found in the classroom only minimally impacts the way she plans and provides citizenship instruction, in reality, this is not the case. In order to make her instruction more meaningful, she recognized the need to incorporate students' distinct knowledge, interests and experiences into her instruction. Accordingly, as part of this Ms. Williams decided to include discussions of issues happening not just locally but globally. Further, she does acknowledge the multicultural nature of Canadian society. Using a critical approach to history, she taught about past struggles and injustices experienced by marginalized groups in Canadian society and explored current problems that minority groups face through, for example, the video *Indecently Exposed* and discussing recommendations about the treatment of religious minorities in Québec.

Interestingly, Ms. Williams' citizenship instruction also has elements of a justice-oriented approach to citizenship education showing that all three of the main approaches identified by Westheimer and Khane (2004) can co-exist. At different times, the teacher and the students looked into issues that touch on inequality, including progressive taxation, intolerance of religious practices, how incarceration leads to poverty, and racism suffered by Aboriginal peoples. However, while Ms. Williams discussed issues of inequality with her students, she did not teach for social and political transformation. In other words, her instruction did not aim to help students understand the structures and factors that maintain inequality in place, knowledge that students need to become agents of social change.

As this case study shows, the way citizenship education occurs in practice is a complex enterprise. It can involve multiple approaches and subtle negotiations between the teacher and students. Ms. Williams' conceptions of good citizenship play a key role in her pedagogy, but so too did her effort to combat student apathy, which helps to explain the varied instructional

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approaches used. Overall, though, her main goal was to educate citizens who are knowledgeable of how the government and its institutions work, who are aware that inequalities exist in society, who have opinions on matters of public concern and who not only vote in accordance with these opinions, but who also get involved in public debate.

CHAPTER 7:

CASE 4: WILLOW HIGH SCHOOL: MR. ANTHONY BENNETT'S CIVICS CLASS

Mr. Anthony Bennett, a male teacher in his mid-40s, has ample experience teaching the Civics course. He teaches an extremely ethnically diverse class of 20 students, where he estimates that about 80% of the students are either new arrivals to Canada or first- or second-generation immigrants. About half of the class is composed of students of Middle Eastern descent—students who immigrated or whose parents immigrated from countries like Lebanon, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, and the United Arab Emirates. The class also includes students whose parents immigrated from China, Eritrea, Ethiopia, El Salvador and Colombia. His classroom models an open climate (Hahn, 1998), where the teacher welcomes and encourages students' opinions about their views on different issues.

Course Organization and Teaching Techniques

Mr. Bennett organized the course around themes suggested in the curriculum guidelines and the civics textbook, *Civics Today* (Watt, Sinfield, & Hawkes, 2000). He used, for the most part, an issued-based approach whereby the themes of instruction were framed against the backdrop of substantial (and often controversial) civic, public issues. In addition, his classroom pedagogy made an effort to apply important civic knowledge as well as democratic practices to issues of public concern. To illustrate, one theme of instruction was Canada's political parties. The political ideological spectrum, power, and political campaigns were the sub-themes that Mr. Bennett taught as part of the political parties unit. What was unique in his approach is that he did not limit imparting knowledge about the politico-legal democratic structure. Rather, his aim seemed to be in teaching how a component or a process of this structure comes to life as part of a

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democratic decision-making process. Mr. Bennett covered the positions of the main political parties on issues including funding for postsecondary education, private versus government-funded healthcare, immigration policies and minimum wage regulations. Mr. Bennett was not only concerned with helping students understand how the system works—although this was an important goal—but throughout instruction, he encouraged students to reflect on their own beliefs and views on public issues. In addition, he provided opportunities for students to experience conflicting opinions and controversy within the classroom, and to practice public decision-making amid different visions of the common good. Simulations, role playing and essay writing were key teaching techniques used to advance the education of citizens who understand the centrality and inevitability of debate and even conflict in public decision-making, and the roles that students as citizens can play in the public sphere. Formal assessment also included a midterm exam and a final exam. Essay assignments counted for 40% of the final grade.

A caveat might be offered here. Although Mr. Bennett's classroom had an open climate where students felt comfortable expressing their viewpoints, at times, I suspect that his own strong political views may have prevented the emergence of competing points of view in terms of the use of sources and in class discussion. This is likely the case when discussing the US war in Iraq. Cemal, for example, thought that Mr. Bennett's class was "very open." If you have something to say," he said "he [Mr. Bennett] will let you say it;" however, he had "one concern," that Mr. Bennett would "push... what he thinks like his view and opinion" (student interview, January 17, 2008). Mr. Bennett made his opposition, especially to the invasion of Iraq, very explicit. Another student, Hashir, said he was very surprised to learn that "he [Mr. Bennett] agreed that George Bush is corrupted and he only goes into Iraq to steal the oil" (student interview, focus group, January 17, 2008). In addition, while Mr. Bennett put forward

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controversial public issues to be discussed, class discussions tended to be teacher-dominated with only a handful of students participating.

Mr. Bennett's Conceptions of Good Citizenship and Goals for Teaching

There are two pivotal notions that underlie Mr. Bennett's conceptions of good citizenship and of good citizenship education. The first is his understanding that "civics is largely about politics." The second is what he identifies as the overarching goal of the Grade 10 Civics course, which he summarized as a course that can "promote multiculturalism and the belief that it is possible to get along" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). These two central ideas about teaching for democratic citizenship are principles upon which he organizes and delivers day-to-day citizenship instruction.

Mr. Bennett espouses a Deweyian view of democracy as a work in progress and an ideal for living together. Democracy, he asserted, "is something that is not easy... that is very difficult" and to which "there is no easy solution" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In this context, an important goal of his instruction is to socialize his students into politics and political processes. As he cogently observes, students are constantly exposed to a wide and conflicting range of political information. They "hear these names: Bush, or Clinton, or Harper, or Dion, and they formulate opinions on these people on very small amounts of information" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Therefore, a central goal of his instruction is for students to develop

[a] clear understanding of the political ideologies that are involved, and then they have a broader... grid in which to place these characters... and these events as well like the war..., terrorism or... different issues that are talked about in elections. I hope what they have is a grid and they can kind of say, where I [am] in the world, where these issues [are] located. That there are opposing views, so, it is not always working, but hopefully

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sometimes they have a greater awareness of that. (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

According to Mr. Bennett, this vision of the Civics course as promoting a shared living is directly linked to the fact that he “strongly believe[s] in multiculturalism.” Therefore, for him, the course has two important aims. On one hand, he aims “to promote a peaceful existence of different cultures,” and on the other “to help to enculturate immigrants into Canada” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Indeed, in the course outline he “describe[s] this course as the course that teaches people how to get along” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). He is aware that teaching with this vision is not an easy task, but as difficult as it might be, for him it is important to try. “It is a complicated thing to get along with... so many people, and so many different people. We can only try; we cannot pretend that it is going to actually have a great effect. But, I feel I can only try” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

To achieve his vision of a citizenship education centered on politics and democratic pluralism, he identifies democracy, conflict and conflict resolution as themes that are central to his citizenship pedagogy. The eight elements of democracy¹¹ are what Mr. Bennett describes as “the backbone of the course” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). He uses them to illuminate the multiple perspectives that are at play in issues of public concern, and to foster in students “the ability to think in others... the common good” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). With regard to conflict, he categorically states, “I believe it is my job to address it.... So, my goal is to try and achieve some kind of understanding of the conflict” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). The vision of politics that Mr. Bennett holds not only sees conflict as an inevitable part of democratic living, but also as something that cannot be neutral or left to

¹¹ The eight elements of democracy are: the rule of law, political equality, the common good, personal freedoms, human dignity, political freedoms, being informed and getting involved and respect (Watt et al., 2000).

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be resolved through consensus and constitutional law (Crick, 1978). “In politics” he explains, “I do not think you are ever really maintaining anything. You are really going one or... an[other] way.” Thus, teachers are faced with a choice: “either [to] understand the conflict, or... to run[...] away from [it]” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In addition, teaching about and with conflict is seen as critical because “there is so little opportunity for people to deal with conflict in a controlled and peaceful way, that we lose the skill to negotiate.” Therefore, in his class “conflict is welcomed and embraced” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

In planning and providing his instruction, Mr. Bennett deliberately “tr[ies] to make it [civics] relevant, as relevant as possible” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Therefore, he uses an issue-based approach—which Mr. Bennett calls “political globalism.” He strongly believes that “in order to understand the different conflicts... you need to understand issues around the world” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). He chooses issues that the students can relate to. As he explained, “I believe that it is kind of uninspiring to teach something that nobody has an emotional connection to. I definitely try to pick issues that will bring out an emotional response from the students. That is... my key” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

The vision of active citizenship participation that Mr. Bennett endorses is that of an engaged and empowered citizen. Nevertheless, he believes that this is something that “is very hard” to achieve. He further explains, “you cannot force somebody to participate. You can only show them that there is a need” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Therefore, for him, in order to participate “the kids [have to be] more aware of their power... To do this, you need to teach the structure” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). For Mr. Bennett, civic knowledge is fundamental to citizenship participation, but his instruction demonstrates that he does not feel that civic knowledge must precede participation. In addition, he identifies

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different ways of participating. Some students will engage with “real issues” at the local and international level, others will “be active” in their communities and still others will “just be active in their own heart” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In practice, this means that students engage through different avenues. Some might take action by “writing letters” or “protesting” while others may “just have a broadening of the mind and this is a type of engagement as well” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Furthermore, Mr. Bennett is cognizant of among his students there are different levels of civic engagement. In other words, not all students are at the same stage and through the course they will reach different levels of citizenship engagement:

They come in here as children and... they leave as adults in a lot of cases... Some of them will never reach adulthood in terms of being able to engage in civil issues, societal issues, and some of them will engage in societal issues in this course, or some of them have already engaged. Some of them will engage maybe when they are in their twenties or thirties. It is different for everybody. (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

Mr. Bennett pointed out that the Ontario curriculum has built-in activities that promote student participation, such as the required 40 hours of community service. Nevertheless, he is critical of current approaches whereby non-government organizations and other service organizations “come to [the school] and ask students to volunteer. Probably 70% of those groups are asking students to do fundraising. And this is the wrong approach, I feel” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). It is wrong because it does “not give them any idea [of or] the passion” for what the organization works for. “If the groups came and actually tried to engage the students, getting [them] involved, then this would be more effective” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

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Promoting Active Citizenship at the School Level

Based on his personal experiences, for Mr. Bennett engaging in the public sphere in meaningful ways is crucial. As he explained in our interview, in previous classes Mr. Bennett had the students practice direct forms of citizenship participation, such as protesting and letter writing. One time, for example, he “took a group of kids down to a protest about tuition fees in university” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). What he found surprising is that the “the kids who [signed up] to go, actually, probably will not be in university” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). He has also had students write letters to politicians to express their concern about a particular issue, explaining that students “would be quite excited when they got a letter back from some officer. Hopefully, it shows them that they do have an input; that in a democracy, they [government officials] do respond to the people” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

At the time of the research, Mr. Bennett was thinking seriously about the need to reinvigorate student engagement in public and civic life, “a part of civics that we have totally lost” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). However, deciding the type of engagement and what this would look like is something that he was still pondering. As he explained:

We have always known about engaging the kids by going out and picking up garbage, but I would like to engage them in something more personal, a little more challenging, a little more, maybe, risqué. Get them out there... talking to people, whether it be going down to the mission to serve food to the street people or to go and work in a daycare. (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

For Mr. Bennett, learning about how to live together is central to citizenship education. He recognizes the existence of a common democratic political community whose members have

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multiple and sometimes contrasting understandings of the common good. His conceptions of good citizenship education evoke a ‘deliberative democracy’ where citizens reflect on, on one hand, the ideals and principles of democracy, and on the other, the existence of conflicts. Mr. Bennett believes that engaging students in public life is a fundamental to citizenship education. He identifies different avenues of civic participation including engagement with public issues and carrying out actions to help in the community.

Civic Knowledge and Understandings

In this section, I identify the types of knowledge and understandings central to Mr. Bennett’s instruction and the approaches he used to teach the content he identified as important.

Knowledge of How the Government and its Institutions Work

For Mr. Bennett, it is important that the students learn about the structure and organization of the Canadian government. For him, knowing the politico-legal structure is critical “to get the kids more aware of their power” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). To start the course, he organized a field trip to Parliament Hill to observe the House of Commons in session. His main goal was to provide a first-hand experience of how publicly elected officials “propose, discuss and pass laws” for the common good. He wanted his students to become familiar with key political figures since throughout the course they would be talking about them (classroom observation, December 17, 2007). During the field trip, the students witnessed the process and conflicts involved in passing laws. In addition, they met the elected member of Parliament who represents the riding where the school is located.

Through lectures and handouts, Mr. Bennett taught the overall organization of the three levels of government in Canada (federal, provincial and municipal) and its three branches (executive, legislative and judicial). An important goal is that students have a clear

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understanding of the main functions performed by public institutions and official representatives. In his instruction Mr. Bennett emphasized acquiring knowledge of officials in positions of power as well as the elected officials that represent the students' riding, their city, their province, and the country. For example, he repeatedly asked the name of the current Prime Minister and the party that he represents, as well as the name of the leaders of the other three main political parties at the federal level. He also pointed out important differences among officials. For example, he asked his students to explain the difference between the position of Dalton McGuinty and Stephen Harper. In teaching government-based knowledge, his approach was rather contextual and for the most part integrated current issues. For example, in reviewing the three levels of government, the following exchange took place:

Teacher: Who is Stephen Harper?

Douglas: He is our current Prime Minister.

Teacher: What is the importance of the Conservative Party right now?

Melissa: It is the party that is in government now.

Victor: Stephen Harper granted one million dollars to suffering companies because with the high dollar, exports are suffering.

Teacher: The government is trying to protect some business. You have a triangle: people, government and business.

Victor: And they depend on each other.

Teacher: That is right (classroom observation, January 14, 2008).

Moving Beyond the Structures of Democracy

Mr. Bennett taught the overall structures of Canada's democratic government. However, his citizenship instruction taught a version of democracy as a field with multiple players and

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their relationships—elected officials and common citizens—who support different, sometimes contradictory principles. In other words, the majority of lessons Mr. Bennett taught went beyond a mere focus on the acquisition of civic knowledge of government structure and concepts.

Rather, he taught for political competence.

I began making observations in his class after the December break. On January 7, Mr. Bennett opened his class with the following remarks, “life exists in a state of tension. Nothing stays the same.... The same in society.... There is a lot of pushing and pulling in one or another direction” (classroom observation, January 7, 2008). This statement epitomizes the central theme of the class: democracy. During my 10 visits to his class, I identified how the theme of democracy brought together the various lessons that he taught in his class, and how he tried to present it to his students as a field with forces that pull and push one in different directions. In what follows, I present four lessons that Mr. Bennett taught that form the main constitutive elements to the workings of democracy: citizenship rights and responsibilities, democracy as a form of government, the Canadian political party system and power.

Mr. Bennett taught students about the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizens as guaranteed by the Canadian Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. He reviewed fundamental civil (e.g., freedom of speech), political (e.g., right to vote) and social rights (e.g., access to education). His approach was not limited to the teaching about what the rights are, but rather, he stressed how not all rights are granted equally to all citizens and groups in Canadian society. After Mr. Bennett explained that in Canada, same-sex marriage is legal, Kalim asked him whether he agreed or not with this provision. Mr. Bennett, who seemed to have been taken by surprise by the question, asked back, “do you want to know my opinion?” Then, he said, “I agree” (classroom observation, January 7, 2008). Mr. Bennett did not engage the students in a

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debate about same-sex marriage, but rather centered the discussion on issues of inequality that still exist for same-sex couples. In his view, “the real issue is whether or not [one partner] can collect the others’ pension when he dies.” He continued to explain, “if I die my wife collects my pension” – however, this is not the case for same-sex couples. Samantha then asked, “what happens to [the partner’s] pension?” The teacher explained that it “stays in the pension fund for the other workers.” Valery then said, “even though they have been living together for years. Shouldn’t the one who lives get the pension?” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). This conversation reveals that even though rights are enshrined in the constitution and other bills, conflicts still exist and that in some cases, more work needs to be done to guarantee equal rights for everyone.

The lesson of democracy as a form of government began with a comparison between the benefits and drawbacks of democracy and other forms of government around the world, such as theocracy and dictatorship. Mr. Bennett told the students that in a democracy, “people govern themselves in a manner that will serve their aspirations.” Then, he asked “what is an aspiration?” and responded to his own question by saying, “people want three things: political freedom, economic opportunity and social justice” and explained what each means (classroom observation, January 14, 2008). With respect to political freedom, he said, “people want to be able to express themselves any way they want [without] fear to be thrown in jail for criticizing the government” (classroom observation, January 14, 2008). The teacher then asked the students what economic opportunity refers to. Mahirah said, “finding the right job.” Sebastian added, “a job for everyone” (classroom observation, January 14, 2008). Then the teacher mentioned that there is still discrimination and racism that prevents equality of economic opportunities for all. Some employers, he said, “will not hire you if your skin is of a certain colour” (classroom

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observation, January 14, 2008). Next, they explored the concept of social justice. Mr. Bennett used a hypothetical scenario about two students getting into a fight at school and Mr. Bennett punishing just one of them, even when not seen the fight himself. He continued, as “the teacher, I have the power, so a student has to accept my decision.” He then asked the students, “is this good?” The students talked among themselves. Finally, Alisha said, “it is not okay, but it happens all the time.” Then Mr. Bennett asked the students what justice means. A student said, “fair treatment.” Then he asked “why do you care about justice?” Malcolm said, “because it affects people.” Another voice in the back of the room shouted, “equality!” “We want justice,” the teacher said, because “if it is taken away from a person... eventually it can be taken away from me and from someone else.” “Justice” he continued, is fundamental to “the common good.” He then recognized that not all citizens are “treated equally,” and that equal treatment “is a hard thing to do” (classroom observation, January 14, 2008).

The Canadian political system was another topic that Mr. Bennett paid close attention to. He taught students about the political ideology of the four major political parties and the role political campaigns play in elections. What is interesting about his approach is his point of departure and vision of politics. He told the students that “politics is about getting what you want.” Politicians, he said, “will lie because the first job they have is to get elected” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). These ideas were central to how he taught about the Canadian political party system. A political party he stated “is a group of people who want power..., who want to run the country... and put their ideas into effect” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). The version of political parties that is taught in other classrooms and textbooks is one that presents them as static and already formed structures to which politicians choose to belong and that citizens vote for because there is an endorsement of the party platform. Missing, is a vision

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of political parties as dynamic entities shaped by people who compete for public support in order to get elected to positions of power. Mr. Bennett taught the political ideology of the four major political parties. Students learned that the Conservative Party has a right-wing ideology and supports less taxes and government-funded social programs, contrary to the New Democratic Party with a left-wing ideological position, for example. But Mr. Bennett also taught about the intricacies of getting elected, more specifically what happens during political campaigns.

Mr. Bennett showed the 1998 film entitled *Bulworth* and walked his students through the film's political situations and concepts. *Bulworth* showcases the candidacy of a veteran politician in the US who has lost public support. Tired of politics and his life in general, he decides to commit suicide. But before dying, he negotiates to vote in favour of the insurance industry in return for a \$10 million life insurance policy, which his daughter will receive. The insurance companies are lobbying to prevent the passing of legislation that will force them to provide health coverage to low-income and high-risk citizens, a move that will save the insurance industry millions of dollars. Mr. Bennett made sure that the students understand the movie's plot. He asked questions such as, why are insurance companies lobbying support from congressmen? What kind of legislation do the insurance companies not want to get passed? Who will benefit from this type of legislation? As the movie evolved, it centered on what happens behind the scenes of senator Bulworth's political campaign. Soon, we meet his campaign manager who is rehearsing the main messages Senator Bulworth will deliver in a political rally. When Senator Bulworth goes off the speech and tells the crowd that senators do not care about disadvantaged people, but about their votes, his campaign manager questions him and demands to know what the political campaign strategy is. Once again, Mr. Bennett reviews what is happening. He asked the students, "is it common for a candidate to say that senators do not care about poor people?"

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“What is his campaign manager concerned about?” The teacher introduced the concept of political image. He explained that political candidates “present an image that they can sell” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). The political image, he told the students, “is the heart” of a politician’s campaign and what he or she “stands for” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). But, as “citizens” he contended, “we need to pass the image and think what it is that [the candidate] really stands for” (classroom observation, January 21, 2008). When Mr. Bennett affirmed that politicians lie, which is perhaps not the best language to use, what he meant is that they have political agendas, or visions about what issues are important and how to deal with them, visions that we might agree or not with. He pointed to the need to look beyond this initial “image.” Political parties and politicians have agendas that they pursue, and they need public support in order to be enacted once in office. Political agendas can be hidden and disguised by images and a rhetoric that resonates with the electorate; as Mr. Bennett affirms, informed citizens need to distinguish between an appealing political image and what a political candidates “really stand for.”

Power is another issue that Mr. Bennett taught students about. He introduced the topic with the assertion that “some people have more power than others.” He continued, some “people have some attributes that... make them more powerful” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). Power, he said, is “the ability to get others to do what you want.” Then they studied eight attributes that “give a person power:” intelligence, persuasiveness, charisma, money, physical strength, activeness, attractiveness and social status (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). The teacher used school-level examples so that students could identify in themselves and others some of the attributes at work. For example, they discussed the attributes found in their school representatives and reflected on the extent to which these attributes had influenced their vote.

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They then discussed these attributes in politicians. For example, students were of the opinion that Barack Obama is a very charismatic candidate whereas Steven Harper is not. In addition, they discussed the connection between power and leadership and how it can be a productive or destructive relationship. The teacher discussed the cases of Adolf Hitler and the Taliban as examples of leaders and governments that use power in destructive ways. In Germany, he said, the elected leader Hitler suppressed democracy and citizens' rights and created laws that led to the holocaust—the systematic killing of millions of Jews and other minorities. In Afghanistan, the Taliban ruled with a strict form of Islamic law that denied citizens basic rights, jailing or killing them if they did not comply. Mr. Bennett ended the lesson with a quote from the textbook: “Power is a natural part of human being. We use it every day.” Finally, Mr. Bennett told the students that all of them have attributes of power, and that they needed to identify those qualities in themselves so they could “use [their] power in productive ways” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008).

Civic Skills and Values

Mr. Bennett identified civic skills and values that for him are central to his instruction. With regards to skills, Mr. Bennett stated, “if there is one thing I can teach them, it is for sure, to think for themselves, to check the different sources, see the others' perspectives, and find resolutions that people can live with” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). He taught the importance of assessing sources of information. He compared how the same event was interpreted differently by two Canadian news broadcasts. The news report was about the preliminary results of the US Democratic Party primary elections. After the convention in New Hampshire, candidate Hillary Clinton—who had been losing voter support—“came back.” In the CBC broadcast, this important win was associated with Hillary Clinton suddenly crying after

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been asked “what keeps you going?” This unusual “response” the teacher remarked, “made people believe that she is an authentic person... [who] says the truth.” The teacher continued, “Hillary Clinton talked how she deeply felt that the US needed a new government..., a new direction” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). In contrast, in the CTV broadcast, Hillary Clinton’s win in New Hampshire was attributed to the fact that “Clinton is older than Barack Obama.” Consequently, “she was able to mobilize senior citizens’ vote.” The teacher then asked the students to think in what ways these different perspectives could “influence the election in different ways” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). Unfortunately, this question was not followed by any class discussion.

Writing effectively was another skill that Mr. Bennett stressed. As he explained, “to me to write something down is to clarify your thoughts, so if a person grows up without ever writing something down, then, [his/her] thoughts would never be clear. I adamantly believe that” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Often, Mr. Bennett asked students to write a short reaction (usually a paragraph) or a five-paragraph essay in response to the various issues or simulations. These were submitted as part of formal class assessment. Mr. Bennett’s citizenship instruction also provided opportunities to practice the skills and values he identified as being important through role playing. Through simulations, students practiced tolerance and respect for others and gained experience with conflict, deliberation, being in a position of power or not, and making decisions for the common good (these simulations are analyzed below).

Teaching a strong civic knowledge base is a priority for Mr. Bennett. However, what is different and unique in this case is not so much the content—after all, he teaches prescribed knowledge—but his approach. He moves away from providing a dry description of institutional and constitutional democracy. Instead, in teaching civic knowledge, his aim is to help students

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understand how different democratic processes and procedures happen in real life situations. In doing this, Mr. Bennett's citizenship instruction presents a more dynamic and a more complex version of democracy, one filled with conflicts, power, and differing ideals and visions of the common good.

All seven students I interviewed said that they learned how the government works. For example, Cemal said that he learned “how it [the government] is run..., how laws are passed, about the Prime Minister, and [how...] Parliament is run” (student interview, January 17, 2008). Similarly, Hashir has acquired knowledge about

[t]he rule of law, the common good..., and *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. [The] different levels of government..., federal, municipal, provincial, and how they pass a bill.

Also [that] you have rights for yourself. Like if somebody is trying to abuse you... you have your own rights to say screw off (focus group, student interview, January 17, 2008).

Other students also developed an appreciation for the laws that regulate society and citizen participation. Nasira's answer illuminates this view. “I learned,” she said, “about more things that I did not even think of or realized before. I did not think much of it then, when we were doing [the movie] *Lord of the Flies*; I realize that without [laws] we would all be savages” (student interview, January 11, 2008). Meanwhile others, especially students like Trish who is one of the newcomers to Canada, stressed learning about rights and freedoms. “Being a citizen here” she said, “you have the right to express yourself, freedom of religion, personal freedom” (student interview, December 19, 2007).

The interviews with the students indicate that their civic learning expanded far beyond the structures and institutions of democracy and the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizens. These students learned about the connections between civic knowledge and civic

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participation. “To get... involved” Cemal explained, “hearing about the different parties would be useful.” In fact, for him, “that is what a Civics course is probably meant to be. It is to learn about them [political parties] and get involved.” While he knows that “some people find it boring,” for him, this kind of knowledge “is a frame [for] getting informed and getting involved” (student interview, January 11, 2008). In addition, students understood politics and public policy not only as what politicians do, but as something that directly impact citizens and their lives. Connor cogently expressed this view: “every bill that is passed, every law that is made, everything that ever goes on in Parliament is somehow going to trickle down and affect you in the long run” (student interview, December 17, 2007).

Another dimension of citizenship education that the student interviews shed light on is that of the informed citizen. All students interviewed underscored the importance of being informed, and identified a wide range of issues and arenas that they have become more knowledgeable about. However, being informed is interpreted differently by the students. For some, the course raised awareness and a better understanding of what is happening around them locally or internationally. Daniel, for example, reported learning about “world issues” and “what happens in the world like in Afghanistan..., the war that is going on there..., and human rights” (student interview, January 11, 2008). In a similar vein, Cemal said that through the course he became more aware of “what is happening around [the] city, [the] country, [and in] world affairs.” For him, citizens “should get informed and see what is happening in the world” (student interview, January 11, 2008). Others stressed how an informed citizenry is critical to civically-minded involvement and participation in the decision-making process. Hashir and Connor stressed this view:

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Hashir: I learned to be aware of the government, and... if it is a corrupted government like when they [MPs] are going to vote [and the] argument[s of...] the three or four parties, the NDP, the Liberals and whatever [because] when they are in there [Parliament], they choose how [to] secure [votes], basically he [Mr. Bennett] is trying to tell us that it is not a perfect government. (student interview, January 17, 2008).

Connor: Decision making is very important especially when... voting [or in...] a referendum. You have to do your research. This is the part which I see directly related to be, well, becoming a full citizen and being part of the active society. (student interview, December 19, 2007).

Conflict, cultural pluralism, and competing visions of the common good are seen by the students as central to Canada's democracy and democratic decision-making. Students' comments underscore the importance that respecting others and listening across difference have in coming together as citizens. For Cemal "respecting others and their religion" is critical to living together in a society like Canada. He continued:

If someone comes from a different country, like, say, they w[ere] not born here, they might have a different religion, for example, Muslim.... The person that is here, born here, is Jewish, should respect the Muslim for who they are. (student interview, January 17, 2008).

Connor believes that it is important "to get along... to make Canada great." However, getting along involves the recognition of conflict and resolving conflicts with others who think differently. He elaborated:

There is always going to be a conflict—small scale, large scale—there is always going to be conflict some time in your life.... It is just respecting the [other] person [that allows]

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resolving the conflict, and if not, at least agreeing to disagree.... So, I think... respecting the others around you... is definitely a big part of it [being a citizen]. (student interview, December 19, 2007).

Daniel also highlighted learning the value of listening across difference in order to find common ground. "I always had my point of view, and [did not consider if] no one else wanted it that way." "But now", he affirmed, "I understand and I can listen to other people's point of views and try to compromise and make one decision that will suit us all" (student interview, January 11, 2008).

Citizenship Participation

Mr. Bennett's instruction promoted citizenship participation. His vision of civics as politics seemed to influence the ways in which he sees students engaging with public life, which in turn affected his choice of instructional activities to encourage citizenship participation. He aimed at helping students understand and engage at a personal level with day-to-day politics and collective decision-making.

Thinking Politically: Engaging with Politics and Public Policy

An important goal of citizenship education is to educate for principled civic engagement. This requires a carefully pondered reflection that guides citizenship participation and action (Newmann, 1975; Parker, 2003). In his instruction, Mr. Bennett implemented learning activities that forced students to think politically. A good example is found in the way he planned and taught the unit on political parties. To teach this unit, Mr. Bennett gave the students a handout entitled *The Political Spectrum: Where Do You Stand?* Students were asked to reflect on their personal stance on 10 political statements. More specifically, the students were invited to think about their own views about politics and on issues of public policy. "Older politicians with more

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experience usually make the best party leaders,” for example, was one of the statements they were asked to reflect upon. With regards to issues of public policy, statements touched on a wide range of issues including immigration, programs for disadvantaged groups, and minimum wage regulations. “Immigrants should be immediately sent to whatever part of the country that has any kind of labour shortage” and “the death penalty should be automatic in all cases of premeditated (preplanned) murder” are further examples of statements that the students had to take a position on (classroom observation, January 7, 2008).

Mr. Bennett discussed each statement with his students. After reading a statement, the students were asked to raise their hand if they were in agreement or not. Each statement was identified as being of a right-wing or left-wing ideological position. For example, after reading the statement in support of the death penalty, the teacher said, “if you agree... it is more a right wing position.” In addition, Mr. Bennett made an effort to highlight the controversy that each statement held. For example, he said to his students, you might disagree with the death penalty “because it teaches people to kill.” Others might have a problem with the idea that “if the government decides to kill them, then it is okay.” He continued, but, at the same time, some of you might be thinking, “what... [to] do with all these killers.” Indeed, he affirmed, “it is a difficult decision” (classroom observation, January 7, 2008).

Mr. Bennett then taught about the four main political parties and where they are located within the political spectrum—right, left, and center. To teach the political spectrum, the teacher gave the students the *Political Statements Worksheet*. This worksheet had eight statements with right, center, and left-wing stances on issues of public policy, including education, private health care, and more severe punishments for young offenders. The assignment had three parts to it. First, the students were asked to take a stance by explaining whether they were in agreement or

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not with each statement. Then, the students were asked to identify the political ideology (right, center or left-wing) that each statement corresponded to and the political party that was more likely to support each statement. Students used the words Conservative, Liberal or NDP to assess each statement. Finally, the students had to identify whether the statement was a social or a fiscal issue. In fiscal issues, the teacher explained, public policy is concerned with money, whereas in social issues, public policy “is mainly about people.” Often, he continued, public policy is about both a social and a fiscal issue (classroom observation, January 7, 2008). To illustrate, the statement “rising tuition costs are making post-secondary education inaccessible to many students. It’s time to abolish tuition fees and have the government fund all levels of education” would have been identified with the word NDP and as both a fiscal and social issue. In contrast, the statement “welfare programs are too rich in this country. People lose their initiative and their drive if it is too easy to go on welfare” would have identified with the words Conservative and fiscal. After completing the exercise, Mr. Bennett asked the students to choose two statements and to write a short response that explained their personal stance. Short answers were handed in to be graded.

As a form of final reflection, Mr. Bennett asked the students whether they agreed or not with each statement. The students were talking among themselves on the range of their political views. Overall, it seems that there was a mix of support for both right- and left-wing ideologies. Mr. Bennett summarized and said, “you see, nobody is completely right- or left-wing.” He continued, “there is tension.” Therefore, he asserted, the most important thing is to listen to the issue and “decide what kind of issue it is” and how you stand in relation to that issue (classroom observation, January 7, 2008). Gita then raised her hand and asked, “are right-wing good or bad people?” Mr. Bennett—who seemed a bit surprised by the question—explained that the exercise

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is not “about being good or bad,” but learning to understand the different views and beliefs about an issue and how to solve it (classroom observation, January 2008).

Practicing Democratic Decision-Making

For Mr. Bennett, democracy is an ideal that in practice “is not easy... that is very difficult” to achieve (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). It follows from this that for him, “encourag[ing] the ability to think of others” and “understand[ing]... conflict [and] conflict resolution... to find [alternatives] that people can live with” are critical components of his instruction (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Role playing and simulations are the main teaching strategy that he uses to teach students “how to deal with resolving conflict” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Engaging students in simulations of democratic processes and procedures has been identified as a promising citizenship education practice that “can lead to heightened political knowledge and interest” (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003, p. 6).

In what is called the river simulation, students experienced conflict resolution and reflected on how power operates in groups, organizations and society. They were divided into five groups, each representing a village along a river. From upstream to downstream the villages were: Callisto (population, 110), Rhea (250), Titan (300), Io (110), and Obreron (230). The problem presented was that the river is drying out and there is not enough water to support the inhabitants of the five villages. Students received a handout with basic information about the amount of water each person needs to survive as well as comparing how many inhabitants would likely die if a decision was made to share the water or to instead go to war. Each group of students representing a village designated a leader and a diplomat. The simulation has four phases. In the planning phase, each group decided on an action plan. In the diplomacy phase, the

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designated diplomat met with other villages to discuss his or her village plan. The diplomat discussed possible alternatives and had the possibility of making alliances with other villages. In the third phase, the leaders met to strategize how to cope with the drought. In the final, declaration phase each leader announced their final decision(s).

Preparing students for democratic decision-making. Mr. Bennett introduced the river simulation to the students the day before it took place. He explained the situation and the goals of the activity. He told the students a “simulation... is similar to the way the world works. So, the objective is to teach you how the world works.” Tomorrow, he said, “you have to decide what to do” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). Then, Mr. Bennett warned the students about treating the simulation as if it were a game and easily deciding to wage war. If they treated it like a game, he told the students, that they would be acting like the president of the US. Then he asked his students, “do you think he cares if his country goes to war? Answering his own question, he said “No. He makes money... because his family is in the oil business.” He continued, “oil [can be used] in peaceful times or... to make tanks..., military hardware. Either way he makes money” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). The river simulation handout also warned against the drawbacks of waging war. It read, for example, “in case of... war... the side with the largest population will... win.... The losing village... will [have] to leave the valley.... Wars carry a price [for] winners and losers.... [It is...] not the best alternative [nor] the only option” (classroom observation, January 9, 2008).

Deciding on a course of action. After all the phases of the river simulation were completed, the leader of each village announced their final decisions. The leaders of Callisto and Io formed an alliance and a plan for Io’s inhabitants will move to Callisto and help build a dam. The leaders of Rhea, Oberon and Titan formed an alliance. Rhea’s leader declared war on

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Callisto, while Titan's leader declared war against Io. Obreron's leader did not declare war against any village, but decided to support Titan and Rhea if they went to war (classroom observation, January 9, 2008). In short, students could not find common ground and a course of action that led to a more equal distribution of a limited resource.

Students' reflections on the politics and political responses to the river simulation. The next day, Mr. Bennett discussed what they learned in the river simulation. He asked, "why did you decide to go to war?" Students' responses indicate that they felt threatened by the decision of the Callisto villagers to build a dam:

Cemal: The first community up river wanted to build dam.

Dennis: Callisto's leader had threatened with poisoning the river.

Hammad: If they build the dam, they were going affect us.

Teacher: Did you feel threatened?

Harrison: Connor and Joseph [Io's and Callisto's leaders, respectively] felt very threatened.

Connor [Io's leader]: Pretty much (classroom observation, January 10, 2008).

To this comments the teacher said that by observing the dynamics of the meeting of the leaders, he was of the impression that "not everybody in this room felt threatened." This comment catalyzed the following exchange:

Sanda [Obreron's diplomat]: No. I did not feel threatened. We made an alliance with Titan.

Teacher: That way you would not feel threatened because you had the numbers

Sanda: Yes.

Teacher: Who had the power?

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Students: Titan

(While the majority seemed to agree it was Titan, some others thought it was Rhea).

Teacher: What did Titan want?

Various students: To kill everybody... The land and the water.... They wanted everything... They did not care about killing the children.

Teacher: So, did Titan want to have it all?

Abdul: Titan wanted the water and less people.

Teacher: How could violence have been avoided?

Connor: Do not resort to threats.

Nyla: By thinking about others and listening to others (classroom observation, January 10, 2008).

In addition to this discussion, Mr. Bennett also asked the students to reflect on their personal response to the river simulation. He gave the handout entitled *Politics of the River Simulation* which outlines four kinds of political response. The first is the “don’t go out on a limb” response. In this case, a person “looks at the conflict as a problem, but not a problem that has a lot to do with you.” When this response is taken, a person “might refrain from getting involved and keep quiet.” In the “I want power” response, the person looks “at conflict as a game or competition.” The main goal is to win, “show your power” and “improve your social status.” A third response is to “protect the peace.” By looking “at the conflict as a threat to peace and... survival” a person aims to “divert a violent confrontation or imbalance in power.” The fourth response is “what I do not know does not hurt me.” This person “does not look at the conflict, period” and seems not to care and therefore there is a lack of interest in “listening... [and] understanding what is happening” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). Students were

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asked to write a five-paragraph essay answering the question: “What response is the closest to yours?” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). The essay was handed in for grading.

In Mr. Bennett’s classroom instruction, citizenship participation is conceived mainly as political participation. An important goal is to help students understand the intricacies and difficulties involved in a democracy as both a system of government and a way of living together. In this context, democracy—and citizenship education—is not limited to the politico-legal structure, but includes the ideologies and notions of what constitute the public good. In short, “the conflict” as Mr. Bennett refers to it. His instruction seems to have two foci. On one hand, he provides opportunities for students to think politically about issues that are controversial and central to public policy and what their viewpoints are—where they stand. On the other hand, through simulations students practice important democratic skills (e.g., identifying a public problem and deliberating alternatives) and experience the difficulties involved in coming together as citizens to make decisions for the common good (e.g., disagreements, group versus individual interests).

Multicultural Education

As explained above, for Mr. Bennett an important aim of citizenship education is promoting cultural pluralism—the idea that people from distinct groups can coexist harmoniously (Driedger, 2003). As he stated, in the classroom, “I want to promote a peaceful existence of different cultures. I strongly believe in multiculturalism, so I think my goal could be summed up as to promote multiculturalism and the belief that it is possible to get along” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). The provision of citizenship instruction in Mr. Bennett’ class had two key characteristics related to multiculturalism. First, it recognized the rich

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social and cultural diversity found among his students, and secondly, it acknowledged the multicultural nature of Canadian society.

Recognition of Students' Cultural Diversity

A critical aspect of Mr. Bennett's citizenship pedagogy is the fact that he recognizes that he teaches in a very multicultural classroom in which students have a wide range of cultural, ethnic and racial backgrounds. For him, this is key to the implementation of an inclusive pedagogy that takes into account the needs and expectations of all students. Ayers (2001) contends that responsive teaching involves "uncovering the fellow creatures who must be a partner in the enterprise" (cited in Gay, 2010a, p. 22). Mr. Bennett seems to do that. "I know the kids," he asserted, "I know where they are from, and I... can tell... what their opinions are on different issues" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Mr. Bennett knows that culture counts; that it determines how one behaves and thinks (Gay, 2010a). "I teach" he said, "to so many different immigrant students, and they are all different.... I mean," he continued, students may have migrated "from the US... from Palestine..., Kurdistan, or from [the] former Russian republics [and] they are all different... So, I cannot lump them together" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In addition, Mr. Bennett is wary of differences that emerge from the students' socio-economic status. He finds that "the economic factors are probably the biggest factors to... be sensitive to; [and] it is very, very hard." What makes it particularly hard is an awareness that "it is so easy for a student to dismiss what I am saying if they come from one economic group or another." In fact, the worst possible situation is to "lose a student because I said something that either belittled them or belittled their situation" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Mr. Bennett not only recognizes that there are important cultural and

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socioeconomic differences between his students in his class—he recognizes that these differences can have a significant influence on how they respond to his citizenship instruction.

Mr. Bennett also acknowledges that many immigrant students face important barriers to academic success, such as weaker English language skills and a different culturally-based experiential knowledge. For some students, participating in the classroom by expressing their viewpoints is a “challenge” as “a lot of the students are operating in a second language and not a first language” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In addition, the teacher is aware that helping students to think critically about public issues can be difficult as many students come from “countries where they are taught to follow as opposed to lead” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). However, for Mr. Bennett the main task consists on moving students to the next level. In many cases, particularly for immigrant ESL students, class instruction might focus “on developing literacy skills,” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). After taking few moments, Mr. Bennett continued, “but at the same time, there is an intellectual point of view, and an intellectual reasoning that must take place” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). A critical component to a responsive pedagogy is having high learning expectations of all students. Often, as in the other three case studies, the main learning expectation teachers have for immigrant students is that they master mandated civic knowledge. In contrast, Mr. Bennett moves beyond learning of the prescribed curriculum—as important as it might be—to expect that his students experience “an intellectual reasoning.” This kind of learning expectation calls for the intellectual growth of his students.

I asked Mr. Bennett how he faces the complexities of teaching and learning about citizenship in a multicultural classroom to make his classroom a responsive environment for each learner. “It is all about trust,” he affirmed, and further explained:

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The kids have to trust me, and then, they feel protected and safe when they are in my class. Then there will not be any flare ups, I do not think. I think that if they believe that I am going to be respectful of their concerns and their points of view, then it is good.

(Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

Mr. Bennett's response echoes Ayers' second provision of responsive teaching, which consists of creating a nurturing and challenging environment for learning (2001, cited in Gay, 2010a).

Finding a balance between creating a "challenging" and "nurturing" learning environment is something that needs to be carefully and continuously pondered. Mr. Bennett finds that an issue-based approach that promotes discussion of contentious national and international topics creates a challenging and more realistic environment to learn about democratic citizenship. However, Mr. Bennett is careful to identify what might be "difficult issues" for some students in order to create the nurturing environment needed to have those discussions. As he explains:

I have... to make sure that I am not re-disturbing, [or] bringing up disturbing memories for kids. But, I think what I have found is that if I approach difficult issues with a sense of respect, respectfully to both sides, then, the kids will engage. (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

In essence, throughout his instruction, Mr. Bennett tries to find the right balance between challenging and nurturing his students.

For Mr. Bennett "the Civics course provides a lot for the immigrant [students] to help them adapt because many countries do not have a democracy that is based on the elements of democracy" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In addition, being an open course—which to him "reflects society"—Civics provides "a very exciting" environment. "It is the last time the students will ever be in an open class. It is the last time they could brush shoulders with

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any segment of society [before they are streamed], and what better place to talk about societal issues” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008).

With regards to the instruction for immigrant and non-immigrant students, Mr. Bennett believes that “there are two different goals” to his instruction. An overarching goal of the course is that all students “learn the elements of democracy and the ability to respect others” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Secondly, he wants immigrant students to “develop some form of comfort within that system, within that culture. And, what I think I am trying to do is trying to comfort them knowing where they are” within this new society (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). And while there are different goals of instruction, for Mr. Bennett at the end “it comes together beautifully” because even though “there are so many cultures... nobody feels left out” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). In other words, a citizenship pedagogy that is culturally responsive is inclusive and pays attention to the acquisition of knowledge and skills needed for both academic success and to democratic living in pluralistic societies (Banks, 2007, 2008; Dilworth, 2008; Gay, 2010a; Parker, 2003).

Addressing Social and Cultural Difference in Citizenship Instruction

Mr. Bennett frames his citizenship instruction against the backdrop of an increasingly diverse and interconnected world. Issues of social and cultural difference are addressed in two ways. One is by recognizing Canada’s internal diversity, as found in the various ethnic and racial groups as well as in peoples’ distinct cultural backgrounds. Secondly, there is an emphasis on the interdependence of people and nations around the globe.

In this classroom, it was often acknowledged that Canada is a multicultural nation. Mr. Bennett incorporated multicultural content into his citizenship instruction. He used both a contribution and an additive approach; however, he tried to teach beyond the contributions of

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different groups (Banks 2003). For example, Mr. Bennett taught students about different historical perspectives on the origins of democratic decision-making, including the Iroquois consensus decision-making model. Too often, students are taught only one version of the history of democracy, commonly the one found in the civics textbook *Canadian by Conviction* that tells students that Athens is the “birthplace of democracy and [where] the roots of government as we know it today come from” (Brune & Bulgutch, 2000, p. 7). While this may be true, there are various examples of different varieties of democracy around the world and not just one triumphant version (See Dahl, 1998). Western ideas about democracy and governmental structures have in fact been influenced by the Iroquois model (Caskey, Rapida, & Wubbold, n.d.).

Canada’s multicultural character was also explored through the recognition of the existence of distinct nations: the Québécois and the Aboriginal peoples. Mr. Bennett made reference to the 2006 motion passed in the House of Commons where it was recognized that “the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada” (CBC News, 2006). He led the following exchange:

Teacher: What is a nation? Does it mean a different country or what?

Ali: A group that has... something in common.

Jamila: Aboriginals are a nation.

Teacher: Yes. Aboriginals are called First Nations. Are aboriginals in Canada Canadian?

Do they have Canadian passports? Why are they called a nation?

Ziad: First Nations, no?

Teacher: Yes. The term is used to indicate that they were here before us. But, why [are Aboriginals] a nation? After few minutes of silence, the teacher continued,

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Teacher: It [a nation] is a group of people with their own culture and traditions, for example, what you eat, how you dress, and the kinds of work that you do (classroom observation, January 8, 2008).

This discussion helped students understand that while all Canadian citizens may have the same rights and responsibilities, there are very different cultural groups within the country who have different values. While it is unfortunate that he lumps all Aboriginal peoples together as a single nation, his comments about them are very useful in helping students understand that distinct traditions that existed before the arrival of Europeans continue to form part of today's cultural mosaic.

Mr. Bennett espoused a commonly-held vision that Canada is a nation of immigrants where people migrated from different places searching for a better place to live (Bedard, 2000). He shared a historical account with his students about how the settlers, “people from different cultures—Scottish, Irish, English and French—had to work together.” He continued, “we do not have a history of war here.... We all came because we were leaving [another] place... not because [we] were trying to conquer this place” (Bennett, classroom instruction, January 8, 2008). Jacob raised his hand and said, “you are saying that they did not want to conquer each other..., but isn't it what happened?” Mr. Bennett recognized this and said, “at the beginning, you are right.” Nevertheless, he stressed that in Canada, over the years people from different cultures have come and were able to live together; whereas in other countries like “Serbia [and] Croatia, they did not... get along. They tried to conquer each other.... There was resentment and this resentment led to war” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008). In Canada, he reaffirmed, people from different cultures can live together. “Multiculturalism” he contended, “we can do it when other countries cannot” (classroom observation, January 8, 2008).

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Helping students understand the complexities involved in multi-group relations in Canada is not an easy task. Generally speaking, until the 1960s, nation-building was a top priority in Canada. Minorities—including the Quebecois and Aboriginal peoples—were forcefully incorporated into political community dominated by English-speaking Euro-Canadians, and immigrants were expected to assimilate and adopt the values and forms of behaviours of the dominant Anglo culture (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998). The adoption of a federal multicultural policy in 1971 represented a dramatic change to “the terms of integration” for minority groups. Minorities could retain and exercise their distinct culture at the same time that they could participate in common institutions of governance (Kymlicka, 1998). Kincheloe and Steinberg write “once the often eclipsed relationship between past and present is recognized, the ties between history and politics can be exposed” (1997, p. 239). It seems that a critical examination of Canada’s history of assimilation is critical to understand on one hand, the roots that led towards the adoption of multiculturalism as a government policy in 1971, and on the other hand, the gains made and the challenges that remain.

Mr. Bennett not only talked about how Canada is a multicultural nation, he also implemented a global citizenship pedagogy that allowed students to explore how Canada and Canadians are connected through relations of interdependence with other people and nations around the globe. This approach has been identified as one of the ways that citizenship education can be transformed to better educate citizens to function in increasingly diverse nation-states (Banks, 2008; Davis et al., 2005; Osler & Starkey, 2003). During the interview, Mr. Bennett explained that he often feels that his students do not understand the reasons why they study issues around the world, such as situations “happening in China..., the Middle East or South America” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). For him, interdependence among

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nations already exists and it should be an integral aspect of educating democratic citizens. For him, focusing solely on the Canadian context is problematic and an incomplete approach. As he explains, “the problem is that Canada is drawing from those [foreign] places, so I think it is our business” to look beyond the confines of the local and national. When providing instruction, Mr. Bennett makes an effort to “reach out into the different continents, and pull something out of it. And this makes people aware that different continents affect Canada [as well as] the issues [that] different continents” face (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). A global approach with a focus on “international issues” can be an effective tool to help students navigate the interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global.

Justice-oriented Citizenship Education

A justice-oriented approach to citizenship education is concerned with educating citizens working towards the construction of a more equitable and just society. An important aspect of instruction is to help students understand the structures, factors, and conditions that maintain conditions of inequality (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Mr. Bennett’s citizenship instruction has a justice-oriented approach, whereby inequalities along the lines of class, race and ethnicity are recognized. As such, issues of discrimination, racism and class inequality are not eschewed, but are seen as realities, and part of the reality in which democracy takes place. In Mr. Bennett’s instruction, the values of justice, fairness, equality and tolerance are often brought to the forefront. For example, one time he told the students that it is possible that someone they know “might have been discriminated against because they are female, Black or of a different religion” (classroom observation, January 7, 2008). Another time, Mr. Bennett said that “racism” is prevalent in Canadians negative attitudes toward immigrants. Many Canadians, he said, are of

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the opinion that they “do not want more people coming into the country” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008).

Mr. Bennett’s instruction poses questions that challenge assumptions about Canadian society. For example, he discussed with his students the power of media advertising. He told them that “commercials determine what gets on television and what does not get in” (classroom observation, January 10, 2008). He also explained how big companies and corporations can manipulate public opinion. Companies, he told the students, pay famous athletes to promote their products. Therefore, he said, a player might feel compelled to avoid criticizing a company or their products, especially if they are an important sponsor (classroom observation, January 10, 2008).

In addition to these learning moments when students were presented with what might be for them unrecognized aspects of our social reality, Mr. Bennett conducted two activities that directly tackled structures of inequality. The first, a sweatshop role playing exercise, explored labour rights and focused on globalization and relations of exploitation through multinational corporations, many of which are based in North America. In the second activity, students were asked to write an essay that draws comparisons between global politics and structures of inequality within the school, especially through the streaming system.

Exploring Labour Rights and Relations of Exploitation in a Globalized World

In their role playing activity, the students came together to negotiate a 10% salary cut to the people working at the shoe factory located in a developing country. According to the corporation’s CEO these measures were necessary “in order to stay profitable against heavy competition” (classroom observation, January 15, 2008). The class was divided into four groups of five students. Within each group, each member was a different stakeholder: the CEO of the

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shoe company, the factory owner, a representative of the assembly line workers, a representative of the First World consumers, and a representative of a labour rights NGO. Each student received a handout that outlined the position they would take according to the role they were playing in the negotiation.

Learning about sweatshops. Before having the students go through the salary conflict-resolution exercise, Mr. Bennett introduced the activity by asking what a sweatshop is. “It is a factory that produces goods” and “it is a place where you get paid funny” were some of the answers that students provided (classroom observation, January 15, 2008). Next, the teacher asked the types of products that are made in sweatshops. Some students were already familiar with some brands that use sweatshops to produce clothing products, like Nike and Guess. Mr. Bennett tried to establish a connection between the people and places where the products are produced and them, the students. He said, the “brand name jeans, shoes, t-shirts that are made in poor countries... where people work 12-hour shifts for a minimum salary.” He continued to explain that these products are popular “because we are bombarded with advertisements.” “To give you an idea” he told the students, “Tiger Woods—[the professional golf player]—apparently makes more money from Nike than all the people working for Nike in Indonesia” (classroom observation, January 15, 2008). Some students seemed surprised by this information, but there were no comments or questions. Then the teacher talked about the workers and the avenues available to them to negotiate their salary dispute. The teacher highlighted two avenues: one is forming a union and the other is going on strike. By going on strike, he told the students “the company [can] lose millions of dollars.” With this brief introduction students broke into their groups to negotiate the workers’ salaries.

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Negotiating among conflicting interests. Of four groups, three could not come to an agreement and the workers decided to go on strike. In the group that came to an agreement, the workers accepted a 3% cut in their salary, with the promise that when the company's profits reached a certain point, the salary cut would be eliminated. In the short discussion that took place after the activity ended, one of the students reflected on the unfairness of the difference in salary for the workers and the profits for the corporation. Cemal said, these "companies make millions of dollars every year.... [The workers work] eight hours a day for four dollars and they are still complaining" (classroom observation, January 15, 2008). Jamila recognized how difficult is to boycott or giving up buying these brands. "I know what they do," she said, "but I will still buy their brands" (classroom observation, January 15, 2008). The teacher made a final comment before class ended. "I hope" he said, that you have "a little bit of an inside experience of what the situation is all about" and how each one of us as "blind consumers" are implicated in "the exploitation of people around the world" (classroom observation, January 15, 2008).

As Mr. Bennett said afterwards, the negotiation process of the sweatshop simulation "was not very successful." He mistakenly hoped the students knew "a little more about it [sweatshops] than they actually did." The students' unfamiliarity with sweatshops and labor disputes, in general, and the complexity of the negotiation process with different stakeholders, in particular, forced Mr. Bennett to provide further assistance while the groups were actually negotiating. I observed that most students could play their role and argue their viewpoints according the assigned role; nevertheless, what seemed to be more difficult was deliberating in order to come to an agreement that takes into account the views and needs of all involved.

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Comparing Global Politics and School Politics

The second activity that Mr. Bennett implemented drew parallels between global politics, seen through the lens of economic inequalities between countries, and local politics, focusing on the three-tiered educational system in Ontario. Designed as the “summative assignment” as Mr. Bennett refers to it, students had to “write an essay on how you think the world can best get along” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008). Mr. Bennett wrote a story entitled the *Playground Analogy*. In the story “global politics [are] analogous to a... school... with each child representing a nation or culture; the children’s parents representing its government; and the school’s programs representing groupings of nations” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008). Overall, there are three main topics raised in the story, which was read with the students during class time. One is the economic disparities between nations. A second topic is the US-led intervention in Iraq and a third topic is the existence of a stratified educational system that affects the quality of education and future prospects of students in different streams. The story explains that “approximately half the children in the school [are] in the Regular school Program. Though they want to be successful, they are not in the school’s high achieving French Immersion Program. The Regular Program [is] comparable to newly industrializ[ed] countries like India, China and Brazil.” The story then presents the Basic Program, which is attended by “a quarter of the children.... These children have no hopes of ever being in the French Immersion Program.... The Basic Program is comparable to developing countries like Sudan, Haiti and Myanmar.” Then the story introduces the “high achievers,” those attending the French Immersion Program who enjoy “added resources, [such as] special field trips and parent volunteers. These children have every opportunity to succeed” This program is “comparable to developed countries like Canada, Germany and the US” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008).

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“This activity” Mr. Bennett said to his students, “has a parallel to what happens in real life” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008). Indeed, the story is presented mainly as a clash of interests between families who want their kids to have access to the French Immersion Program and families who either want to see the program becoming more inclusive and those who want to keep it the way it is. “Privileged people” he told the students, “have access to better education” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008). The Richardsons are a family at the center of the story. This rich family, that “own[s] much of the low-income housing around the school,” is actively involved in the school. Many other families recognize that “the Richardsons do a lot for the school;” however, “some have respect for them; others side with them for convenience, while others resent their powerful influence.” One day, a Richardson child “was stabbed with a pencil at recess... The culprit was not caught.... The Richardson family said they will stop at nothing until they find the culprit.” They illegally searched “the homes of the anti-Richardson families.” Mr. and Mrs. Richardson told “the other parents that they are either ‘with them or against them’ in their quest” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008). The Richardson family represents the US, the stabbing incident is the 9/11 terrorist attack, the entering of private homes is the war against Iraq, and ‘with us or against us’ declaration represents the US war on terror.

To write the essay *How Should the Story End?*, Mr. Bennett provided a handout with different scenarios that the students could choose. Students were asked, for example, to think about what “the parents and children should do about the stabbing and the illegal actions of the Richardsons.” The suggested options for their story were that (a) “most children and their parents will support the Richardsons because they want to become part of the gifted program;” (b) “most children and their parents will not support the Richardsons because they believe the Richardson’s do not have the right to go into the homes of innocent people;” (c) “most children and their

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parents will support the Richardsons because they want to find the culprit [and...] deter this kind of violence;” and (d) most children will not support the Richardsons, but their parents will because the parents understand that without a strong leadership... the gifted program... [and] the whole school would become too unstable” (classroom observation, January 17, 2008). One of the options prompted a critique of the US response to the 9/11 attack by asking students to assess “how far should the Richardsons go... to find the culprit.” Students were also asked to think about issues directly related to the school structure, such as “whether the acceptance of more children into the gifted program would improve human relations in the school.” They were also asked to examine economic inequalities by thinking about whether students in different streams would “be able to buy their own house” in the future. Another suggested scenario for their story focused attention on the value system of families with high achieving students.

While the learning activity drew students’ attention toward contentious issues and practices globally and locally by drawing similarities between the War in Iraq and streaming practices at their own school, I believe the story was too cumbersome for the students to work with. Students were asked to compare two issues that are both very complex and not easily comparable. If the goal is developing social critique, a more productive approach might have been an in-depth study of the contexts, factors and consequences revolving around each issue. In addition, the analogy is problematic in that the comparison of different streams to rich or poor countries is not only ill-founded, but it obscures the important socioeconomic differences within poor countries and the educational and other structures that maintain them.

Discussion of Case 4 Findings

Mr. Bennett’s understandings of civics as being both “largely about politics” and concerned with “multiculturalism and the belief that it is possible to get along” deeply influences

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the way he teaches for democratic citizenship. While he considers that it is important for students to act responsibly in their communities, his instruction goes beyond educating personally-responsible citizens. Rather, in his view, citizenship education should enable students to engage in significant ways in the public sphere. The public sphere is conceived as the realm where relevant economic, political and social issues, problems and dilemmas of the day happen (Davis, 2008; Parker, 2003).

Mr. Bennett's instruction echoes a view of citizenship education as political education (Crick & Porter, 1978; Davis, 2008). Politics "is inevitably concerned with conflicts of interest and ideals" and with "the differential distribution of power in any society and the differential access to resources" (Crick & Lister, 1978, p. 38). Mr. Bennett places conflict and the eight elements of democracy front and center in his instruction. In addition, conflict is seen from different perspectives. One perspective is the personal. Students are prompted to think about their own personal political views and stances on issues of public policy and public concern; a practice that encourages informed and reflective citizenship (Banks, 2008; Newmann, 1975; Parker, 2003, 2008). Students are faced with substantive questions, such as whether post-secondary education should be government-funded; whether marijuana should be decriminalized; or how the government should regulate minimum wages. In thinking about these kinds of public policy issues, students are reminded of the eight elements of democracy. Thus, students consider the role that some elements of democracy have in decision-making processes, while others may be pushed aside and relegated to the background. Another perspective that students were taught is that of collective decision-making. Through simulations and role playing, students experienced what it is like to come together as citizens to deliberate in order to find solutions and compromises for the common good. However, as novices in this kind of

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democratic endeavor, the students often fell short of finding middle ground. But although methodologically these activities could be improved, they are nevertheless useful in educating for politically literate citizenship. In political education, an important goal for the students is not necessarily to resolve the conflicts they are presented with, but to perceive “their very existence as politics” (Crick & Lister, 1978, p. 38).

The kind of citizenship participation that was encouraged in Mr. Bennett’s class was active participation in public and political life. Mr. Bennett made an effort to teach beyond the structures and processes of democracy to develop in his students’ political understanding and therefore political competence. For example, the students learned that political parties have a leader, a caucus and a political ideology, but also that they are dynamic structures with politicians that have particular agendas and that strive for power. They were taught that citizens are not just voters, but participants with their own visions and expectations for a particular kind of society.

All seven students I interviewed reported learning about the legal and political structure and institutions of democracy. In addition, they all regard being informed and active participation in public life as characteristics that define good citizenship. Connor, for example, highlighted the importance of voting as a mechanism for public participation and change. He said, “you are voting for what you believe in and what you want your country to become. If you do not like how it is, you have the power to change it” (student interview, December 19, 2007). Daniel reported a change in his citizenship behavior. “When I hear about stuff that happened with the government..., I am more interested in it, and now I know what is going on” (student interview, January 11, 2008). Similarly, Cemal stressed that through citizenship instruction, he learned “that voting is central; that everyone has some responsibilities about voting..., [and]

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being informed and getting involved with the government” (student interview, January 17, 2008). Others underscored the connection between being informed and conscious decision-making. For Connor for example, “decision-making is very important, especially when it comes to voting... [or] like a referendum. You have to do your research” (student interview, December 19, 2007).

Interviews with students also reveal that they attach other meanings to democracy and citizenship beyond being informed and voting and other conventional types of participation. In this class, students gained an understanding of democracy as a work in progress that needs citizens’ input and involvement. While they value Canada’s democratic system, they have also learned that “it is not a perfect government” (Hashir, student interview, focus group, January 17, 2008). Connor’s reflection stresses both the ideal of democracy and the nature of conflict inherent in it. He talked about learning “what it takes to have a democracy,” saying:

I think democracy is a great system, but you cannot have the eight major parts [i.e., elements] of democracy. There is no way to ever have all eight. You are always going to have more of [one], or not enough of another one. (student interview, December 19, 2007).

Others talked about democracy as a space, a forum where people can express and discuss their views. When “people disagree” explained Cemal, they “just talk about it. I see, hear their point of view, and [they] see ours. It is democracy” (student interview, January 17, 2008). For others, democracy is associated with a vision of a more just society. “Democracy” asserted Nasira, “means to me fairness, equality and multiculturalism.” When I asked why she associates these words with democracy, she explained:

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I learned... how in downtown there are these [homeless] people and that not everyone is the same.... I am middle class, so then my life is actually pretty good when I do not really acknowledge it to poor people, but I never thought much about it. (student interview, January 11, 2008).

It seems that for some students the classroom pedagogy provided an opportunity for them to reflect on their social positioning and privilege. This type of learning—which was only reported in this case study—is strongly associated with the justice-oriented approach to citizenship education.

With cultural pluralism as a critical goal of his instruction, Mr. Bennett recognizes and responds to both the social and cultural diversity found in his classroom and in Canadian society. Mr. Bennett's approach to multiculturalism recognizes that we live in an increasingly diverse and interconnected world. Thus, within and across nations, people from different cultures, religions, and ethnic and racial backgrounds are faced with decisions that affect how to live together and pursue the common good. Therefore, while he recognizes in his students both the contributions and the allegiances due to their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, his instructional approach strives for developing the knowledge, values and skills that allow his students to engage in public life. Critical is an understanding of the conflicts derived from the differing needs and demands of people, including those who are culturally distinct from the mainstream. By using an issue-based approach, a methodology that he calls “political globalism,” he creates a model of a public forum where students can explore controversial issues as well as the realities, challenges and conflicts involved in making decisions for a more humane and just society locally and globally.

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A justice-oriented perspective on educating for good citizenship is found in Mr. Bennett instruction. As Westheimer and Kahne (2004) explain, making social problems explicit and critically analyzing the structures and the economic, political, social forces that maintain structural arrangements is critical to this approach. Mr. Bennett does make the challenges that test democracy and its ideals explicit, such as racism, discrimination, and gender and class inequalities to name a few. They are presented as social problems that prevent the creation of a more equal and just society. In addition, power and ideologies are seen as real, competing forces that influence public decision-making. Inequalities as reflected in unequal access to resources and opportunities were explored through the simulations and essay writing assignments that examined particular social arrangements, such as sweatshops and streaming. A justice-oriented approach to citizenship education is not just a lesson plan about justice and injustices, but a political stance and a commitment to educate citizens that make justice for all a priority (McLaren 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). Although Mr. Bennett's justice-oriented methodology could be improved to deepen students' critical thinking and understandings of both how larger structures privilege some and how citizens can work towards structural change, his approach enhances students' understanding that cultural pluralism and social justice are integral to democracy.

Teaching for democratic citizenship is not a straightforward practice, but rather one filled with ambiguities and contradictions. It is somewhat difficult to generalize Mr. Bennett's eclectic pedagogy, where class instruction is at times very teacher-centered with him doing most of the talking, and at other times student-centered, when students are actively involved in learning activities geared toward collective decision-making. To understand the range and diversity of pedagogical choices, it is critical to inquire into the teacher's citizenship educational philosophy

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and the ideological underpinnings that guide classroom practice (Gay, 2010b). By making conflict and cultural pluralism central to his instruction, Mr. Bennett seems to aim to educate a politically literate citizen that understands that democracy is not just about laws, rules, and procedures, but an imperfect system ridden by conflict and conflicting views about the common good (Crick & Porter, 1978; Davis, 2008). More specifically, he aims to educate students who can use civic knowledge in political situations and disputes and who understand both what the issues are and the centrality of conflict, power and ideological positions in public decision-making. His citizenship instruction advances a reflective practice where students develop their own political views and position themselves with regards to the conflicts of the day; value cultural pluralism and are respectful of others beliefs and lifestyles; and are aware of structural arrangements that test democracy and its principles.

***PART III: WHAT KIND OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR A PLURALISTIC
SOCIETY?***

CHAPTER 8:

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS: SAME COURSE, DIFFERENT AIMS

The chapters in Part II present four detailed portraits of how citizenship education occurs in culturally diverse high school classes. As the cases reveal, citizenship education varies tremendously across classrooms. There are multiple, sometimes contradictory, conceptions of what constitutes being a good citizen, which greatly impact citizenship pedagogy, in particular the ways students are taught about the roles they are expected to play in public life. At the heart of the cross-case analysis is an effort to build theory by identifying the commonalities and differences in teaching approaches that lead to very different educational outcomes (Creswell, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Ragin & Amoroso, 2011; Stakes, 2006). The cross-case analysis also allows me to identify salient differences in conceptualizations of citizenship and of active citizenship participation, and how they are associated with teachers' engagement with issues of multiculturalism—understood here as cultural difference that emerges from the distinct racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds of the students. These issues have been discussed in theoretical terms, but as yet there have been few studies grounded in empirical observation. The goal is to reveal relationships and processes that provide a basis for assertions, interpretations and theory for multicultural citizenship education (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 2006). The lessons learned have the potential to provide new insights that can be used to shape educational policy and practice that better respond to our rapidly changing, diverse population.

For each case study, I analyze the practice of citizenship education through the research frameworks of good citizenship—finding that all four classes fit within the framework advanced by Westheimer and Kahne (2004)—and approaches to multicultural content integration (Banks, 2003) to see how instruction responds to the cultural diversity which is clearly evident in the

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students' varied backgrounds and which is so prominent in Ottawa and other Canadian cities. Across the four high school classrooms there are similarities and differences in educating youngsters for democratic citizenship, even within the same school. For example, all teachers include the personally-responsible conception of citizenship education in their instruction. As such, all teachers regard building a strong civic knowledge base and citizenship participation in the public sphere as critical to their instruction. In general, the findings indicate that there is a knowledge base consisting of civic concepts, understandings, behaviours, skills and values that teachers deem as fundamental for students to learn to become informed and active citizens. In addition, active citizenship in the public sphere is considered by all teachers to be a critical educational goal and desired outcome of their citizenship instruction. However, while there is general agreement among the four teachers that educating participatory citizens is important, my research reveals significant differences in the type of active citizenship, or the avenues for participating in the public realm, that are promoted through classroom instruction. These different types of active citizenship stem in large part from teachers' understandings about democracy, citizenship and citizenship education that underpin their citizenship education efforts. These ideological understandings influence the pedagogical decisions and approaches that teachers choose to promote active citizenship. How students are taught about being active citizens lead to very different understandings of what it means to be a good citizen and how good citizens act in the public sphere. Moreover, the analysis shows whether and how these teachers respond to social and cultural difference is greatly influenced by the differences in the conceptions of good citizenship that they endorse. For example, some teachers avoid discussing inequalities linked to ethnicity and race while others actively engage with the tensions and dilemmas associated with democracy in a multicultural society.

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The chapter begins with an examination of the common goal among teachers of providing civic knowledge, while acknowledging some of the perhaps subtle but important differences in the rationale and pedagogical approaches to teaching this component of the curriculum. Then, using Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) citizenship framework as analytical lens, I present a comparative analysis of the conceptions of good citizenship across cases. Next, I center on key differences between the four cases, in particular in teaching about active citizenship. The discussion underscores the different understandings that are at play when teachers promote active citizenship, and the very different types of citizens that such understandings advance. I explain three types of active citizenship that citizenship education programs advance: conventional citizenship behaviours, make-a-difference active citizenship and politically-oriented active citizenship. Next, the cross-case analysis examines the different approaches to addressing cultural difference, using Banks' (2003) levels of multicultural content integration before turning my attention to how the different types of citizenship education strongly influence how issues of multiculturalism are dealt with in the classroom. The chapter ends with a discussion of the educational outcomes that different types of citizenship education have for educating for good citizenship in pluralistic democratic societies.

A Common Goal: Developing the Civic Knowledge Base

There are three pillars that provide a basis to assess citizenship education programs: knowledge, skills and values (Lutkus et al., 1999; Parker, 2003; Sears, 1996b). Hence, important understandings in these three areas can be explored, encouraged and if possible experienced through formal instruction. I use these established categories of citizenship education to explain the common civic knowledge base that teachers in the four Ottawa high school classrooms aim to provide. Examining how this knowledge base is taught is of vital importance to understand the

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prevailing conceptions of good citizenship that guide citizenship instruction. Another key finding I discuss is the prevailing—but not universal—notion that knowledge must precede action, a notion that greatly impacts how citizenship instruction is organized and taught.

All four teachers stressed that acquiring political and legal knowledge of Canada's democratic system is very important, something that is also prominent in the provincial curricular guidelines. As such, understanding how the government works—including its structures and functions—is knowledge targeted for instruction across all classrooms. The three levels of government (federal, provincial and municipal) and its three branches (executive, legislative and judicial) provide the overall organization for teaching civic knowledge. Students were expected to know the names and functions of the major institutions (i.e., the House of Commons and the Senate) as well as the elected representatives and key public servants at every level of government (i.e., the prime minister, members of Parliament, premiers, mayors, and so on). To teach this knowledge, all four teachers used lecture formats complemented with handouts, although with different emphases, and assessed students' learning mainly through exams. Occasionally, student-centered methodologies like essay writing, class discussion and student presentations were employed. Student-centered activities were also used; however, the main goals remained civic knowledge acquisition. In other words, class discussions mostly developed to better illustrate some aspect of the politico-legal system. This is not the same as teaching through discussion and deliberation where students choose and study a particular issue and through this process, they learn about the politico-legal system.

Understanding citizenship rights and duties and being informed of events and issues happening locally and globally was also emphasized by all teachers in their instruction. All teachers taught about rights and freedoms granted in the *Canadian Bill of Rights*, the

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Constitution and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, things that are also prominent in the provincial curriculum. They also highlighted the responsibilities invested in Canadian citizenship, such as voting and obeying the law. With regards to being informed, all teachers had students analyze and critique current news stories. However, a notable difference was found in the types of news and issues students were expected to examine. In Ms Montgomery's and Ms. Keller's classes, Cases 1 and 2, students could choose any type of news to discuss in class. For example, of seven current events presentations that I observed, the articles students chose to discuss were on new technologies, such as Facebook, cell phones, and I-pods. Other students discussed selected articles that reported on the creation of a new water park, a tort law sentence, Canada's participation in international conferences, and the adoption of aboriginal children by lay people. To a large extent, in these two classes, the act of listening to news broadcasts or reading newspaper articles and developing opinions about current events was seen as sufficient to encourage informed citizenship, even though some of the news stories had little relevance to democracy and citizenship. In contrast, Ms. Williams and Mr. Bennett, in Cases 3 and 4, drew students' attention to civic and political debates. For example, when studying the responsibilities of the municipal government, Ms. Williams discussed with her students the reasons behind the Mayor of Ottawa's proposal to charge a one-time snow removal fee to all residents. An important component to the promotion of informed citizenship is encouraging students to listen, analyze and critique news broadcasts.

Skill development is another dimension that all four teachers consider when planning and delivering citizenship instruction. In all classrooms, teachers aim for the acquisition of higher-order thinking skills (e.g., analyzing and assessing issues, forming and sustaining one's opinions); building enquiry and communication skills (e.g., posing and defining a problem,

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analyzing information from various sources, expressing an opinion effectively in oral and written formats) and developing collaboration skills (e.g., goal setting, project planning, sharing personal skills and resources)—skills featured in curricular guidelines. These findings are supported in research of citizenship education in the Canadian context (Evans, 2006; Llewellyn et al., 2007; Llewellyn et al., 2010). Other skills associated with political literacy, such as constructively challenging others' points of view, conflict-resolution and negotiation (Bickmore, 2006; Crick, 1978; Davis, 2008; Evans, 2006) receive far less attention, although it was present in Case 4 to some degree. Overall, the citizenship instruction that I observed places more emphasis on the development of academic skills—which are necessary for effective participation—and much less in skills that encourage politically oriented action and participation in the public sphere (Bickmore, 2006; Evans, 2006).

Finally, citizenship education includes the teaching of a wide range of values. All teachers taught concepts related to fundamental democratic beliefs and constitutional principles, such as the rule of law, due process, majority rule, free elections, the common good and the pursuit of happiness. Diversity values, such as tolerance, respect for others with different world views, listening to others and listening across difference were practiced in all four classrooms. Also, environmental values including protection of biodiversity and natural resources, sustainability, and a concern for global warming were raised repeatedly. Overall, less emphasis was found on the development of values aligned with a vision of democracy as social justice, such as concepts and ideas of justice, fairness, equity and inequity, equality and inequality, and the willingness to stand up for others—although again, in Case 4 and to a lesser extent in Case 3, these values were taught to some extent. Overall, the values targeted for instruction in citizenship education programs in the four schools stressed on one hand a vision of democracy as a set of

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procedures, principles, rules and regulations (Torres, 1998), and on the other, a vision of citizenship as the interactions and obligations among citizens and the state (Berkowitz, Althof, & Jones, 2008). Missing from instruction is the targeting of the values and dispositions that prepare students for a more substantial participation in public debate.

While all four teachers stress the importance of civic knowledge, there are differences in how the role of civic knowledge within citizenship education is conceived. A powerful notion that runs through three of the four cases is that civic knowledge precedes civic participation, something that has been found in other studies (Llewellyn et al., 2007; Westheimer et al., 2005). In these three cases, the teachers strongly believe that students must first learn what they see as fundamental civic knowledge before they can effectively participate in the public sphere. Only then do they turn their attention to citizenship participation. Citizenship instruction by the teachers who strongly endorse this notion had two characteristics. First, three quarters of instructional time or more were devoted to teaching and learning about civic knowledge, and secondly, there was a clear instructional division marking when the civic knowledge section of the class had concluded and instruction moved into citizenship participation. An exception, however, is found in Case 4 where Mr. Bennett, for the most part, taught civic knowledge against the backdrop of socio-political issues, an approach that allowed for the exploration of issues in the politico and legal contexts in which the issues arise.

Same Curriculum, Different Types of Citizenship Education

While there were important common educational goals across cases, the overall type of citizenship education that occurred in the four classes varied significantly. Indeed, the four classes confirm the utility of the citizenship education typology presented by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), although not every case fits squarely or solely within one of the three main

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categories of good citizenship. By looking at the cases as a group, a pattern becomes evident, whereby approaches are cumulative rather than mutually exclusive, progressing from a focus on civic knowledge toward social justice.

As normative concepts, the conceptions of good citizenship do not have firm boundaries; yet, they do possess important “qualitative boundaries” that help determine whether one conception is more prevalent than another, or whether there is more than one conception at play (Verkuilen, 2005). I identify four qualitative descriptors (strong, moderate, weak and absent) to help explain the extent to which the different conceptions of good citizenship are present in the provision of citizenship instruction in each classroom. The assignment of the descriptors is interpretative (Ragin, 2000; Verkuilen, 2005) and based on the individual case analysis phase where instruction was carefully analyzed in relation to each conception of good citizenship. Each case was evaluated in terms of how prevalent the three different conceptualizations of good citizenship were, revealing that different conceptualizations can co-exist and to varying degrees (Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1 Conceptions of good citizenship across cases

Conceptions of good citizenship	Case 1 Ms. Montgomery	Case 2 Ms. Keller	Case 3 Ms. Williams	Case 4 Mr. Bennett
Personally-responsible citizen				
Participatory citizen				
Justice-oriented citizen				

Key: ■ strong presence ■ moderate presence ■ weak presence □ absent

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In Case 1, Ms. Montgomery's citizenship instruction stresses the education of a personally-responsible citizen, one who displays desirable moral virtues like responsibility, industry, and caring for others and acts responsible in the community by fulfilling his/her civic duties. Interestingly, in this classroom, instruction has an active citizenship component whereby students undertake a civic action project to benefit the community, which one might expect to be associated with participatory conceptions of good citizenship. However, the majority of the students' civic action projects embraced the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship stressing especially civic duty. Seven out of 10 student projects provided indirect forms of service to the community, such as cleaning campaigns. These forms of active civic engagement produced mixed anecdotal results. In some cases, students reported an increased sense of personal competence and commitment to future citizenship participation; in other cases, especially students who did cleaning campaigns remarked having fulfilled their civic duty and expressed no interest in performing future service in the near future.

In Case 2, Ms. Keller also stresses the education of a personally-responsible citizen. However, another priority to her instruction is to help students realize that they can make a **real** difference in their communities. Thus, in Ms. Keller's class, students engaged in individual or collective efforts to plan and undertake actions that provide direct assistance to private and public organizations and/or government-led programs. But although students were actively engaged working for the betterment of their communities, in the classroom, they did not engage in questions of systemic injustice that allowed students to connect the relationship between community activism and social change. Citizenship education programs can help students to be actively and meaningfully engaged in their communities, but they might fall short of preparing students for a political participation to generate societal change (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

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In Cases 3 and 4 a very different type of citizenship education occurred from the previous cases, whereby all three conceptions of good citizenship were part of citizenship instruction, an example of how they are not mutually exclusive. In Case 3, to some degree, this more balanced instructional approach results from the students' resistance to being passive recipients of information and from the teacher's efforts to improvise and adapt her instruction to meet students' interests. When relatively **safe** topics for discussion like lowering the voting age, for example, failed to engage students, Ms. Williams decided to discuss controversial political issues locally and internationally. By engaging with more **difficult** topics and issues, Ms. William not only gained her students' attention, but actually explored, although arguably not in great depth, issues central to democratic living in a pluralistic society like Canada. While her approach did not include social critique and structural analysis, it did open the door to explore issues of inequality including racism and discrimination against aboriginal people in Canada; meritocracy and economic inequality; and intolerance towards religious minorities in Canada and overseas.

Case 4 demonstrates a very different way of teaching about what it means to be a good citizen in Canada. Mr. Bennett is the only teacher who articulated a different vision, one that moves well beyond legal understandings of citizenship. In contrast to an emphasis on civic knowledge and personal responsibility, for him, "civics is largely about politics" (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). Central to his vision of politics are the conflicting ideals, interests and ideologies that exist in society. Thus, by using an issue-based approach, his instruction directs students' attention to issues of power and conflict—central to a justice-oriented conception of citizenship education. In addition, Mr. Bennett asks students to think about their own political stances, a critical step leading to citizenship as a reflective practice. What is significantly different about Mr. Bennett's citizenship pedagogy in comparison to the

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other cases is his concerted effort to connect citizenship education and politics. His aim is that students have a better understanding, on one hand, of the clash of ideologies and principles in society, and on the other, that citizens have a substantial role to play in the public decision-making process.

There is great variance in the provision of citizenship education across classrooms even when all of them belong to the same school board and follow the same provincially prescribed citizenship education curricula. Research data shows that all teachers, although with varying degrees, are familiar with the expected provincial learning outcomes in each of three strands of citizenship—informed, purposeful and active citizenship. In addition, to inform their classroom practice, teachers often consult the provincially mandated curriculum as well as curricular guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education and the school board that suggest learning activities, assessment strategies and teaching resources. In this context, it can be argued that the provincially prescribed Ontario Civics curriculum reflects more a cluster of guidelines than an organized and principled framework that provides teachers with a clear direction in educating for democratic citizenship. In fact, the distinct and sometimes contrasting understandings of what good citizenship is and the different kinds of citizenship education that are found in practice are supported by the provincially prescribed curricula.

Teachers' conceptions of educating for good citizenship profoundly influence and shape their citizenship pedagogy actions and decisions. In fact, teachers' beliefs of who are good citizens and how they participate in society are like principles that guide their day-to-day practice. While the research shows that different conceptions of good citizenship are not mutually exclusive, but can coexist, the findings also reveal an important trend. When a personally-responsible conception of good citizenship dominates, teaching citizenship education

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with a justice-oriented stance is less likely to occur. In addition, when citizenship education has a justice-oriented approach, there is less emphasis on educating a personally-responsible citizen, as in Case 4. This is not because Mr. Bennett does not value the importance of being responsible, but rather because for him educating for good citizenship goes beyond just acting responsibly (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). For example, a critical aspect of educating informed citizens is helping students understand the political parties' platform. For a teacher that favours a personally-responsible approach to citizenship this knowledge is critical to an informed decision-making. However, a teacher with a justice-oriented stand sees the importance of understanding party platform, but s/he also thinks that it is equally important to help students explore the impacts on public policy and different sectors of society of electing one or another political party. Teachers' conceptions of good citizenship are ever present in their citizenship instruction, and these often unexamined assumptions affect the ways they prepare students to be active and participatory citizens concerned with the well-being of their societies.

Teaching Students How to Be Active Citizens

Active citizenship, broadly understood as the involvement of citizens in the public sphere, is seen as a key goal and outcome of educating for good citizenship by all four teachers who participated in this study. All of them designed learning activities that aimed at promoting student engagement in civic and public life. Nevertheless, a closer examination of both the types of learning activities and the goals and expectations of those activities reveal that there is a wide range of visions of what active citizenship participation is and what students should do as active members of society, which ultimately influences the kind of democratic citizen that is being formed by the public school system. What type of active citizenship participation is advanced through citizenship instruction? To answer this question I examine the classroom citizenship

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pedagogy, with special attention to how methodological approaches construct particular understandings about what good citizenship is and what good citizens do. I specifically analyze the coupling of civic knowledge and civic engagement in an effort to understand the potential and limitations that current citizenship instruction has in leading to a kind of citizenship education that stresses reflective endeavor or what Parker calls “enlightened political engagement” (Parker, 2003). With regards to knowledge, I paid close attention to what students are expected to master, and as for civic engagement, I looked at drivers and expectations of students’ involvement in the public realm as well as the messages about what kind of actions they can perform to be active citizens that were conveyed throughout instruction.

The empirical findings indicate that there are three distinct understandings of active citizenship: the conventional, the make-a-difference and the politically-oriented type of active citizenship. In the next section, I explain each type in an effort to clarify the multiple meanings that educating for active citizenship have. For each type of active citizenship, I describe the understandings of participation in the public sphere, the role of the citizen, and the forms and levels of involvement that each one advocates. This typology emerges from the cross-case analysis, although not all cases fit perfectly into just one category. Overall, the cases are closely associated with different types of active citizenship, but as with conceptualizations of good citizenship, more than one type can occur in one classroom and there are moments when there is more than one type at play. And arguably, none of the cases are fully dedicated to the politically-oriented type of active citizenship. Importantly, as I explain in the subsequent section, these different visions of being an “active citizen” are associated with different attitudes about what it means to be a good citizen.

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Conventional Citizenship Behaviours

Of the three types of active citizenship, the conventional is the minimalist version of active citizenship as it stresses above all civic responsibility. Citizenship instruction focuses on a range of behaviours students as good and active citizens are expected to perform. This type of active citizenship falls within the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship—which stresses, particularly, the civic character dimension of educating for good citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Central to this vision is teaching the workings of democracy, meaning how the government works, and developing in students an appreciation for core democratic principles. This understanding of being an active citizen is congruent with the traditionalist approach to citizenship education that reinforces civic knowledge that supports the well functioning of the state and orderly citizenry participation (Heater, 1992; Parker, 2003). In other words, students are taught that a good citizen knows how the system works, and participates accordingly.

In this type of active citizenship, teachers present active participation in the public sphere as something that is both a right and a civic duty. From this perspective, participation is located within the system through the array of government institutions, avenues and processes provided for such ends. Another characteristic is that it stresses a “contractual” (Janoski & Gran, 2002) relationship that exists between citizens and the state, and which mediates citizens’ active participation in the public sphere. For example, in Case 1, the teacher highlighted how students need to know the jurisdictions of different levels of government to know who to complain to if your garbage is not picked up on schedule, something that is part of the “contract” between citizens and their municipality, not their provincial or federal government.

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Teachers who adopt a conventional view of active citizenship teach their students about the citizen as an individual with state-granted rights and responsibilities. This frames citizenship as a direct relationship between the individual and the state as well as the individual and his or her fellow citizens. In this context, doing one's civic duty means that citizens ought to act when their rights or freedoms have been violated (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Miller, 2000). Another principle is that citizens ought to give back to society by acting responsibly and fulfilling their responsibilities (Berkowitz et al., 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). When a conventional conception of active citizenship dominates instruction, students are socialized into a view of politics where they are politically passive, but active as voters, taxpayers, constituent, responsible citizens, and perhaps also as volunteers in the community (Boyte, 2004; Torres, 1998; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Thus, good citizens recycle, join cleaning campaigns, contribute to laudable causes and assess and vote for representatives in charge of public decision-making. This is seen as ideal avenues for active citizenship. For example, as detailed in chapter 4, in response to critical issues like global water scarcity, Ms. Montgomery discouraged students from politically active forms of civic engagement in favour of acting responsibly to conserve water by using water rationally. In contrast, Mr. Bennett, in Case 4, teaches students political forms of active citizenship, such as protesting as a mechanism for citizenship action and engagement in order to affect societal change.

A conventional conception of active citizenship significantly impact pedagogies designed to strengthen active civic engagement in the public sphere, such as community service. Students' experiences of community involvement, for the most part, stress civic duty over, for example, the actual contribution that the project could make. To illustrate, for Ms. Montgomery, in Case 1, student community service stressed the successful completion of the civic project, through which

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students demonstrate that they can do something that contributes to society without any assessment of the impact. For Ms. Keller, in Case 2, however, it was critical that students identify a real need in the community that the student projects could help ameliorate and therefore have a positive impact. A conventional active citizenship promotes an image of the citizen as an informed observer ready to participate in the public sphere when regarded as appropriate. This type of participation seems to embrace a civic minimalism that leads students to believe that any act in the public sphere is good and active participation as long as it is informed by an understanding of the rules of society (i.e., and not trying to change or disrupt the system). In this context, actions that require a significant amount of effort or not and that are practiced frequently or once in a while, that can range from helping someone to cross the street, volunteering in soup kitchens, to vote are seen as actions through which one is being an active citizen in the public sphere. Conventional active citizenship resonates with understandings of the good citizen, to use Suzanne's words—a Grade 10 student—as someone who “knows about the country and how it is run, and is aware even if they are not always active, but he is always aware of what is going on” (student interview, focus group 1, June 10, 2008).

Make-a-difference Active Citizenship

The second type of active citizenship taught in the classroom is the make-a-difference, which is also a variant of the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004); however, in this case, it stresses the moral dimension of educating for good citizenship (Berkowitz et al., 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This perspective views active citizenship primarily as an activity or a practice in the pursuit of the common good (Boyte 2004; Crick, 2007; Milner, 2000). Thus, citizens are active in a variety of ways with the main goal of being a contributing member to their societies. Instruction that encourages this type of active

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citizenship couples civic knowledge and civic action mainly through community service, whereby students conduct projects that benefit fellow citizens and the community at large. Active citizenship requires that the students identify a need or a problem that can be ameliorated, but, it does not require that students reflect on the social structures and conditions that create such situations in the first place (Crick, 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

The make-a-difference type of active citizenship emerges from care and concern for the well-being of others and the community as a whole. Citizens action is located in the public sphere, in the community, most often, within the boundaries of local neighborhoods (Crick, 2007). It stresses putting one's talents to the service of the common good as well as joint efforts with others in and out of the school in order to make valuable contributions (Crick, 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). For example, Ms. Keller, in Case 2, makes a distinction between a "minimally" good citizen who votes and does what it is expected of him or her—pays taxes and participates in juries—and a "good" citizen as someone who is "empowered" to a "greater civic responsibility" in the community.

The make-a-difference approach to active citizenship emphasizes citizenship as a practice, but it does so in a de-politicized way because it stresses above all the development of social and moral responsibility (Boyte, 2004; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In addition, practitioners who promote this type of active citizenship, see the citizen as an active individual committed principally to the welfare of others, the community, and the country to which s/he is a member of. This active involvement in turn strengthens a sense of belonging, a feeling that I am an important member of the community. In so doing, this approach is very distinct from the individualism of the conventional approach to

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active citizenship, and encourages a vision of the citizen as a collaborator, a “helper” (Walker, 2002), and someone who shows solidarity, and who cares and is genuinely concerned for others; someone who is capable of putting others before their own interests (Crick, 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Miller, 2000). At the same time, wittingly or not, this approach to active citizenship promotes “service as an *alternative* to politics” (Boyte, 1991 cited in Kahne & Westheimer, 1996, p. 597).

Student active participation in the community through community projects that aim to make a difference promotes personal, social and civic development. As found in this research and elsewhere (Annette, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Metz et al., 2003; Root & Billig, 2008; Wade, 2008; Walker, 2002) students report a sense of personal-fulfillment, an increased personal capacity to organize and undertake actions that positively impact others and the community at large, and increased empathy and commitment to helping others. Thus, whereas in the conventional approach, active citizenship is seen as successfully completing a civic action project, for Ms. Keller, who adopts the make-a-difference approach, even if the students do not complete the project, “they... see what their classmates have done, and... there is a buzz going in the class about... wow! This is really cool! Look what we did! And they... at least see that, yeah, it is possible to do something” (teacher interview, January 14, 2008). However, the make-a-difference approach to active citizenship does not involve students in discussion that make them cognizant that through individual and public actions they can have a say in real issues affecting their lives.

Overall, the make-a-difference type of active citizenship supports an agenda for public participation that stresses moral virtues and a narrow conception of political socialization (Berkowitz et al., 2008; Crick, 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

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Being an active citizen in the public sphere is underlined by a call to the good person who willingly contributes in altruistic initiatives to help those who are less fortunate (Crick, 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Walker, 2002). This approach embraces the vision of an active citizen that makes students believe that no matter who they are they can make a significant difference to fellow citizens and to society. In this vision of active citizenship, as Jessica, a Grade 10 student, asserts, a good citizen is someone who “cares about the community and just would do things without expecting anything in return” (student interview, focus group 2, June, 2008).

Politically-oriented Active Citizenship

The politically-oriented active citizenship is aligned with both the participatory and justice-oriented conceptions of good citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This conception of active citizenship sees citizenship as a practice in the *political* realm of the public sphere (Boyte, 2004; Crick & Porter, 1978; Davis, 2008). Citizenship instruction that promotes a politically-oriented active citizenship combines civic knowledge and a broader engagement with politics and social and political issues. Students are taught the political and legal structures not just to understand how the system works, although this is important, but also as a frame of reference upon which students can ponder and better understand how power, conflict, differing ideologies, social and political issues, and contrasting visions of the common good operate together and co-exist with democratic ideals such as equality, freedom and justice. Teachers who teach with a vision of politically-oriented active citizenship take seriously the notion that citizenship is a “reflective practice” (Newmann, 1975) for enlightened engagement in the public sphere (Parker, 2003). Therefore, teachers that endorse this perspective, such as Mr. Bennett, are

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critical of forms of public engagement that promote charity and voluntarism as they feel that these activities only minimally engage students with critical civic and societal issues.

In teaching about politically-oriented active citizenship, an understanding of effective participation in the public sphere is driven primarily by the identification of societal issues that demand transformation as compared to conventional active citizenship that stresses doing one's civic duty and the make-a-difference active citizenship that champions charitable acts. For the most part, these teachers use pressing social issues and the lived experiences of the students as points of departure to the development of a type of politically-oriented active citizenship (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2007; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). As such, teachers who teach with this vision discuss difficult and often controversial issues with their students in order to provide a language and context to talk about and to understand politics as well as to develop political competence (Crick & Porter, 1978; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This also leads to different instructional methods. In the classes I observed this included topics for discussion and analysis of government immigration policy, racism and discrimination against minority groups, and economic inequalities. In contrast, teachers whose citizenship education promotes conventional citizenship behaviors did not engage students in class discussions, while teachers who endorse the make-a-difference conception were more likely to discuss safe issues to promote civic skill development.

The site for active, public citizenship participation is the political community, which is seen as a space—rather than a place, as conceived by the make-a-difference active citizenship—where citizens debate, discuss and propose actions to act on matters of public life (Milner, 2000). Ideally, politically-oriented citizen participation should lead to social action (Boyte, 1994; Crick & Lister, 1978). If the realm for citizenship action is the political follows from this that the

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citizen is conceived as a “political actor” (Barber, 2003), a “co-creator” (Boyte, 2004) who participates in matters of public affairs. The citizen is someone who is politically active.

However, in practice, teachers who taught with this vision of participation focused on social critique and not on social action as was the case in Mr. Bennett and Ms. Williams classes. In addition, students instructed under both the conventional and the make-a-difference active citizenship models, at their own initiative, developed community service projects that aimed at tackling a specific social issue, experiences that, as reported by the students, increased their sense of internal political efficacy (Kahne & Westheimer, 2008).

Politically-oriented active citizenship socializes students into a conception of politics as “give-and-take, messy, everyday public work through which citizens set about dealing with the problems of their daily existence” (Boyte, 1994, p. 79). As Grade 10 student, Adana explained, good citizens are those who “stand up and speak out instead of just... hiding, because, then, it is not a democracy, really, if we do not all take part in it” (student interview, focus group, May 30, 2008).

Summary of Findings

In this research, each case is closely associated with a particular approach to citizen participation in the public sphere. Case 1, Ms. Montgomery’s citizenship instruction endorses a conventional-citizenship-behaviour approach to active citizenship that stresses knowledge of how the system works so that students can occupy sanctioned position within society, exercise their rights and fulfill their civic responsibilities. The make-a-difference active citizenship approach in the public sphere is the one that dominates citizenship instruction in Case 2. Ms. Keller strongly encourages volunteerism and doing acts of goodness as ways citizen have to be caring and contributing members to society. In Cases 3 and 4, citizenship instruction promotes a

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politically-oriented kind of active citizenship. These teachers design learning activities that promote student engagement with politics and social and political issues locally and abroad that affect their lives. However, individual and social action is an aspect that neither of these teachers included as part of their citizenship instruction. Citizenship education does prepare students to be active citizens in the public sphere. In some classrooms, the pathways for public participation construct and delineate public participation outside the realm of politics where citizens are mainly informed observers, helpers, volunteers and collaborators. In contrast, other classrooms stress the role of citizens in the political realm of the public sphere wherein citizens are political actors who have a say and a stake in public decision making.

Types of Citizenship Education and Types of Active Citizenship

There are of course, strong linkages between conceptions of good citizenship and the types of active citizenship that have been delineated here, as other studies have demonstrated (Andolina et al., 2002; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Looking at the four cases as a whole, and the three types of active citizenship that emerge from the cross-case analysis, it is evident that conceptions of good citizenship profoundly shape instructional arrangements through which teachers construct and give meaning not only to different understandings of what democracy is and what it means to be a good citizen, but also direct students toward very different paths for participation in the public sphere.

Case 1 exemplifies how a personally-responsible conception of good citizenship leads to the promotion of conventional citizenship behaviours as the basis for active citizenship, an approach that stresses primarily civic responsibility. In Ms. Montgomery's class, the personally-responsible type of citizenship dominated instruction and active citizenship in the public sphere was presented mainly as a civic responsibility. Her instruction coupled civic knowledge and

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participation so that students understand the system of governance and have opportunities to “practice” being active citizens themselves. Civic knowledge is important for participation in the public sphere—which might be minimal and in conventional ways—but reflection and social critique are not. In Case 2, the teacher advanced both personally-responsible as well as participatory conceptions of good citizenship during the term. As such, the type of active citizenship that is envisioned moves beyond simply fulfilling one’s responsibilities to one in which citizens’ actions lead to concrete differences in the lives of others and the community. The type of active citizenship that citizenship instruction advances, not surprisingly, leads to different levels of active citizenship, and as such, students had to undertake real world projects that aimed at making a difference. The teacher’s use of two different types of citizenship education—both personally-responsible and participatory—provide students with a broader range of active citizenship projects including charitable activities aimed at making a difference in people’s lives (e.g., fundraising campaigns) to others aimed at making a difference by engaging in direct forms of citizenship participation, such as contacting government officials and letter writing. The latter group learned about “micro-politics” by coordinating their efforts with private or government institutions and organizations to affect some level of change. These students had an opportunity to reflect on the problems of public policy as well as problems faced by less fortunate members of society, but they were not encouraged to take the extra step towards more meaningful critique that discusses root causes of these inequalities.

In Cases 3 and 4, where citizenship instruction incorporates the three conceptions of good citizenship, although with different emphasis, the type of active citizenship that is envisioned, seems to me, that is more dynamic and broader, and goes beyond stressing the minimum requirements of citizenship, such as voting and doing one’s civic duty. In both cases, through

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discussions of issues of government policy and conditions of inequality that challenge democracy, citizenship instruction presents opportunities to explore the reasons that make active citizen participation in the nation's social and political life important. However, it is Case 4 the one that best exemplifies the other end of the spectrum—a justice-oriented approach. What is distinctive to this case is that classroom instruction brings to the forefront the interplay of power and power differentials, ideologies, social and cultural diversity, differing conceptions of the common good, and the principles of democracy to issues of democracy as they present themselves in everyday life situations. In this context, citizenship participation extends beyond social and moral responsibilities to stress democratic political participation. Case 4 is the only classroom in which active citizenship was framed as socially and politically motivated action to affect public-decision making. Active citizenship understood as politically-oriented action sees participation in the public realm as a process that is structured by existing conditions, competing interests, and power differentials. When citizenship participation is seen as a process, which is how Mr. Bennett sees it, instruction helps students to reflect on, for example, their own political stances and their civic responsibilities in relation to the problems they are confronted with. Although Mr. Bennett's citizenship pedagogy connects active citizenship with public agency—understood as the capacity to affect societal change—his instruction did not provide students with opportunities to practice individual and social action in order to promote change.

Concluding Thoughts

Citizenship instruction provides different understandings about what it means to be a good citizen and how good citizens participate in the public sphere. This has a significant impact on students' understanding of both what democracy is and their role in society. Classrooms where a personally-responsible conception of good citizenship dominates and that are

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accompanied by understandings of active citizenship as conventional citizenship behaviours and as making a difference will tend to lead toward an understanding of democracy as a method of governance and political representation. In Case 1 and to some extent in Case 2, the students I interviewed understand democracy mainly as a system of government with free elections, rights and responsibilities, and checks and balances—a system wherein citizens have a voice that those in positions of power can take into consideration. In short, for them, democracy is what politicians do, taking into account citizens' input and to some extent with the approval of citizens. When the main role that citizens are assigned as active citizens is that of informed observers, the underlying message is that good citizens are people who become successful, have a good job, and are not a burden to society. In short, re-enacted are the understandings of the market economy that inform that the citizens needed are those who are productive and poses an entrepreneurial spirit—the kind of citizenry needed to maintain the current status quo (Cuban, 2003; Manzer, 1994; Portelli & Solomon, 2001).

In contrast, citizenship instruction with a justice-oriented stance and a politically-oriented vision of citizen participation tends to lead toward an understanding of democracy as system of political participation. Like their peers in other cases, the students I interviewed in Case 4, point out that democracy means free elections, the rule of law, and state-granted rights and freedoms. However, the Case 4 students also associate democracy with power, conflict resolution, decision-making, dialogue, solving problems, imperfect system, fairness, equality, multiculturalism, and the common good. These students understand democracy as a method of representation, which it is, but their understanding is beyond that. The words they use when explaining what democracy means to them point to an understanding of democracy as a task and a commitment to a philosophy of egalitarianism. At the same time, these students acknowledge that democracy is a

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difficult, everyday task. As it has been argued by a countless number of critical theorists and educators, the health of our democracy depends not only in the well-functioning of its institutions, but in the education of a citizenry capable of effective and meaningful public participation, that is citizens who see themselves as co-creators and political actors rather than just informed observers or collaborators.

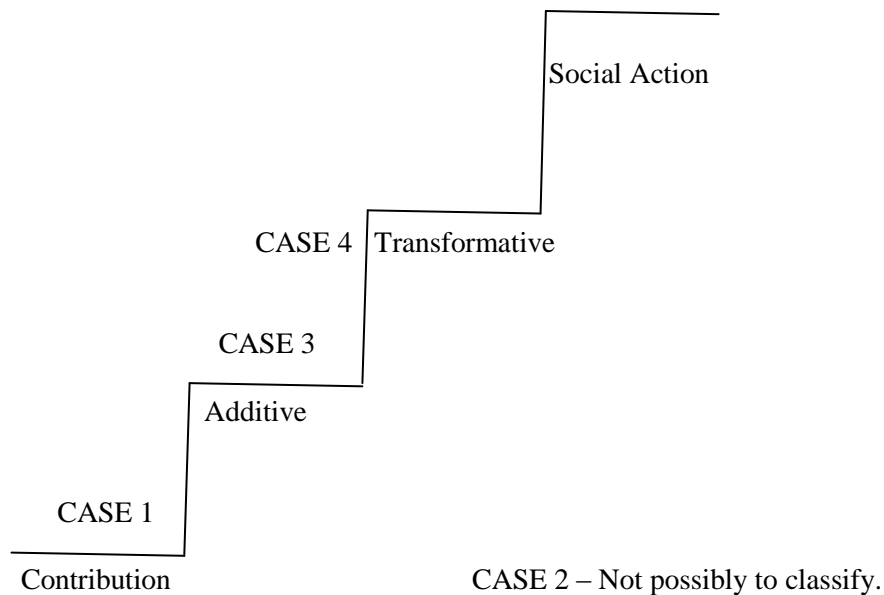
Same Curriculum, Different Levels of Engagement with Cultural Difference

Citizenship education needs to reflect the rich racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity found in our societies (Banks, 2003; Dilworth, 2008; Marri, 2005). To this end, it is important that multicultural content is included in the official taught curriculum that presents and validates the experiences, values and points of view of the various peoples and groups that are part of the nation-state (Banks, 2003; Gay, 2010a; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). As explained before, the Ontario citizenship curriculum recognizes the importance of social and cultural difference in citizenship instruction, particularly in exploring how different conceptions of the common good affect public decision-making. However, it provides less guidance to whether and how multicultural content can be included as part of citizenship instruction; therefore, addressing cultural diversity as an integral part of teaching for democratic citizenship is a dimension that, for the most part, is left to the teachers' discretion.

Banks' (2003) four approaches to multicultural content integration—contribution, additive, transformational and social action—were used as a lens to analyze how cultural diversity is addressed in the four classrooms participating in this study. For Banks (2003), these four approaches represent four levels of recognition and integration of multicultural content into the school curricula. The framework is a progression where each progressive step moves instruction closer to the development of school curricula that is multicultural and teaches with

multiple perspectives. When comparing the four cases of this research, this progression from a contribution to a transformation and social action approach to content integration is indeed evident, with significant differences between the classes. The degrees to which teachers included multicultural content in their civics classes ranged from a contribution approach, to the additive, to a mix of the additive with elements of the transformational approach (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Approaches to multicultural content integration advanced across cases



My research reveals that in Case 2, none of the approaches outlined by Banks was used to incorporate multicultural content into the taught citizenship curriculum. In Case 1, Ms. Montgomery employs a contribution approach. In Case 3, Ms. Williams uses an additive approach; while in Case 4, Mr. Bennett, utilizes an additive approach with elements of the transformational approach. None of teachers' instruction is guided by the transformational and the social action approaches as outlined by Banks (2003). This is because, on the hand, the taught curriculum is primarily mainstream-centric and inconsistently includes the visions and

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perspectives of minority groups (Banks, 2003), and on the other citizenship instruction did not involve students in activities that sought to affect some level of change in society.

In Case 1, Ms. Montgomery uses a “holidays and heroes” approach (Nieto, 2004) to multicultural content integration. Although classroom instruction included the viewing of videos that explore issues of racism, classism and discrimination in North America, Ms. Montgomery decided not to discuss the central issues of the videos. Instead, she reminded students of important ethnic celebrations observed at Spruce High School that acknowledge the contributions of distinct groups and sectors of society, like Black History Month. As asserted by Banks (2003), a contribution approach eschews the examination of issues of racism, poverty and discrimination that characterize the daily lives of many citizens and groups in Canadian society.

In Case 2, Ms. Keller did not use any of the approaches to include multicultural content outlined by Banks (2003). Nevertheless, this does not mean that issues of cultural diversity were not addressed in the classroom. Prompted by one student who brought a newspaper article that discusses the adoption of Aboriginal children by non-Aboriginal people, Ms. Keller discussed Canada’s history of residential schools for Aboriginal children, arguably a story that has only recently gained widespread attention. While the overview she provided addressed past wrong doings, there was not a careful analysis of the ongoing effects that a history of racism has on present social conditions. In other words, that extreme poverty and acute social problems on First Nation reserves, such as very high rates of teen pregnancy or suicide, are rooted in longstanding relations of domination and oppression. Alas, when instruction glosses over issues of equity and justice for people and groups in the margins, there is the danger that students might not understand the complexities and underlying causes of current social problems (Banks, 2003).

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In Case 3, Ms Williams uses an additive approach to incorporate multicultural content into her citizenship instruction. She includes lessons that examine the experiences of minority groups, for example, students discussed the documentary *Indecently Exposed*, which explores the experience of racism towards aboriginal peoples in Canada. In addition, in a classroom with several students who identify themselves as Muslims, citizenship instruction addressed intolerance towards religious minorities in the province of Québec and overseas, particularly in France, where there is a very large number of people of Muslim faith and serious social tensions around issues of immigration, religion, and national identity. As argued by Banks (2003), the additive approach expands the taught curriculum to include through add-on lessons the voices and experiences of minority groups. While students in this classroom may have gained valuable insights into real issues that undermine democracy for all, an additive approach to address cultural diversity falls short of empowering students to become agents of social change.

Mr. Bennett, in Case 4, is the only teacher that connects citizenship education and cultural difference. As he explains, an important goal of his instruction is to “promote multiculturalism and the belief that it is possible to get along” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). More specifically, his aims are twofold. On one hand, he recognizes the need to “help... enculturate immigrants into Canada” by providing them with the knowledge and tools they need to successfully participate in the Canadian society. At the same time he wants to promote “a peaceful existence of different cultures” (Bennett, teacher interview, January 16, 2008). These statements clearly echo the tensions between unity and diversity; of the need to help students develop clear identifications in relation to their own and to the host culture (Banks, 2004a, 2008) as well as the need to develop a common political framework that allows the

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recognition and affirmation of social and cultural difference (Banks, 2004a, 2008; Gutmann, 2004; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2004a).

Distinctive to Mr. Bennett's citizenship pedagogy is the recognition of, and therefore, deliberate efforts to respond to, the cultural diversity in his classroom and in society at large. Mr. Bennett uses primarily an additive approach to include multicultural content, but he incorporates elements of the transformational approach into his instruction, mainly by organizing the content of civic instruction throughout the term around current social and political issues. As I observed in the classroom, together the teacher and the students explored political and ideological thought and issues of public policy that deal with difficult topics like poverty, immigration regulations and unequal education opportunities, among others. In addition, students were often presented with scenarios where they were asked to reflect on their political stances as citizens living in a multicultural society concerned with the common good. For example, a topic for discussion was the no recognition in Canada of credentials attained by immigrants in their homeland; a system that forces them to work in often, entry-level, low-paid jobs. It is an approach that allows for social criticism by exploring the existing gaps between the ideals of democracy and the realities that challenge such ideal.

However, Mr. Bennett's more progressive and critical citizenship pedagogy at times is uncritical, such as the time in which an incorrect historical account was provided as ways to promote the idea that Canada is a peaceful multicultural society. While it must be acknowledged that Canada has managed to peacefully and civilly accommodate national minorities and a wide range of immigrants (Kymlicka, 1998), what is of concern is the teachers' choice to present an overly rosy history that denies the century-long struggle of Aboriginal peoples, of immigrants and to a particular time, of French Canadians to gain equal recognition in Canadian society. In

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addition, it is important to note that while citizenship education in this classroom promoted a vision of citizenship as a practice guided principally by critical thinking, a key aspect of the transformative approach, it did not incorporate the last step in Banks category, that of encouraging individual and group social action in order to affect societal change.

Banks' framework proved effective in assessing the inclusion of multicultural content in the classroom curriculum; however, there are additional issues related to instructional practice that I witnessed that need further analysis. In some classrooms, such as in Cases 1 and 2, teachers ignored or avoided issues of cultural diversity in Canadian society and did not acknowledge the distinctive experiences of students with diverse backgrounds attending the classroom, despite the fact that multiculturalism is an issue of importance in provincial curricular guidelines. In other cases, as described earlier, more progressive citizenship pedagogy coexisted with uncritical history that diffuses the social conflicts and wrongdoings of Canada's past. The limitations of Banks' framework to illuminate issues related to instructional practice might stem from the fact that his framework is not based on empirical observation of classroom practice, but rather, it is a theoretical model to advance the development of school curricula that is inclusive and multicultural.

Types of Citizenship Education and Cultural Diversity

The practice of citizenship education, at least in these four multicultural classrooms, reveals that, overall, cultural differences play a very limited role in citizenship education. Indeed, in most cases citizenship education in practice paid little to no attention to the diverse social and cultural context that characterizes the classroom, the school, and Canadian society. However, cultural diversity is present in the classroom and multiculturalism is a key issue in the provincial guidelines—its presence in the classroom unavoidable. How teachers choose to respond seems to

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be greatly influenced by the conceptions of citizenship education that they endorse. Therefore, while in the planning and delivery of citizenship instruction teachers might not address cultural difference, a relationship does exist that raises philosophical and pedagogical questions about the connection between types of citizenship education and how cultural difference is dealt in the context of citizenship instruction, connections that deserve to be further explored.

The four cases show that there is a relationship between the prevailing conceptions of citizenship education and the teachers' attention to and inclusion of issues of cultural diversity as part of their citizenship instruction (figure 8.3). Engagement with issues of cultural diversity is found only in classrooms where the teachers have a justice-oriented approach to citizenship instruction that is Cases 3 and 4. Because controversial debates and tensions in society are discussed—for example, military intervention, the death penalty, climate change, or progressive taxation—the tensions surrounding cultural diversity easily emerge and are not ignored or avoided. However, in these two cases there is a significant difference. In Case 3, Ms. Williams adds content of minority groups into citizenship instruction, while in Mr. Bennett's citizenship instruction, attention is given to issues of social and cultural difference as an aspect that is integral to the education of democratic citizens. Therefore, his instruction does not focus on teaching about the experiences of particular groups, but reflecting on the experiences of others by considering how various issues (i.e., poverty, three-tier educational system) and government regulations (i.e., death penalty, minimum wage) are likely to impact minority groups.

In contrast, in classrooms where the personally-responsible and, to some extent, the participatory conceptions of good citizenship take priority, citizenship instruction gives no attention to issues of social and cultural difference as in Cases 1 and 2. Teachers' responses of no attention to social and cultural diversity were manifested through different responses vis-à-vis to

Figure 8.3 Relationship between teachers’ conceptions of good citizenship and their attention to issues of social and cultural diversity

Attention to issues of social and cultural diversity		Conceptions of good citizenship		
		Personally-responsible	Participatory	Justice-oriented
	No attention	CASE 1 CASE 2		
	Incidental attention		CASE 3	
	Purposeful attention			CASE 4

social and cultural difference. In Case 1—where a personally-responsible conception of good citizenship dominates citizenship instruction—Ms. Montgomery, for the most part, ignored issues of cultural diversity and discussion of these issues, when they arose, was brushed away. Likewise, in Case 2, where citizenship instruction combines a personally-responsible and a participatory conception of good citizenship as altruistically motivated, issues of cultural diversity were, largely, avoided or dealt with superficially when these issues emerged. However, in cases when the participatory conception of good citizenship moves towards or incorporates elements of the justice-oriented approach as in Case 3 and 4; then, citizenship instruction begins to be responsive to social and cultural difference in more meaningful ways by adding onto the citizenship taught curricula content that explores issues of social and cultural diversity.

Educating Good Citizens for a Multicultural Society: Outcomes of Different Types of Citizenship Education

The different, and sometimes contradictory, conceptions of good citizenship education are in fact different visions of what good citizenship is and what educational approaches best

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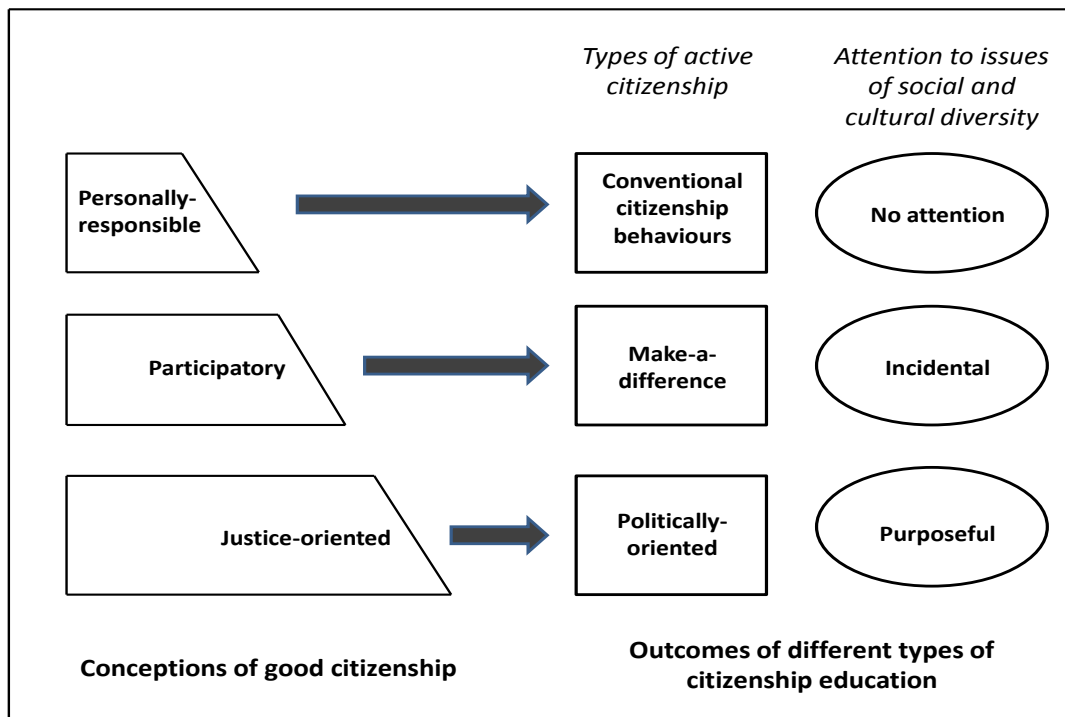
advance such visions. The conceptions then provide a framework upon which teachers devise their classroom instruction resulting in a range of different kinds of citizenship education pedagogy. The individual and cross-case analyses show that a strong relationship exist among the conceptions of good citizenship teachers endorse and the visions of active citizenship they promote in their instruction as well as the attention—or lack of—to issues of social and cultural diversity. Even though in practice these relationships can be more complicated, a general pattern is evident (figure 8.4).

Figure 8.4 presents a generalized model of the relationship between the different types of citizenship education and both the types of active citizenship promoted and the attention given to issues of social and cultural diversity in citizenship instruction. In terms of active citizenship, overall, a move from personally-responsible citizenship education towards a justice-oriented approach is associated with a move from conventional citizenship behaviours toward a politically-oriented active citizenship where citizens are engaged with issues that affect their lives. In classrooms where a personally-responsible conception of good citizenship dominates instruction, citizenship instruction is geared towards preparing students to engage in public life through conventional, sanctioned ways (i.e., paying taxes, obeying the law and voting). In addition, citizenship instruction where a participatory conception of good citizenship takes primacy is likely to stress active citizenship as the undertaking of actions that can make a difference in one's community and in the lives of fellow citizens. The actions undertaken can be altruistically or civically motivated. In the latter case, participation in the public real is politically-oriented and it aims to affect some level of societal change. This latter type of participation emerges from a reflection into societal issues that demand transformation.

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A similar progression is also observed with regards to the attention of issues on social and cultural diversity as an integral part of citizenship instruction. As such, conceptions of good citizenship that stress personal responsibility and participation as helping others in need seem to be incompatible or even preclude dealing with the tensions and underlying inequalities associated with cultural, linguistic, religious, racial and other forms of social difference. In contrast, teachers who endorse a justice-oriented stance towards citizenship education do incorporate issues of social and cultural diversity as an integral part of their citizenship instruction. Therefore, a justice-oriented conception of good citizenship is positively associated with the recognition of social and cultural diversity.

Figure 8.4 Model of the outcomes of different types of citizenship education



Conceptions of good citizenship endorse certain ways of being an active citizen. The analysis of findings seems to indicate that there might be what can be called three levels of active citizenship, ranging from minimal involvement, to potentially much greater levels of either

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altruistically motivated forms of civic action, or socially and politically motivated forms of civic participation aiming at significant change in society. Although as explained before, in practice, the degree to which students have an opportunity to practice civic action geared towards social transformation varies. In addition, there are associated levels of political engagement, ranging from apolitical to highly political. Different levels of political engagement in the classroom is also associated with different degrees of reflection and social critique, ranging from lower degrees—associated with personally responsible citizenship and conventional citizenship behaviours where critique is not encouraged—to higher degrees of reflection and critique that are a cornerstone of a justice-oriented approach to citizenship education and to the politically-oriented active citizenship. Together, all of these tendencies and differences—ideas about what it means to be a good citizen, types of participation, different levels of active citizenship, levels of political engagement, and the degree to which students are taught to reflect and critique their own society—gravitate toward each other in particular ways, leading to what might be called constellations of pedagogical practice closely tied to the three different types of citizenship education elaborated by Westheimer and Kane (2004).

Similarly, there seems to be a relationship between the conceptions of good citizenship and teachers' attention to issues of social and cultural diversity. The findings reveal that there is a progressive engagement with multiculturalism ranging from no or minimal attention, to incidental, to the purposeful recognition of social and cultural diversity as the context that frames citizenship education efforts, and therefore something that needs to be fully considered when educating for democratic citizenship. The no attention and minimal attention to social and cultural difference is closely associated with teachers whose instruction stresses a personally-responsible conception of citizenship education. On the other hand, teachers who endorse a

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justice-oriented conception of good citizenship recognize the centrality of social and cultural diversity. Therefore, in these classrooms, citizenship education validates the contributions of diverse groups helping students to develop an appreciation and respect for different life styles. In addition, citizenship instruction aims at helping students understand societal structures and living conditions that thwart civic equality for all, especially for those in the margins.

As revealed by the findings, the participatory conception of good citizenship seems to be the tipping point. When teachers' conceptions of citizenship participation are framed primarily as acts of goodness to help others in need (an approach closely aligned with the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship), then, citizenship instruction seems to pay none to superficial attention to issues of social and cultural difference. Conversely, when teachers understand participation as citizenry active involvement in substantial civic and political decision-making, then, teachers' citizenship instruction pays attention to issues of social and cultural difference, although the attention is incidental. Incidental attention, as found in this research, takes the form of studying an issue or topic that pertains primarily to a minority group. The content is an addition that expands the citizenship mainstream-centered curriculum, but falls short of helping students develop a more encompassing understanding of the complexities, dilemmas and contradictions that underline citizenship in multicultural societies.

Finally, the research findings seem to indicate that, in general, a relationship also exists between the types of active citizenship—associated with the conceptions of good citizenship—and the attention to issues of social and cultural diversity. Of the three types of active citizenship observed, it is the politically-oriented type (the one closely connected with the one justice-conception of good citizenship) that has the potential to take a critical stance wherein cultural diversity is taken seriously in the construction of equitable and just democratic societies. In the

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same way, when participation in the public realm is envisioned through conventional citizenship behaviours, then, attention to issues of multiculturalism seems irrelevant.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that while in theory the relations between conceptions of good citizenship, curricula design and classroom instruction may seem to fit together fairly neatly, in practice—as the four Ottawa high school cases show—they are entangled in more complicated ways. In other words, some teachers move in and out, and, between different conceptions of citizenship, and class instruction (simultaneously) stresses elements of one and another approach. Moreover, the evidence suggests that while conceptions of good citizenship have a profound influence on the type of active citizenship that is advocated as well as teachers' responses to social and cultural diversity, it is not a unidirectional relationship. Ideas about what types of participation are desirable also help define what it means to be a good citizen. Similarly, envisioning citizens who live and work in multicultural societies also shapes conceptions of good citizenship. And again, in practice, teachers may mix different approaches at different times during the term. In addition, students are not just recipients of instruction who passively accommodate to what is taught, but they interpret, shape and can transform what is taught and create new and different meanings of what it means to be a good citizen, as the cases show.

Discussion

What the personally-responsible and participatory types of citizenship education and their associated conventional citizenship behaviours and the make-a-difference versions of active citizenship have in common is that they tend to either suppress cultural conflict or paint an overly rosy picture of social difference. Ethnic tensions are nowhere to be found in the taught curriculum. When this is the case, to a large extent, class instruction promotes an assimilationist

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approach to citizenship, where people perceived as culturally different from the dominant “normal Canadians” are left mainly with the choice of adopting the values and social practices of Euro-Canadian mainstream society in order to become fully recognized citizens and members of their political community. Cultural diversity then is reduced to a collection of idiosyncrasies to be tolerated, and that tend to fade over time. While both of these two types of citizenship education either ignore or avoid issues of cultural difference, each type mobilizes different sets of beliefs.

The personally-responsible type of citizenship education and associated conventional citizenship behaviours falls within what Young (1989) names the principle of “universal citizenship.” All citizens regardless of their difference in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender and religion are equal, and therefore, are granted the same rights and protections under the law and are expected to fulfill their responsibilities (Janoski & Gran, 2002; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; Young, 1989). The central tenant is that it is full membership what secures formal and substantial civic equality and participation for all (Kymlicka, 1995, 1998; Miller, 2000; Torres, 1998; Young, 1989). While equality is an important principle that sustains democracy—that all citizens are regarded as equal—the reality is that there are deep inequalities in wealth, social status, and access to opportunities and resources among citizens and across groups (Banks, 2003; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Miller 2000; Young, 1989), a reality the conventional type of participation fails to address.

Whereas teachers promoting personally-responsible citizenship and conventional citizenship behaviours are “culture-blind” primarily on the basis of legal equality among citizens, teachers promoting participatory citizenship whereby good citizens make a difference are not blind to cultural differences but neither are they sensitive to the conflicts in society that are

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associated with these differences. Instead, in their instruction, they place the focus on our common humanity and the shared qualities and virtues that citizens have that can bring us together (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). The make-a-difference approach to active citizenship stresses consensus, commonality and sameness; it emphasizes the capacity that all citizens have for self-denial and for putting their talents and resources to work for the betterment of society and to benefit others, especially those in need who are often different than us. The central premise is that difference can be put aside, overcome.

In contrast, citizenship education with a justice-oriented stance and its politically-oriented type of active citizenship promotes an understanding of good citizenship as citizens' active involvement in determining the future direction of the nation-state. These teachers recognize that inequities do exist and, therefore, they teach social critique in order to help students identify and transform the root causes (structures and practices) that produce inequality, which may be linked to race, ethnicity, immigrant status and other factors. When teachers adopt a justice-oriented type of citizenship education combined with a politically-oriented type of active citizenship, more controversial themes like power, conflict, and difference are not brushed away and can be analyzed as they present themselves in the reality of the daily situations.

While it may seem contradictory, my analysis shows that in all classrooms, even those where citizenship education pays virtually no attention to issues of social and cultural difference, teachers stress the importance of teaching about tolerance. Tolerance then seems to be the only (tenuous) connection between citizenship education and attention to issues of social and cultural diversity; yet, tolerance can take multiple forms. Creppell (2003) makes a useful distinction between tolerance as a practice and as a value. Tolerance as a practice is a mechanism for the peaceful coexistence among people and groups who see themselves as different (Creppell, 2003).

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Therefore, it promotes an understanding of social and cultural difference as something to be acknowledged, but just tolerated. From this perspective, tolerance as practice stresses the development of behaviours like non-violence, open-mindedness, and being appreciative of diversity (Creppell, 2003). As Creppell contends, tolerance as practice is unreflective since it does not question the construction of the common good amid minorities. In this context, tolerance can take the form of a “live and let live” attitude (Mendus, 1989). In this case, for those who are part of the majority, tolerance calls for neutrality and permissiveness (Creppell, 2003; Crick, 1978; Miller, 2000; Phillips, 1993). People might perform acts of goodness to help those who are perceived as “others,” but their tolerance does not promote efforts to address root causes of inequality to help create better conditions for them (Boyle-Baisse, 2002; Creppell, 2003). For students who do not fit into the mainstream, this teaches them that they have the right to practice and express their distinctive culture, but emphasizes to them that their particular cultural expressions fall outside the norm. Tolerance as practice relegates difference to the private sphere where it does not disrupt the status quo (Creppell, 2003; Miller, 2000; Phillips, 1993). It is a process whereby the dominant group “tolerates” the idiosyncrasies of a minority at the same time such process reifies the values and ways of being of the majority as the norm locating those who are perceived as different again outside the norm (Bedard, 2000; Dei & Calliste, 2000).

At the other end of the spectrum, is an idea of tolerance as a value whereby tolerance is conceived as an active and reflective process of engagement, interchange and discussion; of talking across differences (Creppell, 2003); a process towards change (Phillips, 1993). It is the politically-oriented conception of active citizenship associated with a citizenship education that has a justice-oriented stance the one capable of a movement from tolerance, to acceptance, to mutual respect in an effort to build solidarity and a sense of belonging and community across

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racial, ethnic and cultural lines (Phillips, 1993; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). It is an approach to citizenship education that recognizes the existence and importance of social and cultural differences and of different people and groups that occupy different positions in society. For Sleeter and Grant, building “solidarity across differences” is critical “to bringing about justice” (2007, p. 184). Solidarity, however, can only flourish when students begin to understand the multiple forms of oppression and structural inequality that maintains a stratified society where hierarchies are associated with racial categories and ethnicity (Banks, 2003; Giroux, 2005; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). In this context, tolerance shifts towards acceptance, that everyone belongs, and that “the other” is not being tolerated as part of a charitable act of letting them live here. In this context, there is a mutual effort between those in the mainstream and on those on the margins to genuinely get know each other (Phillips, 2003). Perhaps the first opportunity for this to happen, a safe environment where dialogue can occur is a Grade 10 high school Civics classroom. It is in this process that citizenship participation can find new expressions and meanings moving away from a more narrow conception of individual or group interests and rights, towards a concern with justice and equality for all (Miller, 2000; Parker, 2003; Phillips, 2003). Alas, as the findings in this research indicate that in practice, citizenship instruction currently provides limited opportunities for students to engage with issues of social and cultural difference and to engage in joint efforts for social action and transformation in a multicultural society.

CHAPTER 9:

BROADER IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The multicultural nature of Canadian society presents both challenges and opportunities for citizenship education. The advantages of diversity are commonly recognized and it is widely acknowledged that the presence of people with different cultural backgrounds and heritage enriches the nation. The *Canadian Multicultural Act* (1988) states that the Government of Canada “promotes the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins” (cited in Kymlicka, 1998, p. 185). However, diversity also poses real challenges, including dealing with the inequalities associated with social difference and deciding how to respond to the demands of distinct cultural groups when they collide with mainstream values.

School-based citizenship education has tremendous potential to capitalize on the opportunities offered by multicultural, diverse societies to build on the experiences from socially and culturally diverse people and groups to teach students how to live in a changing, multicultural society and promote awareness and understanding of people with different backgrounds. It can help prepare an informed, thoughtful and committed citizenry with the knowledge, skills and dispositions to effectively participate in shaping a society that is increasingly multicultural and immersed in globalized relations. The aim of my doctoral research has been to contribute to a better understanding of how citizenship education takes place in the classroom, and the degree to which the school system prepares students to live and function in pluralistic democratic societies and interact with fellow citizens who have different racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds.

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In this thesis, I have examined the practice of citizenship education in multicultural high school classrooms and the extent to which citizenship instruction responds to the multicultural nature of the student population and of Canadian society. The research is grounded in observations of citizenship education pedagogy in the day-to-day practice of a high school civics course in four high multicultural school classrooms. The findings offer lessons about the kind of citizenship education that is needed in order to prepare reflective and participatory citizens for increasingly diverse and globalized societies.

Mapping out the Practice of Citizenship Education in Multicultural Classrooms

It is hard to imagine someone disagreeing with the notion that school-based citizenship education in Ontario should take into account the multicultural nature of Canadian society. But how this is done in practice is poorly understood, even though it is critical for developing and implementing effective strategies for accommodating and recognizing social and cultural diversity in the provision of citizenship education. This research investigates one piece of this larger puzzle by examining teachers' citizenship education philosophies and practices to better understand the extent to which those align or not with the provision of a kind of citizenship education that is responsive to social and cultural diversity. To do this, five specific questions were formulated, focusing on teachers' citizenship education pedagogy and educational outcomes. Together, the answers to these questions provide an overall portrait of the type of citizenship education that is occurring in multicultural, high school classrooms in Ottawa. Overall, the research results reveal that there is a relationship among teachers' conceptions of good citizenship and the type of citizenship education that is advanced by teachers and adopted by students, as well as how teachers respond to social and cultural difference.

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The first question is *what conceptions of good citizenship do teachers who teach civics have?* This is the starting point that guides this inquiry into teachers' citizenship pedagogy. The research findings indicate that teachers have well-formulated – but often differing – notions of what good citizenship is and what good citizens do. Teachers' citizenship pedagogy is guided by these understandings and the analysis reveals that for the most part teachers tend to favor a particular conception of good citizenship. In addition, teachers also have predetermined ideas about how students' best learn about citizenship and democracy. In this research, a notion held by three of the four teachers is that civic knowledge should precede civic participation. Teachers organized their class instruction accordingly, focusing first on teaching civic-related knowledge in order to prepare students for learning activities geared to practice active, participatory citizenship. However, as the research findings show civic knowledge is not readily transferable to situations where students are confronted with decision-making and civic action. Together the conceptions of good citizen endorsed by the teachers coupled with the idea that civic knowledge must be taught before students can practice democracy profoundly influence teachers' citizenship pedagogy including the selection of the subject content, teaching methods, and the expected outcomes.

The second question focuses on the content of citizenship education and the extent to which the classroom content reflects the nature of Canada's multicultural society. The question asks, *what is the content of citizenship education in terms of the knowledge, values, and skills that are promoted through instruction? Does the content reflect the multicultural nature of the classroom and of Canadian society?* Although there is great variation in the subject content taught across classrooms, the research findings reveal that overall there is a common civic knowledge base that stresses knowledge of the structure and function of Canada's government

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and of citizen's rights and responsibilities. In addition, inquiry, analytical and problem-solving skills as well as democratic and diversity values like the rule of law and respecting others are targeted for instruction. The knowledge, skills and values imparted in class are specified as such in the provincially prescribed citizenship education curricula and its teaching supported in the Ministry-approved civic textbooks.

A reflection on the role that textbooks play in the organization and delivery of class instruction is warranted here. All teachers recognize that the civic textbooks assist them with the overall organization of the course since the textbook divides the curriculum content into units and topics and succinctly presents the information students are expected to learn. However, the teachers' use of the textbook varies. In some classrooms, teachers' instruction followed the civic textbook very closely, while in others teachers used them as a resource to their instruction. How teachers use the assigned civic textbooks in the provision of citizenship education and whether and how its use is influenced by their understandings of good citizenship is something that deserves further attention.

With regards to multicultural content integration, a surprising result is that, for the most part, the content of citizenship instruction does not reflect the multicultural nature of the classroom and of society at large. Given that multiculturalism is a state policy and a narrative that defines Canadianess (Bedard, 2000; Dei & Calliste, 2000), I expected that, at the very minimum, teachers would recognize during instruction the fact that Canada is a multicultural society. Indeed, I thought that teachers would teach that Canada's multiculturalism is a positive trait that defines the nation and that distinguishes it from other countries. To my surprise, in some classrooms, Canada's multiculturalism was not to be found in any form as part of the content of citizenship education. It is difficult to know with precision the reasons for this finding.

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However, one possibility that the research reveals is that when teachers' civic instruction focuses primarily on imparting civic knowledge, including the structures and institutions of democratic government and citizenship rights and responsibilities, there is virtually no attention to social and cultural diversity.

The approaches teachers use to provide instruction is the focus of question three, which reads: *what pedagogical approaches do teachers employ to provide citizenship education in multicultural classrooms, in particular, those that promote different roles for students as active citizens?* All teachers used both teacher- and student-centered teaching methods. Teacher-centered methodologies, such as lectures and short question-answer exchanges are used to impart civic related knowledge. However, the student-centered activities teachers implement vary especially in relation to the vision of active citizenship that teachers aim to promote and the ways in which they envision their students being active citizens in the public sphere. Although all four teachers identify the education of active citizens involved in public affairs as a critical goal of their instruction, at play are very different and, often, contrasting understandings of what active citizenship participation is and what it looks like. This research puts forward three understandings: conventional citizenship behaviours, make-a-difference active citizenship and politically-oriented active citizenship. Overall, in classrooms where the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship takes priority and active citizenship is seen as conventional citizenship behaviours and acts of goodness that make a difference, teachers are more likely to implement learning strategies that aligned with a vision that stresses citizens as morally and socially responsible people, who vote and are informed of what is happening (Pace, 2008; Walker, 2002; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In these classrooms teachers used learning strategies, such as the Outstanding Canadian Citizen and the Current Events Report and

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community service projects whereby students undertake an action that benefits the community.

In contrast, in classroom where a participatory and justice-oriented conceptions of good citizenship are endorsed, and active citizenship is seen as the engagement with politics and social and political issues, teachers use discussions of current political and social issues; simulations and role playing as a way to explore conflict and decision making; and community service projects whereby students implement actions to tackle an existing issue.

The fourth question centers on how teachers take into account the social and cultural diversity of their classroom in teaching for good citizenship. The question asks, *do teachers' perceptions of teaching in a multicultural classroom affect the way they plan and provide citizenship instruction?* In asking this question, I was interested in how teachers' philosophies about social and cultural difference affects what happens in the classroom, and if so, in what ways. The findings reveal that there is a strong linkage between the conceptions of good citizenship teachers have and how they respond to the social and cultural diversity as reflected in the classroom and Canadian society. Teachers whose instruction is dominated by the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship do not take into account the students diverse cultural background and tend to avoid the discussion of issues that challenge democracy like wealth disparity, racism and discrimination. In contrast, teachers who adopt a justice-oriented approach to their citizenship education identify that an important starting point to their instruction is the recognition that they teach in a multicultural classroom with students from distinct cultural and social backgrounds. In addition, because teachers who endorse this conception acknowledge that many inequities exist, their instruction includes some level of social critique. More specifically, these teachers explore with their students how power influences public decision making; the unequal distribution of resources and its effect to different individuals and groups; longstanding

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issues of inequity like racism against Aboriginal people, for example; and citizen agency towards societal change (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 2007; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In general, the research findings show that there is a positive relationship between the justice-oriented conception of good citizenship and teachers' attention to issues of social and cultural diversity. These findings were unexpected, as I believed that, at the very least, teachers would acknowledge the students' different cultural backgrounds during instruction. I imagined that teachers would ask culturally diverse students about their experiences and opinions as a strategy to make them feel that they are part of the class – and of society – and that their contributions and worldviews are welcomed. However, to my surprise and much more to my concern, in two of the four classes, the students' diverse background and their characteristics (i.e., new immigrants, or immigrants from a country where democracy does not exist) was evidently not relevant to the provision of citizenship education. Furthermore, not only is the background of students overlooked, but indeed the multicultural nature of Canadian society and issues associated with it (i.e., different conceptions of the common good) were completely ignored and avoided in citizenship instruction.

The last question aims to give voice to the students and it asks: *what do students report learning in their formal citizenship instruction?* The goal was to ask students what they learned about being a good citizen, and to assess whether it is similar or different from the teacher's goals and learning expectations. In general, what students report learning is congruent with the goals and expectations that teachers set for their instruction. The research findings indicate that the type of citizenship education that students receive is likely to contribute to their understandings of what good citizenship is and delineate paths for future participation, paths that range from minimal, to altruistically motivated, to more socially- and politically-motivated forms

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of public involvement. Nevertheless, in many instances, students exceeded teachers' expectations especially when they were given the opportunity to engage in community projects whereby they addressed a real problem. This becomes more evident when comparing the students who did issue-based projects with those who did service-oriented projects and what they reported learning. It is students who conducted issue-based projects who report becoming aware of public and social issues that demand public attention as well as developing an increased sense of personal civic competence whereby they feel more capable of affecting societal change, learnings that, in many ways, surpass teachers' goals and expectations.

Past research has shown there are different conceptions of good citizenship in the provision of citizenship education (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This study extends this inquiry to probe the significance that different conceptions of good citizenship in the provision of a kind of citizenship education that is responsive to and affirms social and cultural diversity. My investigation reveals that there can be widely different types of citizenship education at play within a single school board and even within a single school. The different types are significant as they promote different understandings of what good citizenship is and how citizens participate in society. Although there is an explicit commitment to educate active, participatory citizens on the part of all teachers as well as in the provincially prescribed citizenship education curricula ultimately, it is the teachers' conceptions of good citizenship and their visions of how citizens participate in society what guide their citizenship instruction. In educating for good citizenship, there are different conceptions of good citizenship and of active citizenship participation in the public realm, which are associated with a constellation of pedagogical practices that greatly impact how citizenship education prepares students to be reflective and active members in their societies. These understandings also influence whether and how teachers respond to the social

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and cultural diversity as reflected in the classroom and society at large as an aspect that is integral – or not – to their citizenship instruction. As such, in classrooms where teachers stress the personally-responsible conception of good citizenship and participation is associated with the display of conventional citizenship behaviors and altruistic actions to help others in need, preparing citizens for culturally plural societies seems to be something that is not considered too relevant to citizenship education. A shift, however, toward envisioning a citizenship education that needs to be responsive in more meaningful ways to the social and cultural context of the Canadian society is found in classrooms with a stronger presence of the participatory and justice-oriented conceptions of good citizenship, especially the latter and their vision of active citizenship as primarily a politically-oriented endeavor.

The findings from this research indicate that overall, at least in these four classrooms, for the most part, citizenship education is falling short of responding to the challenges associated with a multicultural, globalized society. In most cases, there is not a vision of citizenship education that prepares students to be civically engaged citizens in increasingly diverse, pluralistic and globalized societies. In fact, in half of the classrooms visited, citizenship education does not even make a reference to the fact that Canada is a multicultural society. This findings are not only in sharp contrast with provincial curricula, which state the importance of educating citizens that understand the nature of multicultural, globalized societies and who are capable of cross-cultural competence, but also indicate the significance that teachers' underlined assumptions have in educating for democratic citizenship.

The Limits and Potentials of Different Types of Citizenship Education for a Democratic, Pluralistic Society

There are important consequences to the provision of different types of citizenship education. Not all types of citizenship education and their associated types of active citizenship

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can adequately prepare students to be effective citizens in a plural, democratic society. The three types of active citizenship espoused in citizenship education programs envision different approaches for citizenship participation in the public sphere, but at the same time, they delineate ways to deal with cultural difference, which in turn affects understandings of what democracy means in the context of plural societies.

A personally-responsible conception of good citizenship and its associated conventional citizenship behaviours lead to mainstream approaches to citizenship education that stress knowledge acquisition of the political and legal structure, the development of personal and moral dispositions (i.e., responsibility, collaboration, tolerance) and skill development (i.e., developing informed opinions on public issues). While these approaches teach knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for participating effectively in a democracy, they fall short of developing an integral approach that centres on the development of civic competence or the effective citizenry participation in the nation's social and political life (Crick & Porter, 1978; Newmann, 1975; Parker, 2003). A concern with mainstream approaches to citizenship education is that they contribute to the education of passive, complacent and apolitical citizens as they fail to help students gain a critical understanding of the inequities and complexities that characterize our societies (Banks, 2004a, 2007; Crick & Porter, 1978; Parker, 2003; Rubin, 2007; Schugurensky & Myers, 2003a; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). My research findings support these claims—the results confirm that the conventional citizenship behaviours that are associated with the personally-responsible approach to citizenship education stress a vision of active citizenship where students are active but apolitical citizens who honor their civic duties, and who may or may not in addition perform good deeds (Boyle-Baisse, 2002; Boyte, 2004; Crick 2007; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Unfortunately, when citizenship education

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aims to educate students to act responsibly in the public realm, it can also be blind to the nation's social and cultural difference. On the other hand, when citizenship education has a participatory conception of good citizenship that stresses citizen involvement in issues of public concern, teachers' citizenship instruction does focus on issues related to social and cultural difference, but the attention is incidental. In practice, this means that teachers raise issues of concern of culturally distinct groups only when they come across situations that require exploring the perspectives of others, but it is not an encompassing approach in teaching for democratic citizenship.

What are the implications of providing citizenship education that does not take into consideration the complex social and cultural texture of the classroom and society at large? In a very real sense, citizenship education that is blind to social and cultural diversity can be assimilationist because youngsters are expected to adopt the civic culture of the dominant culture including their world view, values, and ways of being a citizen (Banks, 2004a, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2004a; Parker, 2003; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). When this is the case, there is no room to consider the multiple perspectives that are found in the community where the school is located, let alone the existence of overlapping or hybrid civic identities of students from families in which more than one ethnicity or social background is present (e.g., a student of both Chinese and British descent) (Banks, 2004a, 2008; Hébert, 1997; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Parker, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2004a; Torres, 1998). An assimilationist type of citizenship education promotes the idea of a common democratic culture wherein all citizens are regarded as equal and therefore granted the same rights and freedoms regardless of any differences in terms of race, class and religion (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Torres, 1998). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) contend that the idea of a common democratic culture of equal citizenship functions as a shield

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to protect against questions that interrogate the nation's political shortcomings and democratic failures. While government policies in Canada have arguably led to much better understanding outcomes for immigrants than other countries, bias in hiring practices, intolerance, hate crimes, and other forms of discrimination continue to be widespread. While Canada may be doing better than other countries, there remains much room for improvement, and schools can play a vital role in addressing these problems. By failing to pay attention to social problems and structural inequities, personally-responsible, and to a lesser degree, participatory approaches to citizenship education reify the status quo at the same time prepare students, consciously or not, to reproduce rather than to transform our current social system (Banks, 2007, 2008; Giroux, 2005; McLaren, 2007; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2007; Torres, 1998; Westheimer and Kahne, 2004).

The justice-oriented approach to citizenship education leads to vastly different student learning outcomes. The findings of this research seem to indicate that there is a strong relationship between the justice-oriented conception of citizenship and much greater engagement with issues of social and cultural difference. I argue that this type of citizenship education leads to a more politically-oriented conception of active citizenship and in doing so, it provides a space for educating reflective democratic citizens committed to the construction of more just, democratic societies where the challenges associated with social and cultural pluralism are taken seriously. Citizenship education that has a social justice stance can provide a foundation for the development of a multicultural citizenship education, or a kind of citizenship education that is responsive to and affirms social and cultural difference. It is an approach that reconciles the notions of citizenship, citizenship education and democracy in preparing students for democratic citizenship in the context of multicultural societies. Giroux makes some of these connections explicit in his reflection about what in his view are critical goals of education. For him, the

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school needs to create a “vibrant democratic culture,” one in which the students are provided with learning opportunities that allow them to “develop their capacity to think critically, to participate in power relations and policy decisions that affect their lives, and to transform those racial, social and economic inequities that impede democratic social relations” (2000, pp. 37-38).

Developing a comprehensive model for democratic citizenship goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, drawing on this research and the work of scholars concerned with civic equality across groups, it can be argued that concepts like equity, justice, critical thought and decision-making should be central in day-to-day citizenship instruction. To prepare reflective and engaged citizens, citizenship education needs to teach both the democratic values and ideals, as well as the realities that contradict those ideals (Banks, 2004a; Crick & Porter, 1978; Ladson-Billings, 2004a; McLaren, 2007; Parker, 2003; Rubin, 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). Social problems, as well as their root causes (e.g., poverty, unequal access to higher education), should be examined even if they are complex and subject to debate—this will provide students with opportunities to think critically and help understand that in a diverse democracy there are multiple perspectives about public issues. It is in the dissonances in real examples of injustice and inequity that students can think critically about unconscious assumptions as well as social practices and policies that maintain relations of inequity. It is in this context that the idea of the active, participatory citizen acquires a new meaning, as someone who is concerned with the future of her society—and not just her own particular interests—and who is willing to work with others who are seen as different through dialogue, deliberation and a mutual concern for a better common good (Miller, 2000; Parker, 2008). A particular decision toward the better common good might not be consensual (Miller, 2000; Williams. 2000), but it

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emerges as a result of dialogue and critical reflection (Hess, 2009; Miller, 2000; Parker, 2008; Williams, 2000).

Moving Forward: Teaching Students to Live in an Increasingly Diverse Society

If providing citizenship education that is responsive to social and cultural differences is an important goal of the school system, changes to current educational policies and practices in Ontario are needed. This research shows that there are some key issues that need to be considered to achieve this goal. In what follows, I discuss opportunities to develop multicultural citizenship education through changes to the curriculum, teacher recruitment and teacher education, three areas that can be starting points to develop citizenship education programs that better prepare students to function effectively in culturally diverse societies.

The curriculum is a critical component of the teaching and learning process as it structures certain types of learning experiences (Gay, 2004). The educational experiences that the mandated curriculum outlines in turn depend on the ideological assumptions and visions underpinning the curriculum (Gay, 2004). In the case of Ontario's Civics class, the curriculum centres on the kind of citizen that the school aims to educate. Even though the provincial curriculum specifies that an important goal is to educate responsible and participatory citizens for a pluralistic, democratic society (OMET, 2005), in practice, in many high school classrooms, this is not a priority. In fact, what exists are contrasting understandings of what good citizenship means and the pedagogical approaches that best advance these different visions. In other words, very different conceptions of good citizenship seem to be able to fit easily within the existing mandated curriculum. The resulting gap that can occur between provincial objectives and classroom instruction and the presence of widely different types of citizenship instruction within a single school board suggests that the province's current Grade 10 Civics curriculum needs to

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convey a clearer vision of the type of citizens we are trying to educate. First introduced about a decade ago, the curriculum certainly merits review and revision. While it is important to have flexible curricular guidelines that allow teachers to make pedagogical decisions to better serve the needs of their students, the curriculum needs to include more clearly articulated learning objectives as part of its vision of the kind of citizen that school-based citizenship education programs aim to educate. My thesis reveals that it is a justice-oriented approach to citizenship education that has the greatest potential to provide a citizenship education concerned with civic equality for all. However, at the moment, whether or not a justice-oriented stance is adopted seems to depend primarily on the philosophies and values of individual teachers, and not the curriculum.

As a starting point, it would be useful to consider including a discussion of different conceptions of good citizenship and approaches to citizenship education in the curricular guidelines. For example, teachers should be aware that some approaches focus on teaching students about their rights and responsibilities as citizens, while others will emphasize helping other in need. Another approach involves teaching students to critically analyze and explore solutions to social problems. The curriculum should point out also how different conceptions of what it means to be a good citizen lead to very different understandings of what good citizens do. These conceptions—which are not mutually exclusive—could be, for example, explained as three levels of civic engagement in the nation’s civic and political life. Levels are useful because they exemplify a progression, in this case, from more limited civic involvement and behaviours (e.g., paying taxes and voting) to greater participation through charitable activities and other good deeds (e.g., joining a cleaning campaign), to more significant potentially transformative actions that involve examining social problems and taking actions to effect change (e.g.,

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petitioning for a new public library branch in an underprivileged neighborhood). For this higher level of engagement, citizenship education must first recognize that problems do exist, and that they need more than just charitable acts to help mitigate their consequences. To assist with the teaching of justice-oriented approaches to citizenship education, which are not particularly prominent in the current curriculum and easy for teachers to neglect, teaching materials could provide specific examples of active citizenship that do more than just mitigate problems through charitable behaviours. There are many types of social problems that can be discussed in the classroom from a justice approach, but clearly, there are many that are associated with social and cultural difference and the challenges posed by an increasingly diverse population.

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of Canada's democracy and the recognition of the important gains that strengthen our plural society (e.g., the multicultural act; equity policies), moving forward requires critical analysis and open debate of the type of society that we want. If citizenship education is to fulfill the aim of educating students to live in a pluralistic, democratic society, a justice-oriented approach to citizenship education needs to be added as an explicit component of the Grade 10 Civics curriculum.

In addition to the recognition that there are different ideas about what it means to be a good citizen and different types of active citizenship, the provincial curriculum should also do more to recognize the characteristics, benefits, and dilemmas associated with an increasingly multicultural population. The specific learning objectives of the curriculum need to include a greater discussion of multiculturalism (i.e., as a concept, an ideal, a social reality and a government policy) and the situation of different social groups within Canadian society (e.g., the conditions faced by Aboriginal peoples, immigration trends, racism). Just as the curriculum specifies learning objectives that acknowledge the contribution of culturally diverse individuals

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and groups, it can also specify learning objectives that teach about the challenges that weaken our democracy and that prevent civic equality for all. Another way of enriching content related to multiculturalism would be to make more explicit the ways in which teachers can include the perspectives of the different groups that are part of Canadian society. The goal here would be to go beyond teaching about minority groups, and to recognize that people with different cultural backgrounds have different perspectives on various issues, including what it means to be a good citizen. Balancing the need to promote a unified vision of what it means to be a good citizen in Canada and recognizing that there is a diversity of perspectives about citizenship is not an easy task, but it is an important step toward developing a truly multicultural citizenship education. Teaching materials that, for example, focus on less famous individuals with different backgrounds and different perspectives, possibly even more contemporary figures who are critical of the status quo, could be included in addition to the more celebratory passages highlighting the achievements of successful politicians or inventors.

Citizenship education can also benefit from additional perspectives—and become more reflective of society as a whole—through greater attention to teacher recruitment. The Canadian teacher workforce has not kept pace with the increasing multi-racial, multi-ethnic student population. According to the 2006 census, 75% of educators in the country are female and predominately White (Gambhir, Broad, Evans, & Gaskell, 2008) with only 6.9% of the in-service teachers belonging to visible minority categories (Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009). This poses problems in terms of providing role models that minority students can identify with, and might tend to perpetuate conventional, mainstream approaches to citizenship education that do not reflect the dramatic changes in the population that have occurred over the last few decades. But, as this research has shown, this is certainly not always the case. More research on

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how the background of teachers affects their citizenship instruction would certainly be valuable in trying to answer this question. The recruitment of a more diverse population of teachers into the public school system could help infuse multiple perspectives into citizenship education.

In addition to a review of teacher recruitment policies, citizenship education would also benefit from a review of teacher training programs. Revisions to the existing curriculum can address some of the existing shortcomings to citizenship education to a large degree. Teacher education programs also have a fundamental role in helping pre-service teachers reflect upon their assumptions about what good citizenship is as well as their attitudes and beliefs towards ethnic, cultural, and racial diversity in order to better understand how these often unexamined beliefs impact their pedagogical practice (Banks, 2007; Gay, 2010b). It seems reasonable that these issues are discussed in teacher training programs given the importance of the required high school Civics class. Further research on what prospective teachers are taught about citizenship education during their training, and how this translates into their own instructional practices, would provide valuable insights into how to make citizenship education more responsive to a diverse student population.

Another area of research that is sorely needed centres on the learning outcomes of citizenship education. Understanding how students respond to different types of citizenship education and how their responses are conditioned by their immigration status, cultural background, or racial category is a key piece of the puzzle. One concern that emerges from this study is tailoring citizenship instruction to adapt to the multiplicity of students' cultural backgrounds. High school classrooms are attended by students who are from immigrant families, who may have very different educational needs and learning outcomes than "mainstream" students. The same can be said for students who belong to distinct but well-established social

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groups within Canada (e.g., students of African, Irish or Aboriginal descent). Moreover, some students might be new immigrants from places torn by war (i.e., Somalia) or places where democracy does not exist (e.g., North Korea, Cuba). In contrast, students who are second or third generation youngsters are likely to have other understandings about their role as citizens. How do we develop citizenship education that responds to the needs of such an extremely diverse group of individuals? My interviews with students suggest that there is a considerable range of views in how students interpret what they have been taught about being good citizens. Further research on the learning outcomes of students with different backgrounds would help answer this question. This could include an examination of students' own notions of good citizenship before and after attending the civics class. Are there significant differences between the conceptions of good citizenship held by immigrant students, students who belong to minority groups and students who belong to the dominant culture? An investigation of this sort can be extremely helpful to help delineate ways in which citizenship education can be responsive to and supportive of the formation of multiple and overlapping civic identities.

The design and provision of citizenship education that accommodates difference while at the same time promotes the bonds, virtues and practices needed to develop a strong democratic nation remains a challenge. The findings of this research on the practice of citizenship education show that while there is a general agreement among teachers that it is important to prepare citizens for life in a culturally diverse society, in practice this often does not happen. This study represents an effort to both understand and address this gap. By analyzing the practice of citizenship education in four multicultural high school classrooms, I have uncovered some of the connections between the prevailing conceptions of good citizenship that guide citizenship education programs and the extent to which citizenship instruction is responsive to the social and

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cultural diversity found in the classroom. Overall, what I find is that the question of how citizenship education can affirm difference while promoting a common civic culture has not been carefully pondered. Therefore, as the evidence indicates, it is at present mainly up to teachers—with minimal guidance and support from the school system—who determine the type of citizenship education that ultimately is delivered. My findings suggest that across these four classrooms, educating democratic citizens is done without much reflection about the demands, complexities and dilemmas of living in multicultural societies. However, the findings also reveal that there is a possibility for change. When teachers recognize both the strengths of Canadian democracy as well as injustices and inequities that are present, and do not shy away from more politically-oriented conceptions of active citizenship, they can begin to see the potential of their students to become involved in social issues that really matter. When this happens, multicultural citizenship education becomes not just an ideal but a reality.

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Appendix A

Ethical Approval University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board (REB)



Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Service de subventions de recherche et d'éthologie Research Grants and Ethics Services

August 28, 2007

Joel Westheimer
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

Luz Alison Molina
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

**Re: Educating Good Citizens: A Case Study of Conceptions of Good Citizenship
Education in Three Multicultural, Multiethnic High Schools in Ontario
(File # 08-07-05)**

Dear Professor Westheimer and Ms. Molina,

The University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) has examined the application for ethical approval of your research project.

The REB has reviewed your response and found that the research project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and will give the project 1a (approval) pending authorization from the OCDSB's Application Committee (OCRAC).

Please note that a copy of the approval letters must be sent to the Ethics Office before the ethics certificate can be sent to you and the certificate must be allocated before you can begin recruiting participants.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Paquet
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Peter Beyer, Chair of the SSH REB

550, rue Cumberland Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada 550 Cumberland Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

(613) 562-5841 • Téléc./Fax (613) 562-5338
<http://www.uottawa.ca/services/research/rge/index.html>

Appendix B

Ethical Approval Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee (OCRAC)



Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee

30 November 2007

Luz Alison Molina Giron
Doctoral Student, University of Ottawa

Re: Educating good citizens: A case study of conceptions of good citizenship in multicultural high schools in Ontario

Dear Alison,

On behalf of the Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee, I am pleased to inform you that your research proposal, "*Educating good citizens: A case study of conceptions of good citizenship in multicultural high schools in Ontario*", was approved in principle for implementation in the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board (OCDSB) only. Given that the survey instruments and target population are similar to those identified in the proposal submitted by your thesis advisor, the committee requested that the interview questions and the classroom observation protocols from both projects be combined. As such, the information for both projects can be gathered simultaneously, thereby reducing the administrative burden on teachers.

Prior to contacting schools to seek their participation in your study, please forward the revised survey instruments, observation tools, and consent forms to the attention of Yasmin Sankar Khan, Research Officer at the OCDSB

We wish you well in your research.

Sincerely,

Steven McKibbin, Research Officer
Ottawa-Carleton District School Board
On behalf of the Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee

CC

Dr. Joel Westheimer

Appendix C

Research Portfolio

April 3, 2008

Ms. Judith Keller (pseudonym)
Civics teacher
Spruce High School

Dear Judith Keller,

This is an invitation to participate in a Civics study conducted by Alison Molina, a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa under the supervision of Professor Joel Westheimer.

This research investigates the Grade 10 Civics course in Ontario. More specifically, the study is concerned with how civic education is taught and with identifying the core concepts, values and skills that comprise civic education in multicultural public schools. Enclosed you will find a brief description of a research project and what your participation would entail. This research project is funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC).

We look forward to hearing from you. If you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact me, Alison Molina, or Dr. Joel Westheimer. It will be our pleasure to provide additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participating in this research project.

Yours truly,

Alison Molina
Doctoral student
Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Citizenship Education in Multicultural High Schools in Ontario: A Case Study

Luz Alison Molina, Doctoral student
University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education

Joel Westheimer, Professor, Thesis director
University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education

Rational to Conduct Research on Civic Education in Ontario Schools

Preparing students for responsible and active participation in civic life has historically been a central goal of public education. School-based civic education is a promising avenue to equip youth and young adults with the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for effective citizenship participation. Nowadays, in many multicultural cities like Ottawa, civic education is delivered in multicultural classrooms. This challenges the school's capacity to provide an education that reflects and respects the nation's cultural make up and instills in youngsters civic virtues needed for becoming civically-minded and engaged citizens (Banks, 1997; 2004).

This study explores the teaching of civic education as it occurs in multicultural public high schools. More specifically, the study aims to investigate how the tenth grade Civics course (CHV20) is taught and to identify the core concepts, values and skills that provide a foundation for teaching civic education in schools. In addition, this research seeks to understand from the participants perspectives the strengths and constraints of teaching civic education in multicultural classrooms. The research questions that guide this inquiry are: (1) How is the relatively new Grade 10 Civics course taught in multicultural schools? (2) What are the core concepts, values and skills that comprise the Grade 10 Civics course in Ontario schools? (3) What conceptions of good citizenship are advanced through citizenship education policy and curricula, classroom instruction, and school organization in each high school? Informed by classroom practice, the findings of this research will provide new knowledge about the current state of civic education in multicultural public schools in Ontario. It will also be helpful in identifying exemplary practices that advance the education of a civically-minded citizen.

Benefits to Participating Schools and Civics Teachers

The proposed research aims to be a reflective inquiry into both the practices employed to promote good citizenship in Ontario high schools and the constraints that teachers encounter

Educating good citizens

when educating for democratic civic education. This research will directly benefit teachers, school administrators and school boards of participating schools. After the research is completed, a research report that discusses the main research findings will be given to each participating school and their school boards as well as to the Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee. The research report will discuss what occurs in the day-to-day teaching of civic education, what supports democratic citizenship education and what is likely to hinder it. This in turn can lead to the development of educational practices to improve the teaching of civic education and the creation of more democratic learning environments. For students, research participation is often a positive avenue by which students explore civic engagement and learn to express their opinions regarding civic education. They become thoughtful participants and critics and gain a sense of self-efficacy by learning that their ideas help to inform broader research and learning goals related to civic education.

Research Design and Participation

The research is being conducted in four multicultural schools located in the Ottawa area. In each participating school, we hope to visit the civic classroom and conduct a one-hour initial interview and a 45-minute exit interview with the Civics teacher. Classroom visits and interviews will be scheduled at a time and place that is convenient for the teacher. We also hope to interview some of the students taking the Civics class.

We encourage your participation in this research since it is fundamental to understand from the participants perspective what school practices are likely to strengthen or weaken democratic citizenship education in multicultural public schools. In addition, by engaging in this reflective inquiry, it is possible that administrators and teachers will have an opportunity to reflect into the ways that they promote good citizenship in their schools.

Appendix D

Participant Consent Form (Teachers)

Principal Investigator: Luz Alison Molina, University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education

Purpose: This study is concerned with how the relatively new Civics course is taught and with identifying the core concepts, values and skills that comprise civic education.

Should I agree to participate, my participation will consist of attending a 45 minute semi-structured interview session. During the interview, I will be asked to discuss the nature of activities and structures within the school and their purposes related to civic education. The interview will be audio taped, with my permission, and later transcribed. Once the interview is transcribed, it will be sent to me for review, and I will have the opportunity to ask clarifying questions regarding any discrepancies. I will also permit the researcher to visit my classroom for a few days, and attend any community-based activities in which my students are engaged.

The interview session and observations will be scheduled at my convenience. I understand that the data will be used only for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of democratic values within the school environment and that my confidentiality will be respected. Interview sessions will take place in a private room and at a time when it is unlikely that other people would disrupt or overhear conversation. If I do not feel comfortable being interviewed at my school, an alternate location can be established.

At any time, before or during the interview, I am free to stop participating in the research. I also can refuse to answer questions without any consequences. I am free to refuse to participate in the study. I also have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to reduce the possibility of dealing with questions that require personal information that might cause me some emotional discomfort. I understand that these discussions about citizenship education may enhance my learning and teaching efforts in the classroom.

I have received assurance from the researchers that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. Anonymity will be ensured by the use of pseudonyms for my name, and the name of the school, on the interview transcripts, resulting publications, and conference presentations. Tape recordings of interviews and other data collected will be kept in a locked file cabinet accessible to only the principal investigators and research assistants. All data will be destroyed seven years post publication.

Any information about my rights as a research participant may be addressed to **the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research**. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep. If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher.

I have read and understood the request for my participation in the study of Civic education in Ontario schools and

I agree to participate

I do not agree to participate

Research Participant's name: _____ Date: _____

Research Participant's Signature: _____

Appendix E

Information Letter for Research Participants (Students)

Date:

Hello,

I would like to invite you to participate in a study that will explore your experiences learning about citizenship in school. This research is being conducted by Alison Molina, doctoral student at the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education. The research is supervised by Dr. Joel Westheimer, a professor in the social foundations of education at the University of Ottawa.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to attend a 30-minute individual interview or a 45-minute group interview, which will be audio recorded. Also, a member of our research team will be coming to watch your class and take notes. Any information we gather – both in the interview and in the classroom – will be kept confidential. Your name, and the name of the school, will never appear on any transcripts or publications.

Those of you who are 17 years and younger will require parental consent to participate in the study. Please show your parents this information letter and permission form, and discuss your participation with them. If you wish to participate in the research, please return the form by (some date). Please keep a copy of this letter, and the consent form, for your own use. Participation in the research is voluntary, and children and parents are free to refuse to participate, or withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences. Also, you are allowed to refuse to answer a question asked in your interview, for whatever reason.

If you have any questions regarding this study, please contact me, Alison Molina or professor Joel Westheimer.

Yours sincerely,

Alison Molina
Doctoral student
Faculty of education, University of Ottawa

Appendix F

Information Letter for Parents

Dear Parent(s) or Guardian(s):

I am writing to ask your permission for your child to participate in a University of Ottawa research study on civic education. This project will be conducted at SCHOOL NAME High School over the next several months. The research explores the way that citizenship is taught in schools and discussing the ways that this education is integrated into students' learning. The supervising researcher is Dr. Joel Westheimer, a professor in the social foundations of education at the University of Ottawa.

The project in which your child has been invited to participate is expected to be an enjoyable experience and will require, at most, 45 minutes, scheduled at the convenience of your child and his/her teacher. However, the decision about participation is yours. To help you in this decision, a brief description of the project is provided.

A member of our research team will be visiting your child's classroom for a few days. The class will not be audio or video taped, but the researcher will take hand-written notes. We are also asking students to participate in one individual interview, which will last approximately 30 minutes or a group interview, which will last 45 minutes. The interview will be audio taped and then transcribed. Your child will be asked to discuss her/his conceptions of citizenship and democracy, as well as his/her ideas about the kinds of things being learned in the classroom.

All interviews are considered confidential and interview data will not be shared with school staff. Only children who have parental permission, and who themselves agree to participate, will be involved in the study. Participation in the research is voluntary, and children and parents are free to refuse to participate, or withdraw from the study at any time without consequence. Students can also refuse to answer any interview questions that they wish.

I would like to assure you that this study has been approved by the Ottawa-Carleton Research Advisory Committee and received ethics clearance from the Research Grants and Ethics Services at the University of Ottawa. However, the final decision about participation is yours.

I would appreciate if you would permit your child to participate in this project, as I believe it will contribute to furthering our knowledge about teaching for democracy and civic education. Please complete the attached permission form and return it to the school by (insert date). Please keep a copy of this letter and the consent form, for your own use.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me, Alison Molina or professor Joel Westheimer.

Yours sincerely,

Alison Molina
Doctoral student
Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Appendix G

Participant Consent Form (Students 17 years old and younger)

(For parents/guardians to sign)

Principal Investigator: Luz Alison Molina University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education

Purpose: This study is concerned with how the relatively new Civics course is taught and with identifying the core concepts, values and skills that comprise civic education.

I agree to allow my son/daughter to participate in this study. I understand that my child's participation will consist of one individual interview that will last approximately 30 minutes or a group interview lasting 45 minutes. During the interview, my child will be asked to talk about his/her ideas about citizenship and how s/he learns about these concepts in school. All interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed. I also understand that the researcher will visit my child's classroom and attend any community-based activities in which the class is involved. The researcher will take hand-written observation notes during classroom and community activities. The researchers would also like to see, when possible, some examples of students' work produced in the civics class.

The interview session will be scheduled at the convenience of my child and his/her teacher. I understand that this conversation will be used only for the purpose of understanding how citizenship is taught in our schools. I understand that the interviews will take place in a room where it is unlikely that other people would disrupt or overhear the conversation. Upon my child's request, another adult or classmate can accompany him/her in the interview. At any time, before or during the interview, my child is free to stop participating in the research. My child can also refuse to answer questions without any consequences. My child is free to refuse to participate in the study. I also have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to reduce the possibility of asking questions that require personal information that might cause my child to feel uncomfortable.

I have been informed that the information collected for this project is confidential and protected under the Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, 1989. Thus, I have been assured that my child's name and identity will be kept strictly confidential. His/her real name and the school name will not be used in any interview transcripts, publications, or conference presentations. Tape recordings of interviews and other data collected will be kept in a locked file cabinet accessible to only the principal investigators and research assistants. All data will be destroyed seven years after the results of the study have been published.

Any information about my child's rights as a research participant may be addressed to **the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research**. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep. If I, or my child, have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher.

I have read and understood the request for my son/daughter to participate in the study of Civic education in Ontario schools. I have discussed it with my son/daughter and

- I give permission for my son/daughter to participate
- I give permission for my son/daughter to be audiotaped
- I do not give permission for my son/daughter to participate

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Name of student (please print): _____ Date: _____

Name of parent or guardian (please print): _____

Signature of parent/guardian: _____

Appendix H

Participant Consent Form (Students 18 years old and older)

Principal Investigator: Luz Alison Molina University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education

Purpose: This study is concerned with how the relatively new Civics course is taught and with identifying the core concepts, values and skills that comprise civic education.

I understand that the researcher will visit my classroom for a few days, and attend any community-based activities in which my class is involved. The researcher will take hand-written observation notes during classroom and community activities. In addition, if I agree, I may also participate in a 30 minute interview or a 45 minute group interview. During the interview, I will be asked to talk about my ideas about citizenship and democracy, and how I learn about these concepts at school. The interview will be tape recorded and later transcribed.

The interview session will be scheduled at my convenience and that of my teacher. I understand that our conversation will be used only for the purpose of understanding how citizenship and democracy is taught in our schools. I understand that the interview will take place in a private room and at a time when it is unlikely that other people would disrupt or overhear our conversation.

At any time, before or during the interview, I am free to stop participating in the research. I also can choose to NOT answer any questions without consequence. I am free to refuse to participate in the study. I also have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to reduce the possibility of being asked questions that require personal information that might make me feel uncomfortable. I have also been assured that my name and identity will be kept strictly confidential. My real name and the school name will not be used in any interview transcripts, publications, or conference presentations. Tape recordings of interviews and other data collected will be kept in a locked file cabinet accessible to only the principal investigators and research assistants. All data will be destroyed seven years after the results of the study have been published.

Any information about my rights as a research participant may be addressed to the **Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research**. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep. If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher.

I have read and understood the request for my participation in the study of Civic education in Ontario schools and

- I agree to participate
- I do not agree to participate

Research Participant's name: _____ Date: _____

Research Participant's Signature: _____

Appendix I

Participant Assent Form (Students 17 years old and younger)

Principal Investigator: Luz Alison Molina University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education

Purpose: This study is concerned with how the relatively new Civics course is taught and with identifying the core concepts, values and skills that comprise civic education.

Should I agree to participate in this research, I will attend one 30 minute individual interview or a 45 minute group interview. During the interview, I will be asked to talk about my ideas about citizenship, and how I learn about these concepts at school. The interview will be tape recorded and later transcribed. I also understand that the researcher will visit my classroom for a few days, and attend any community-based activities in which my class is involved. The researcher will take hand-written observation notes during classroom and community activities. The researchers would also like to see, when possible, some examples of students' work produced in the Civics class.

The interview session will be scheduled at my convenience and that of my teacher. I understand that our conversation will be used only for the purpose of understanding how citizenship and democracy is taught in our schools. I understand that the interview will take place in a private room and at a time when it is unlikely that other people would disrupt or overhear our conversation.

At any time, before or during the interview, I am free to stop participating in the research. I also can choose to NOT answer any questions without any consequences. I am free to refuse to participate in the study. I also have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to reduce the possibility of asking questions that require personal information that might cause me to feel uncomfortable. I have also been assured that my name and identity will be kept strictly confidential. My real name and the school name will not be used in any interview transcripts, publications, or conference presentations. Tape recordings of interviews and other data collected will be kept in a locked file cabinet accessible to only the principal investigators and research assistants. All data will be destroyed seven years after the results of the study have been published.

Any information about my rights as a research participant may be addressed to **the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research**. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep. If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher.

I have read and understood the request for my participation in the study of Civic education in Ontario schools and

- I agree to participate
- I agree to be audiotaped
- I do not agree to participate

Research Participant's name: _____ Date: _____

Research Participant's Signature: _____

Appendix J

Classroom Observation Protocol

Date: _____

I. Classroom characteristics

- Number of students: _____ M _____ F
- Physical arrangement of the class:

II. Content and Nature of Civic Instruction

- Lesson or class activity:

- What are the class objectives?

- What knowledge is emphasized in the lesson and pedagogy (if any)?

- What civic behaviours are emphasized in the lessons and pedagogy (if any)? (e.g. public discourse, good neighbourliness, patriotism, taking action to solve a public issue)

- What values are emphasized in the lessons and pedagogy (if any)? (e.g. justice, fairness, participation, equality, diversity, freedom of speech)

Educating good citizens

- What skills are emphasized in the lessons and pedagogy (if any)? (e.g. problem-solving, collaboration, listening to different points of view, framing a problem)

- How is Canada portrayed during class instruction? What stories, constructs or images are used to refer to Canada and Canadians?

- Does citizenship instruction discuss examples of ethnic, racial and linguistic diversity?

- If discussions about inter-group conflict arise during class instruction, how are these handled?

- What forms of citizenship identity are presented/discussed in the classroom? (e.g. cultural identity, ethnic identity, supranational identity).

- In what ways are students encouraged to employ critical thinking skills in examining historical and contemporary events in Canada and abroad? (e.g. are they presented with multiple perspectives?)

III. The Teaching Methodology

- What teaching strategies are used to teach this lesson? (e.g. class discussion, collaborative learning, class projects)

Educating good citizens

- What are the materials or resources used to teach this lesson? (e.g. civic textbook, newspapers, videos, talks by community members)

- What is the teacher's role in the teaching process? (e.g. facilitator, lecturer)

- What assessment strategies are used to evaluate students' learning? (e.g. test, project)

- How are controversial issues handled when and if they arise?

IV. Conceptions of Good Citizenship

- What conceptions of good citizenship are emphasized in the lesson and pedagogy? (e.g. personally-responsible; participatory; social justice)

- What conceptions of good citizenship education emphasized are emphasized throughout class instruction?

VI. Notes

Appendix K

Teacher Interview Guide

Teaching for Democratic Citizenship

- What does a “good citizen” mean to you? Do you think schools can help to promote this vision? Why or why not?
- What do you feel is important for your students to learn in civics or citizenship education?
- What knowledge do students need to become effective citizens? And for culturally/ethnically diverse students?
- Are there certain values that are important for students to learn? And for culturally/ethnically diverse students?
- What skills and behaviours are important to develop? And for culturally/ethnically diverse students?
- How do you see students engaging with issues that affect their lives?
- Does the Civics course provide immigrant and non-immigrant students with the necessary skills to participate in the democratic process? If not, what do they need? If yes, what are those skills?
- Does your class deal with controversial issues? If yes, how do you handle these issues?
- Does the civic curriculum encourage civic activism and participation? If yes, in what ways?

Providing Civic Instruction in Multicultural Schools

- How does having an immigrant student population in the civics course affect the way you plan for the class and/or provide instruction?
- Can you describe a recent situation in which classroom diversity affected either the planning or the delivery of instruction, or both?
 - In this recent situation what had to be adjusted or changed: the objectives, the content, the student assessment, or the learning materials/resources?
 - Why did you decide to make these adjustments or changes?
 - How did you know that an adjustment was necessary?
- Does citizenship instruction have different goals for non-Canadian born and immigrant students than for Canadian-born students? In what ways?
- In your opinion, what are the most important things that non-Canadian born and immigrant students need to learn in the civic course to be good citizens?
- Is teaching civic education in a multicultural classroom challenging? What is particularly difficult?

Educating good citizens

- What are the strengths or benefits of teaching citizenship education in a diverse classroom?
- Do you think that differences in language, culture, economic status, have any influence or affect civic education? In what ways? Can you give me an example?
- What are your own experiences with citizenship? Community involvement? Social or political activism?
- How have these experiences affected the way you think about education regarding these issues?

School Policies and Practices that Affect Civic Education

- Have any school reforms or policy changes affected your ability to teach about citizenship and/or democracy?
- What do provincial citizenship programs encourage/emphasize in teaching for citizenship in a multicultural/multicultural school context? (i.e., democracy, politics, discussion of contentious issues, community involvement)
- What reforms, if any, would you recommend to promote civic engagement in multicultural/multiethnic classrooms? (i.e., in the civic curricula and school governance).

Teacher's Experiences

- What are your own experiences with citizenship? Community involvement? Social or political activism?
- How have these experiences affected the way you think about education regarding these issues?

Appendix L

Individual and Focus Group Student Interview Guide

Civic Learning

- What have you learned in school about citizenship? About democracy? Are these lessons relevant to you? In what ways?
- Can you describe any activities you've done at school that relate to citizenship?
- What do you think your civics teacher wants you to learn in this course?
- What have you learned in this course?
- Do you think that you have the knowledge and skills to participate in society? If so, what knowledge and skills do you have? If not, what do you feel you need to learn?
- If you could make changes to the Civics course, what would you change? Why?

School Activities for Civic Engagement

- Do you think students should be taught the importance of voting? Encouraged to vote when they are eligible?
- Should students be encouraged to volunteer in their community? Why or why not?
- Do you think it is important for students to be aware of social and political issues? Why or why not?
- Do you think it is important for students to get involved in social or political issues? Why or why not?
- Do teachers discuss controversial issues in class (i.e., war, health care, environment)? If not, why not? If there is disagreement of opinions, how does this work in class?
- Should teachers discuss controversial issues in class?
- Can you tell me about a specific debate or question that arose this year concerning citizenship or democracy or community involvement?

Conceptions of “Good” Citizenship

- How do you define a “good citizen”? What qualities/characteristics/traits does a good citizen have?
- What do “good citizens” do?
- How do you think that young people like you can effectively participate in society?
- Are there particular social or political issues that you are interested in (e.g. the environment, war in Iraq)?
- Is there an opportunity to discuss issues that interest you in the Civics class?
- What are the main things that you have learned about Canada/being Canadian in the Civics course?