Why Civics?
Adopting Policy Causal Stories for Citizenship Education in Ontario

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Introduction

In this paper I will attempt to determine whether the recent experience of adopting a Grade Ten mandatory civics course and character education in Ontario meets the conditions set out by Deborah Stone's 1989 policy theory on causal stories. I will begin my argument by outlining Stone's causal story theory. Following the theoretical section of the paper will be a historical outline of the development of citizenship education in Ontario in an attempt to match the policy actions both theoretically and conceptually with the causal story model. The main essence of Deborah Stone's 1989 article "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas" is simple and straightforward. Stone states clearly that her article is "about how situations come to be seen as caused by human actions and amenable to human intervention."[1] Central to Stone's theory are the concepts of problem definition and policy solution. These concepts will be important for the discussion of citizenship education in Ontario for this brief article. As Stone writes

> There is an old saw in political science that difficult conditions become problems only when people come to see them as amenable to human action. Until then, difficulties remain embedded in the realm of nature, accident, and fate – a realm where there is no choice about what happens to us. The conversion of difficulties into problems is said to be sine qua non of political rebellion, legal disputes, interest-group mobilization, and of moving policy problems onto the public agenda.[2]

Key to this first passage is the section concerning difficult conditions being "embedded in the realm of nature, accident, and fate – a realm where there is no choice about what happens to us." A difficult condition must exist for the problem definition to occur. This will be the first aspect of the Ontario civics story that will be sought. Has a "realm" developed where actors have lost choice in the nature of its existence?

Stone develops a complex description of problem definition. Stone argues,

> Problem definition is a process of image making, where the images have to do fundamentally with attributing cause, blame, and responsibility. Conditions, difficulties, or issues thus do not have inherent properties that make them more or less likely to be seen as problems or to be expanded. Rather, political actors deliberately portray them in ways calculated to gain support for their side. And political actors, in turn, do not simply accept causal models that are given from science or popular culture or any other source. They compose stories that describe harms and difficulties, attribute them to actions of other individuals or organizations, and thereby claim the right to invoke government power to stop the harm.[3]

From this description there are a few traits that can be sought in Ontario education policy. First, has the government taken part in a "process of image making"? Has the development of citizenship education in Ontario been framed in an agenda which attributes "cause, blame and responsibility"? Did causal models previously exist which Ontario policy actors could accept and

[1] Deborah A. Stone "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas" *Political Science Quarterly.* Vol. 104. No. 2. Summer 1989. Pg. 281

[2] Stone, Pg. 281

[3] Stone, Pg. 282

adopt to gain support and invoke "government power"? If the policy actors are able to successfully invoke government power, Stone describes a variety of options that represent "government action". Stone writes, "Government action might include prohibition of an activity, regulation, taxation, economic redistribution, criminal sanctions, education campaigns, direct compensation of victims (through social insurance or special funds), and mandated compensation of victims (through litigation)."[4] For the sake of this treatment of Stone's causal stories theory it seems likely that for a citizenship or civic education program would fall under Stone's "education campaigns" within options for possible government action.

Within her conception of a policy causal story, Stone contends there is both an empirical and moral dimension. Key to understanding the two dimensions is the assumption that "on both levels, causal stories move situations intellectually from the realm of fate to the realm of human agency."[5] The first dimension of Stone's causal story is empirical. At the empirical level a causal story "purports to demonstrate the mechanism by which one set of people brings about harms to another set."[6] The empirical aspect of citizenship education in Ontario is much more elusive than 'harms' found in the public realm that may exist due to environmental degradation or transportation safety issues, but a case may be ably constructed if the definition of harm is flexible and broad. The second dimension of Stone's causal story is moral or more specifically normative. The normative level of a causal story is found in blaming "one set of people for causing suffering of others."[7] For the case of civic literacy in Ontario and Canada, outside actors have stressed that the "one set of people" to be blamed could be educational leaders and curriculum developers.

This paper will be divided into three main sections: "problem definition and assignment of responsibility", "inadvertent cause: unintended consequences" and "inadvertent cause: purposeful actions". Each section presents in some facet support for the argument that the governments in Ontario have gradually accepted civics education as an integral part of the delivery of their education. As successive governments have experimented with ideas of citizenship education; traces of a causal story can be found. This essay is not stressing causes but effects. The focus will be on, using Stone's language, the "human intervention" opposed to the "situation". The "human intervention" in this case is Ontario's continuing effort to deliver citizenship education in one form or another.

Problem Definition and Assignment of Responsibility

Stone identifies classic works such as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at any Speed* as significant examples of causal stories.[8] Using her causal language of "accidents" and "inadvertence" and "intention" Stone demonstrates the utility of Carson and Nader's theses. Stone writes,

> Rachel Carson's Silent Spring argued that the deterioration of animal and plant life was not a natural phenomenon (accident) but the result of human pollution (inadvertence). Ralph Nader's Unsafe at any Speed claimed that automobile crashes were not primarily due to unpredictable mechanical failures (accidents) or

[4] Stone, Pg. 282
[5] Stone, Pg. 283
[6] Stone, Pg. 283
[7] Stone, Pg. 283
[8] Stone, Pg. 290

> even to reckless drivers (inadvertence) but to car manufacturers' decisions to stint on safety in design (intention).[9]

The problem definition this paper will focus on is the concept "civic literacy". Henry Milner recently defined "civic literacy" as "the knowledge and ability capacity of citizens to make sense of their political world."[10] An excellent example of a problem-defining book in the field of citizenship education in Canada is A.B. Hodgetts' 1968 publication *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada*. Three years prior, the $150,000 National History Project was initiated by the Board of Governors of Trinity College School. Out of this project arose the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970 and the publication of Hodgetts book in 1968.[11] The book was based on an examination of 951 classes in 247 schools across Canada.[12] Hodgetts complained "we are teaching a bland, unrealistic consensus version of our past: a dry-as-dust chronological story of uninterrupted political and economic progress told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history."[13] In the aftermath of the Hodgetts book there were a plethora of calls for more citizenship education. Studies began to surface concerning the political knowledge and civic literacy of Canadian students. The Canadian Political Science Association became involved in the early 1970s issuing a call for the teaching of political science in high schools across Canada. [14] In 1970 S.H. Ullman researched nationalism and regionalism in Cape Breton. Ullman surveyed 1199 Cape Breton students between the ages of 9 and 19. Identifying with Cape Breton was the primary concern of the responding students.[15] Also in 1970, Grace Skogstad completed a study of students from grade 7 to 12 in Alberta and their levels of political alienation and compared her results to similar American studies. Skogstad found that Alberta students feel less comfortable with the duties of citizenship than their American counterparts.[16] Moving from Alberta to Ontario, in 1971 T.G. Harvey attempted to measure nationalist sentiment using samples of Ontario high school students from 1955. Harvey et al. contended that the results yielded highly nationalistic sentiments.[17] Other studies on political socialization and civic literacy completed in the early 1970s included work by Jon Pammett and E. Zureik. Pammett found that young Ontarians had similar levels of knowledge on

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[9] Stone, Pg. 290

[10] Henry Milner. *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work.* Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002. Pg. 1

[11] George S. Tomkins. "The Canada Studies Foundation: A Canadian Approach to Curriculum Intervention" *Canadian Journal of Education.* Vol. 2. No. 1. 1977. Pg. 5

[12] Alan D. Boyd. "Political Knowledge of Canadian and Australian High School Students" *Canadian Journal of Education.* Vol. 3. No. 3. 1978. Pg. 1

[13] A.B. Hodgetts. *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada.* Toronto: OISE Press, 1968. Pg. 24.

[14] Marshall Conley and Kenneth Osborne. "Political Education in Canadian Schools: An Assessment of Social Studies and Political Science courses and pedagogy" *International Journal of Political Education.* Vol. 6. 1983. Pg. 75

[15] S.H. Ullman. "Nationalism and regionalism in the political socialization of Cape Breton whites and Indians" *American Review of Canadian Studies.* Vol. 5. 1975. Pg. 66-97

[16] Grace Skogstad. "Adolescent political alienation" *Socialization and values in Canadian Society. Volume 1: Political Socialization.* Ed. E. Zureik and R.M. Pike. Carleton Library, no. 84. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

[17] T.G. Harvey, S.K. Hunter-Harvey and G. Vance. "Nationalist sentiment among Canadian adolescents: The prevalence and social correlates of nationalistic feelings" *Socialization and values in Canadian Society. Volume 1: Political Socialization.* Ed. E. Zureik and R.M. Pike. Carleton Library, no. 84. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

institutional and personal aspects of Canadian politics.[18] Out of Zureik's British Columbia sample he found awareness of political community in subjects as young as eight.[19] The amount of investigation into the civic literacy of young Canadians was growing alongside the increase in emphasis on political socialization in the larger field. The research became increasingly normative and critical, following in the path of Hodgetts.

As civic education and Canadian studies came under more scrutiny during the 1960s and early 1970s, the question of "Whose Canada?" began to arise when conceptualizing Canadian studies. Morrison et al. believed there were a number of possibly dangerous assumptions surrounding the framework of Canadian studies. Two of the most significant assumptions affecting content in the late 1970s according to Morrison et al. were "that conventional explanations of the development of Canadian society are sufficient" and "that cultural pluralism is of unquestioned values".[20] Questioning these types of assumptions challenged the historical-institutional-legal framework that regularly had dominated social studies/history/civics lessons up to this point in time. Morrison et al. also questioned the teaching and context of Canadian studies. Was the teacher a neutral arbiter? How influential was the formal curriculum in affecting the values, attitudes and understanding of students?[21] Other studies during the 1970s focused on Canadian social studies and history textbooks. Trudel and Jain discovered that textbooks were presented much more through provincial rather than national lenses.[22] Pratt concluded that Canadian history textbooks were biased towards middle class and Anglo-Saxon cultural values.[23] By the 1980s any government deciding to take "action" on meeting the challenges presented by critics of citizenship education delivery would have a much greater range of evidence to consult than twenty years earlier, pre-Hodgetts. While pedagogical experts and political observers saw the utility in citizenship education what did the average citizen believe? For a problem definition to be successful and for government action to be justified, the citizenry should be on the side of the policy option.

Survey research supports the notion that the general public supports the inclusion of citizenship education. In 2001 Compas released a poll which found that when asked the question "what is the most important purpose for education?" 32% of Canadians responded "training youth for the work world" and 23% was "creating good citizens"; making the responses the top two answers.[24] The public's hopes and expectations of schooling outcomes present a challenge for educational policy actors. It also highlights the struggle between macro and micro citizenship education. Macro citizenship education includes comprehensive life lessons of accommodation, respect and community. Ronald Manzer argues that: "Public schools are human communities and public instruments; they are also political symbols…public schools are places where children and teachers live and learn together…they are means by which people in a political democracy collectively strive for civic virtue, economic wealth, social integration and cultural survival."[25] Ken Osborne contends that "democratic citizenship is not something we are born with; it is something we learn, and we learn much of it in our schools."[26] As will be discussed later in the paper, Ontario has recently attempted to integrate macro citizenship lessons into the overall educational experience with "character education" which promotes a collection of attractive personality traits. Alongside with macro citizenship education, an education system must also be concerned with micro citizenship education. Micro citizenship education focuses on a more

[18] Jon Pammett. "The development of political orientations in Canadian school children" *Canadian Journal of Political Science.* Vol. 4. 1971. Pg. 132-141

[19] E. Zureik. "Children and political socialization" *The Canadian Family.* Ed. K. Ishwaran. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

explicit understanding of "civics" or what many would generally identify as an education that includes how a bill becomes a law, the origin of the constitution and the names of prime ministers past.

Once the problem is defined to some sort of arbitrary level of satisfaction; assignment of responsibility becomes the next policy concern. Stone argues "political conflicts over causal stories are more than empirical claims about sequences of events…they are fights about the possibility of control and the assignment of responsibility."[27] The concern over civic literacy has been both a public and private sector issue in the past in Canada. Along with the aforementioned Canada History Project, non-governmental organizations such as the Dominion Institute and the Historica Foundation have played a role in directly promoting civics or greater governmental involvement in civics. Most Canadians are familiar with Historica sponsored commercials "Historica minutes" or with the Dominion Institute and founder Rudyard Griffiths' annual Remembrance Day poll and public reaction to Canadians' lack of knowledge about their country's history. An early privately based initiative concerning education in Canada was the National Council of Education, founded by the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association at the end of the First World War. The group of Ontario manufacturers which formed the CIRA aimed to "maintain industrial stability and to secure wise consideration and prudent treatment of problems of reconstruction." [28] Supported by Rotary clubs, Protestant churches, the NCE presented a conference on character education in Winnipeg in October 1919. At the conference speakers encouraged moral, patriotic and Christian teachings. The NCE lasted about a decade, succumbing to what Robert Stamp describes as a failure in the councils' "attempt to superimpose aristocratic leadership in order to exert a controlling influence for esoteric purposes over the schools of the people and the democratically constituted school authorities."[29]

The Government of Ontario's past attention to citizenship education has been inconsistent but present. J. Donald Wilson wrote about the peaked interest in education reform during the 1960s and 1970s:

> What ever happened to the popular demands for educational change and reform of the late sixties, the sort of reform advocated by Ontario's Hall-Dennis Report in 1968 and British Columbia's Involvement: The Key to Better Schools which appeared in the same year? In all, there were fifteen major provincial commissions of enquiry into education between 1960 and 1973, with the bulk of

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[20] T.R. Morrison, K.W. Osborne and N.G. McDonald. "Whose Canada? The Assumptions of Canadian Studies" *Canadian Journal of Education.* 2:1. 1977. Pg. 76

[21] Morrison et al., 1977. Pg. 79

[22] M. Trudel and G. Jain. *Canadian History Textbooks: A comparative study.* Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. No. 5. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

[23] D. Pratt. "The social role of school textbooks in Canada." *Socialization and values in Canadian Society. Volume 1: Political Socialization.* Ed. E. Zureik and R.M. Pike. Carleton Library, no. 84. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

[24] Julie Smyth. "Prepare them for work: Create good citizens, too. Intellectual development is overshadowed." *National Post.* 8 September 2001. Pg. E1

[25] Ronald Manzer. *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. Pg. 3

[26] Ken Osborne. *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?* Toronto: Penguin Books, 1999. Pg. 21

[27] Stone, Pg. 283

[28] Robert M. Stamp. *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976.* Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982. Pg. 100

[29] Ibid.,

> them in the last ten years. Not one provincial educational system was unaffected, since every one launched at least one inquiry, and four provinces – Alberta, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Prince Edward Island – each had two major royal commissions on education in that period.[30]

In 1966, the Ontario government formed a committee to consider the place of moral and religious teaching in the public school system. From this committee came the 1969 MacKay Report, entitled "Religious and Moral Development". The report offered two central recommendations: 1) Remove religious instruction from the curriculum and 2) Introduce a formal program of moral education.[31] The provincial government endorsed the recommendations.[32] Since 1966, a number of Ontario premiers attempted reform in the field of education. John Robarts governed during a time of major reform in teaching methods and Bill Davis presided over important questions of separate school funding and administrative change. Following the 1994 Royal Commission on Education commissioned by Premier Bob Rae, both Harris and McGuinty attempted to leave their own imprint on education. The high rate of government turnover at Queen's Park over the past twenty years definitely left an imprint on education in Ontario. The Rae government had not only completed the 1994 commission but also implemented "The Common Curriculum" which reflected the rise of progressive educational philosophy stating that "all teaching should be based on a view of life as an integrated whole, in which people, things, events, processes, and ideas are interrelated."[33] The mood for reform did not change with a new premier as Mike Harris attempted to transform most of Ontario's public services with his "Common Sense Revolution" platform of the 1995 election. With Harris' background as a school board trustee and McGuinty boisterous claim as the "Education Premier", the two leaders continued Rae's intentions of breaking the relative curriculum reform silence which had existed since the Hall-Dennis Report of the 1970s.

In 2000, the Mike Harris-led Progressive Conservative government in Ontario launched major high school curriculum reforms that included the introduction of a mandatory civic course at the tenth grade level. Three years later, following the defeat of the Progressive Conservative government in 2003, the Liberal government and Premier Dalton McGuinty presented the idea of implementing character education programs. With the recent academic and policy interest in youth political involvement and apathy, the timing of both policy initiatives seemed to coincide with a growing concern with civic illiteracy in Canada. In combination, the focus on citizenship and character education represented a punctuated equilibrium in education policy in Ontario. The policy theory of punctuated equilibrium can be adopted to help describe the ebb and flow of interest in civic education. The punctuated equilibrium theory focuses on the emergence and the recession of policy issues from the public agenda.[34]

Through an analysis of historical educational policies and ideas, it becomes apparent that Harris and McGuinty's ideas on education are simply the latest in a long line of attempts in Ontario to present education that stresses lessons in citizenship, character, morals and values.

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[30] J. Donald Wilson. "From the Swinging Sixties to the Sobering Seventies" *Education in Canada: An Interpretation.* Ed. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 197

[31] A. Wesley Cragg "Moral Education in the Schools" *Canadian Journal of Education.* Vol. 4. No. 1. 1979. Pg. 28

[32] Ibid.,

[33] Carol Anne Wien and Curt Dudley-Marling. "Limited Vision: The Ontario Curriculum and Outcomes-Based Learning" *Canadian Journal of Education.* Vol. 23. No. 4. 1998. Pg. 406

[34] Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

While the timing may seem to indicate a political response to such societal forces as political apathy, adolescent bullying and disobedience, both policy options are as old as education delivery in Ontario itself. Concurrent Ontario governments have borrowed from many past policy attempts, education theorists and pedagogical philosophers. Although these allegations would not be surprising to any student of politics and policy, the significance can be found in government's attempts to update current education practices with old ideas and methods.

Education has consistently been considered a major political socializing tool for government. Many theorists and practitioners have stressed the development of certain values, skills and knowledge that government administered public education can instill in young citizens. Public education has a long history in Ontario. Since Confederation, education has been a contested, controversial and active policy area in Ontario politics and public administration. While it was a provincial constitutional responsibility, some of the first lessons instilled values concerned with the British Empire or the new Canadian nation instead of the provincial culture. In 1868 Egerton Ryerson, Ontario's first Superintendent of Education and a key player in early Upper Canada education development contended that "education is the chief element in forming the mind and heart of an individual, or a Nation."[35] Anne Marie Decore notes that "in the 1920s and 1930s, character education was an important part of education…it went out of favour for a while but it is experiencing a revival."[36] Decore believed the renaissance was a result of "growing concern over bullying, violence in schools and a desire for back-to-basics values."[37]

[35] Egerton Ryerson. "The True Principles Upon Which A Comprehensive System of National Education Should Be Founded" Vol. 20. 1868. Pg. 221
[36] Smyth, Pg. E1
[37] Smyth, Pg. E1

A tradition of citizenship and character education has not only existed in the province of Ontario. Other Canadian provinces and other countries such as the United States have experimented with various approaches to citizenship and character education. Past policy and academic explorations help to influence the options Ontario governments have weighed in the past decade. For example, while character education may present a new direction in political rhetoric, it does not differ drastically from moral or value education of the early 20th century which was anchored in making good citizens and disciplined Christians. Informing all of these different policy options and presentations is a struggle within the meanings and conceptualization of citizenship and character education.

Inadvertent Cause: Unintended Consequences

Stone presents a relatively clear case for the inadvertent cause designation of causal stories. While Stone's articulation of the cause highlights high-level quality of life concerns it may be possible to adapt the conceptualization to lower level of needs such as democratic civic literacy. Stone writes,

> Stories of inadvertent cause are common in social policy; problems such as poverty, malnutrition, and disease are 'caused' when people do not understand the harmful consequences of their willful actions. The poor do not realize how important it is to get education or save money; the elderly do not understand how important it is to eat a balanced diet even if they are not hungry; the sick do not understand that overeating leads to diabetes and heart disease. Inadvertence here is ignorance; the consequences are predictable by experts but unappreciated by those taking the actions.[38]

Can policy actors relate the poor to the politically ignorant or apathetic?

Stone finds that simple causal explanations sometimes are not adequate as a tool to understand policy problems. In light of this gap in the theory Stone offers a number of more "complex" causal models including a "historical" or "structural" model. Stone argues,

> Many policy problems require a more complex model of cause to offer any satisfying explanation…A third type of complex cause might be called 'historical' or 'structural'. Quite similar to institutional explanations, this model holds that social patterns tend to reproduce themselves…People who are victimized by a problem do not seek political change because they do not see the problem as changeable, do not believe they could bring about change, and need the material resources for survival provided by the status quo.[39]

The historical/structural model offers a lot as explanatory tool for political socialization. Most literature informs us that the cycle of political socialization is predictable through higher education, affluence and a political dialogue that exists at home.

In the years leading up to the recent introduction of citizenship and character education in Ontario a negative trend was forming in Canada concerning political participation. Voter turnout in Canadian federal elections dropped from 75 percent in 1988 to 64.1 percent in 2000. Even worse, the turnout rate dropped another 4 percent to 61 percent in the 2004 federal election.[40]

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[38] Stone, Pg. 286
[39] Stone, Pg. 288
[40] Henry Milner. "Are Young Canadians Becoming Political Dropouts? A Comparative Perspective" *IRPP Choices.* Vol. 11 No. 3. June 2005. Pg. 2

More directly related to young Canadians, Pammett and LeDuc found in the 2000 federal election that only 22.4% of 18-20-year-olds surveyed voted.[41] In response to the many alarming numbers and statistics highlighting recent low voter turnouts, academics and practitioners have presented calls for greater attention to citizenship education. Henry Milner argues "it becomes evident that, more than ever, addressing the decline in turnout means enhancing political knowledge."[42] To respond to declines in political participation and rises in voter apathy, governments have started to agree that competent institutions are not enough and to produce a "well-ordered polity" citizens need to acquire certain a level of knowledge, skills and values.[43] In the decades prior to the introduction of new citizenship and character education in Ontario social studies was on the periphery of education curriculum concern. The internal debates within the field of social studies education were more concerned with the decline of Canadian history opposed to the teaching of democratic or political citizenship. The oft-repeated argument pitted the memorization of dates and important historical figures against the issues, movements and political participation. Education scholar Ken Osborne commented in the mid-1990s that "it is no secret that Canadian schools are being pushed into serving a particular definition of the needs of the economy…Science and technology hold the spotlight…while social studies, history, geography and the arts and humanities in general are ignored or downgraded."[44] Mark Holmes may have articulated the challenge best in 2001: "In a pluralist society, connected more by shared consumption and entertainment than by a sense of virtuous life, can there be agreement on the meaning of good citizenship?"[45] While this question goes unanswered based on the many jurisdictions which deliver forms of citizenship and character education there can be an argument made that while Ontario's recent policy forays are not without precedent and that the province has entered a state of punctuated equilibrium in education policy. Making good citizens has become an important education goal again. The challenge is found in how educators, teachers and politicians define "good citizens" and articulate the method in which is best to produce them.

As political apathy appears to have precipitated the introduction of a new civics course in Ontario, higher rates of violence and bullying in schools appear to have influenced the Liberal government's focus on character education. This may be a sign of decline in "macro citizenship" conceptions. Along with character education the government introduced the Safe Schools Action Plan as suspension rates in Ontario rose starting 2000-2001 to 2003-2004 from 5.3% to 7.2%.[46] Character education seems to play the role of a policy response to the public problem of school safety. In both cases, school violence and political apathy the Ontario government appears to have responded with fresh, new policy.

Models for Ontario

[41] Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc. "Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections" March 2003 www.elections.ca

[42] Milner, "Are Young Canadians Becoming Political Dropouts? A Comparative Perspective", Pg. 7

[43] William A. Galston. "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement and Civic Education" *Annual Review Political Science.* Vol. 4. 2001. Pg. 217

[44] Ken Osborne. "The Changing Status of Canadian History in Manitoba" *Canadian Social Studies.* Vol. 31. No. 1. Fall 1996. Pg. 26

[45] Mark Holmes. "Education and Citizenship in an Age of Pluralism" *Making good citizens: Education and civil society.* Ed. Diane Ravitch and Joseph P. Viteritti. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Pg. 197

[46] Ontario. Ministry of Education. "Number of Students Suspended, Enrolment and Rate of Suspension by District School Boards and School Authorities during School Year 2000-2001 to 2003-2004. Web Site http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/ssareview/susp_tableE.pdf

Ken Osborne argues that there have been both positive and negative aspects to past attempts at citizenship in Canada. In a positive light, citizenship education has been based on the development of a national spirit leading Canadians to hopefully shed some regional tendencies. In a much more negative way, lessons in nationalism generally led to a narrow view of Canada, excluding religious and linguistic minorities.[47] The intriguing aspect of citizenship and character education in Canada is how it has arrived in policy discussions at specific times with concentrated interest. Since Confederation there have been certain moments of interest in citizenship education in various ministries of education and school boards across the country. For example in 1913, the Winnipeg School Board defined their approach as follows:

> Until a comparatively recent period the schools were organized on purely academic lines and the avowed aim of education was culture and discipline…this aim ahs been greatly enlarged within the past few years by including within its scope the development of a sense of social and civic duty, the promotion of public health, and direct preparation for the occupations of life.[48]

Other historical anecdotes highlight the uneven development of citizenship education in Canada. Certain tales exist of famous teachers, such as Agnes Macphail, who prior to World War I taught citizenship education in her classroom by circulating newspaper and magazine articles to encourage discussion related to feminism and political reform.[49]

In between the world wars, civic education became the focus of certain interest groups and actors. An interesting group to consider during the 1920s and 1930s civics boom is the National Council of Education. The NCE was born out of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association, a collection of Ontario manufacturers banding together at the end of World War I. [50] The NCE gradually began to enjoy support from Rotary clubs, the Protestant church and various social leaders. In October 1919, the NCE held a large conference on character education in Winnipeg following the famous General Strike. [51] Robert Stamp reports that "speaker after speaker urged national goals for Canadian schools, reorientation of education towards preparation for life rather than as a means to livelihood, recruitment of teachers of good moral character, strengthening of patriotic education, and an emphasis on teaching young people to appreciate the values of Christian society."[52]

Regardless of the attention paid to citizenship education during the first half of the twentieth century, it was a much different conception of civics that schools present today. Front and center in most Canadian citizenship curriculum and textbooks, such as the Ontario Readers, were values informed by Canada's place in the British Empire and as a devoutly Christian state. An important actor in the promotion of educational material based on traditional moral and political values was Henry Cody, a rector of the Anglican church, who became Ontario's minister of education in May 1918. [53] Under Cody, Canadian and British history classes were seen as "the great vehicle of patriotic instruction." Cody believed "the value of the subject

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[47] Ken Osborne. *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?* Toronto: Penguin Books, 1999. Pg. 9

[48] Ken Osborne. "Citizenship Education and Social Studies" *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies*. Ed. Ian Wright and Alan Sears. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1997. Pg. 44

[49] Ibid.,

[50] Stamp, Pg. 100

[51] Ibid.,

[52] Ibid.,

[53] Stamp, Pg. 104

(history) in promoting patriotism, in providing material for a clear grasp on Canadian civics and in expounding Canada's Imperial relations and her place in the Empire is generally recognized."[54]

Major curriculum revision in Canadian provinces was completed in 1938 as the country's delivery of education continued to become more complex and sophisticated. Values began to enter the forefront of pedagogical goals alongside knowledge and skills. While character and citizenship education had a history before 1938, the revised programs explicitly expressed a desire to create "a stimulating environment in which their natural tendencies will be directed into useful habits and attitudes."[55] By the 1960s, a reform movement began to grow with concern for citizenship education in Canada. Out of A.B. Hodgetts work, four major initiatives emerged in the study, analysis and implementation of citizenship education in Canada. The Association for Values Education and Research (British Columbia), the Canadian Public Issues Project (Ontario), the Political Education Project (Manitoba) and the Canada Studies Foundation (Canada) were all created in the early 1970s to analyze issues related to citizenship and character education.[56]

Ontario is certainly not the only province to have implemented civic education programs or course in their schools. In the 1980s, two Western provinces demonstrated an elevated interest in the delivery of citizenship education. In 1983 Conley and Osborne reported that Alberta offered a compulsory course in Grade 10 which was a "deliberate attempt to redefine political education." The course was called "Participatory Citizenship" and analyzed past and present controversial issues and value-positions.[57] Saskatchewan was also active in curriculum reform during the 1980s stressing a need for greater citizenship education. Sam Robinson argues that "the 1980s was a decade of major change for Saskatchewan's public education."[58] One of the major education reviews produced by the Saskatchewan government was *Directions* in 1984. Robinson contends that *Directions* dated quickly as it "failed to consider the issue of Canadian unity, and the crisis of national unity that would surface repeatedly."[59] The *Directions* experience highlights a challenge that every attempt at citizenship and character education confronts; to stay progressive, up-to-date and relevant.

Education policy makers in Canada lacking inspiration from other provincial jurisdictions need only look south of the border for other models of citizenship and character education. After all, the United States is considered the birthplace of many subject areas and pedagogical approaches. Social studies is heralded by some as "an American invention".[60] In 1916, social studies was formally introduced as a subject in the United States with the publication of "The Social Studies in Secondary Education" the final report of the Committee on Social Studies of

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[54] Stamp, Pg. 105

[55] R.S. Patterson. "The Canadian Experience with Progressive Education" *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues.* Ed. Brian Titley. Calgary: Deselig Enterprises Limited, 1982. Pg. 96

[56] Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies", Pg. 53

[57] Conley et al., Pg. 77

[58] Sam Robinson. "Curriculum Change in the 1980s: Directions and the Core Curriculum" *A History of Education in Saskatchewan: Selected Readings.* Ed. Brian Noonan, Dianne Hallman, Murray Scharf. Regina: University of Regina, 2006. Pg. 209

[59] Robinson, Pg. 215

[60] Hazel Whitman Hertzberg. "Social Studies Reform: The Lessons of History" *Social Studies in the 1980s: A Report of Project Span.* Ed. Irving Morrissett. Alexandria: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1982. Pg. 5

the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education.[61] From the roots of social studies to the current civic based teachings, national and state-based programs have provided many policy models for other governments to follow. More recently, the United States Department of Education has been very active in the production of character-inspired civic-related programs. Starting in 1995, the U.S. Department of Education began to provide grants to states through the Partnership in Character Education Pilot Projects Program. [62] Much of the American work in the 1990s was inspired by the "Giraffe Project". In 1982, the state of Washington commenced the "Giraffe Project" which was a story-based curriculum encouraging young students to be compassionate and active citizens.[63] Other citizenship education initiatives in the United States included the 1994 Educate America Act. The act stated that "all students leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including civics and government and economics so that they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment."[64] Outside of policy practitioners, American academics have also made calls for more attention to the study of citizenship education in recent years. When Elinor Ostrom became president of the American Political Science Association in 1996 one of her first acts was the creation of the "Task Force on Civic Education for the Next Century."[65] While Canadian educators have attempted to find consensus in delivery of social studies programs through such initiatives as Western Canadian Protocol and the Atlantic Common Framework, the United States has centralized consistent definitions of social studies through the National Council for the Social Studies.[66]

[61] Penney Clark. "The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada" Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies.* Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 17
[62] Constance A. Flanagan and Nakesha Faison. "Youth Civic Development: Implications of Research for Social Policy and Programs" *Social Policy Report.* Volume XV. Number 1. 2001. Pg. 11
[63] Ibid.,
[64] Margaret Stimmann Branson. "The connection between civic and economic education" *Teacher Librarian.* Vol. 32. No. 3. CBCA Education. February 2005. Pg. 26.
[65] Robert L. Dudley and Alan R. Gitelson. "Civic Education, Civic Engagement and Youth Civic Development" *PS: Political Science and Politics.* Vol. 36. Issue 2. April 2003. Pg. 263.
[66] Patricia N. Shields and Douglas Ramsay. "Social Studies Across English Canada" *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies.* Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 39

Inadvertent Cause: Purposeful Actions

The term "social studies" was first used in curriculum documents in western Canada in the 1920s and Ontario in 1937.[67] Since then the Ontario government and more specifically the province's ministry of education has presented a variety of civic educational projects and programs. Much of the emphasis over the years has been not on whether some type of civics should exist but rather the content and the delivery of the material. It is not unusual for certain subjects to evolve overtime but attention or lack of attention on civic education presents a workable example of Stone's purposeful actions. Stone writes, "Causal stories need to be fought for, defended, and sustained…there is always someone to tell a competing story, and getting a causal story believed is not an easy task…American automobile and steel producers, for example, blame their declining market share on unfair Japanese competition."[68] A.B. Hodgetts represented an actor attempt to "getting a causal story believed" but he was more of an outsider compared to policy actions and discourse originating from within the ministry of education. In 1962 Northrop Frye was commissioned by the Ontario ministry of education and edited an assessment of the social science curriculum in Ontario titled Design for Learning. The report was highly influenced by the "structure of the disciplines" movement. In years leading up to the report, the "structure of the disciplines" movement had put an emphasis on preservation and progress of geography as an individual subject course.[69]

The purpose of history courses in Ontario also received scrutiny, resulting in a progression of different pedagogical deliveries. The 1973 Ontario history curriculum identified specific concepts as being central to "the human experience" including: "change, diversity, order, individualism, the common good, worth of the individual, concern for others, dignity of labour, tradition and culture.[70]" In 1977-1978 the Ontario Ministry of Education introduced new history and social science curriculum that stressed the changing face of Canadian society and the goals of Canadian governments, both federal and provincial. "Canada's Multicultural Heritage" was a year-long unit for Grade Ten students that included certain progressive objectives:

> 1) to develop an understanding and appreciation of the roots of the Canadian heritage, 2) to develop an understanding and appreciation of the contributions of various cultural groups to our Canadian heritage through a study of the cultural reality of the local community, and 3) to develop an increasing empathy and positive attitudes toward members of cultural groups other than one's own.[71]

In 1978 Harold Troper wrote about the change in the history curriculum in Ontario. Troper wondered if changes in curriculum content indicated changes in the direction or goals of political socialization process in the province. In the end Troper believed that context mattered. In the article he finds imperialist values gradually changing over time in Canadian culture: "thus, multiculturalism, filling the identity vacuum left in the wake of World War II, made yesterdays' vices into today's virtues."[72]

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[67] Clark, 2004, Pg. 18
[68] Stone, Pg. 293
[69] Clark, 2004. Pg. 22
[70] Clark, Pg. 23
[71] Ontario Ministry of Education. "Intermediate Division History" Toronto, 1977. Pg. 18
[72] Harold Troper. "Nationalism and the History Curriculum in Canada" *The History Teacher.* Vol. 12. No. 1. November 1978. Pg. 25

Stone argues, "People choose causal stories not only to shift blame but to enable themselves to appear to be able to remedy the problem."[73] In the last fifteen years, the Ontario government has tested both a narrow and broad conceptualization of civic education and attempts at preparing citizens for society. Earlier in the paper I described these policy options as "macro citizenship education" and "micro citizenship education". The narrow project was the creation of a mandatory Grade 10 Civics course in 2000. The more broad policy response was the introduction of character education in various schools boards followed by the adoption of Premier Dalton McGuinty has a major educational priority. Greater service and participation was identified at the beginning in the 1993 Ontario Common Curriculum which desired a development of participation in students: "identify and perform as service in the school community or at home and evaluate the experience…develop and participate in an activity related to a global and/or environmental issue and evaluate its impact."[74] In 1999, the Harris government implemented a requirement for students to perform 40 hours of community service.[75] Notions of the importance of citizenship are found throughout the Ontario Ministry of Education literature. A paper on the student achievement from 2004 stated the following educational goals and intentions: "In many ways, our social progress overall is defined by our progress in education.", "Our goal is to help develop the intellectual, emotional and physical potential of our children and young adults so they become the best contributing citizens they can be." Every student should know how to think for him or herself, appreciate the rights and obligations of good citizenship and learn about character values."[76]

Macro Citizenship Education - Ontario's Character Education

After winning the 2003 Ontario provincial election the Liberals announced during their first throne speech "communities will be asked to help define citizenship values for Ontario's new character education in their local school boards, to strengthen our students' education experience."[77] Director of Education for Algoma District School Board, Mario Turco wrote "Character Education is not something new – good teachers have been teaching students about character for many, many years. What is new is that it is now becoming a conscious, intentional act. Character Education provides safe schools and it supports academic achievement."[78] While notion of character education may appear to be constructed with platitudes and vague positive personality traits, Turco expressed what the practical side consists of "In all subject areas, at all levels of the Ontario curriculum, we must encourage teachers to seize the "teachable moment" in daily experiences and interaction, to focus attention on issues of character development."[79]

Dalton McGuinty reinforced his government's position on character education soon after the Throne Speech by stating "every student should learn about character – that values such as

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[73] Stone, Pg. 297

[74] Ontario Ministry of Education. The Common Curriculum. Grades 1-9. Working Document. Toronto: Author, 1993. Pg. 68-69

[75] Brian O'Sullivan "Global Change and Educational Reform in Ontario and Canada" *Canadian Journal of Education*. Vol. 24. No. 3. 1999. Pg. 320

[76] Ontario. Ministry of Education. "Building the Ontario Education Advantage: Student Achievement" Second in a series of mini-discussion papers prepared for the Education Partnership Table. April 29, 2004. http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/nr/04.03/building.pdf

[77] Mario Turco. "Why Character Education?" Message from the Director. Algoma District School Board. http://www.adsb.on.ca/content/about/document.asp?cat=200&documentID=817 October 2005.

[78] Ibid.,

[79] Ibid.,

respect, honesty, fairness, responsibility, empathy and civic engagement should be part of their everyday program."[80] By 2005, over twelve school boards across Ontario had adopted or started plans for a character education program. York Region District School Board Superintendent John Havercroft states that "we want our schools to be models of effective human relationships where students learn about and put into practice attributes of responsible citizenship such as respect, responsibility and empathy."[81] The introduction of new character education programs in Ontario since 2000 re-ignited the debate over the purpose of schooling. Including value education as part of an overall program of citizenship education produced the obvious question: What values are most important? Jeff Sprang writes "the role of schools in transmitting values is complex and at times controversial…many parents and educators want education to be based on a strong, coherent set of values, but there is less agreement on what that set of values should be."[82] Sprang also argues "character education is not a separate subject…rather it is a strategy that incorporates guiding principles into the existing curriculum and into daily experiences and interactions."[83] Anne Marie Decore argues that the recent attention paid to character education policy is a renaissance of sorts. Decore argues "in the '20s and '30s, a character education was an important part of education…it went out of favour for a while but is experiencing a revival."[84]

A diverse number of interest groups welcomed the introduction of character education. The Ontario Catholic Teachers Association recalled their reaction to the Liberal plan: "Given our cherished tradition of providing a faith centred, integrated educational environment – one that focuses on the spiritual and academic dimensions of a child – we offered to share our experience and resources with the government as the new 'character education' initiative is developed."[85] That same spring, in a statement to the Ontario Legislative Assembly Gerard Kennedy declared "we know that if we get public education right, we get the best citizens and the best workforce – the strongest society and the most prosperous economy."[86] The Liberals campaigned and continued to govern with education at the top of their policy priority list. The ministry was not shy in articulating the impact of the Conservative initiatives. A 2005 press release indicated that: "Before the new high school curriculum was introduced in 1998 by the previous government, the high school graduation rate was 78 per cent. By 2004-05, the rate had dropped to 68 per cent and over 51,000 students were dropping out of high school without enough credits to graduate. While the stakes for leaving school without a diploma are high for individual students, they are also critical for Ontario's economy and competitive advantage."[87]

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[80] Jeff Sprang. "Schools Must Create Responsible Citizens" *Education Today.* Ontario Public School Boards' Association. Spring 2005.
[81] Ibid.,
[82] Ibid.,
[83] Ibid.,
[84] Smyth, Pg. E1
[85] Carol Devine. "Communicating OCSTA Priorities" Ontario Catholic School Teachers Association. OCTSA Newswire. October 20, 2003 http://207.245.45.150/pdf/Newswire_oct30.pdf
[86] Gerard Kennedy. "Statement to the Legislative Assembly: Celebrating excellence for all in education" May 3, 2004. http://edu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/nr/04.05/0503.html
[87] Ontario. Ministry of Education. "Transforming High Schools: Ontario's Student Success Strategy" December 8, 2005. http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/nr/05.12/bg1208b.pdf

Micro Citizenship Education - Ontario's Civic Education

School curriculum has been defined as the tool which "converts the general goals of education into more specific plans of action."[88] Curriculum is developed by experts and practitioners inside and outside of the respective ministries and departments of education.. Influenced by centralizing and decentralizing trends, the adoption of progressive education practices and the evolving definition of learning outcomes, social studies curricula has been a core reform concern of many education ministries across Canada. Shields and Ramsay explain the national situation: "views of citizenship are changing within social studies curricula…the emphasis on responsibility and accountability that dominated the language of social studies and citizenship education in the late 1980s and early 1990s has shifted back to one more associated with activism and concerned with social and political participation."[89] Stone argues "Causal theories, if they are successful, do more than convincingly demonstrate the possibility of human control over bad conditions. First, they can either challenge or protect an existing social order. Second, by identifying causal agents, they can assign responsibility to particular political actors so that someone will have to stop an activity, do it differently, compensate its victims, or possibly face punishment. Third, they can legitimate and empower particular actors as 'fixers' of the problem. And fourth, they can create new political alliances among people who are shown to stand in the same victim relationship to the causal agent."[90]

Education for citizenship has been a common theme in Ontario in the last ten years. In 2000, the Ministry of Education stated that "the school system will prepare students for higher education, for entering the workforce and for assuming the responsibilities of citizenship." [91] Ontario's new civics course introduced in 2000 was directed towards Grade ten high school students. Some educational experts believe that by the time a student reaches high school, the exploration of the politics has started. [92] In combination with this belief that citizenship education initiatives are best served at a high school level, the Ontario ministry also included lessons in becoming a successful economic citizen by pairing "Civics" with "Career Planning" as two half-courses. The new organization of the two courses was met with some concern from teachers.[93]

While grade ten is the first major concentration of civics in the curriculum, students are introduced to various concepts related to citizenship through social studies from grades one to eight. The following table displays the various stages of citizenship lessons found in the Ontario curriculum.

[88] Osborne, *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate – Or, Who Wants What and Why?*, Pg. 31
[89] Shields et al.,"Social Studies Across English Canada" , Pg. 42
[90] Stone, Pg. 295
[91] Laura Pinto. "Democratic possibilities for educational policy-making: a comparison of Ontario and Porto Alegre" *Our Schools, Our Selves*. Fall 2005. Vol. 15. No.1 Pg. 63
[92] Flanagan et al., Pg. 11
[93] John Myers. "Ontario's New Civics Course: Where's It Going?" Paper presented at 9th annual conference of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada February 11-13, 2004
http:www.misc-iecm.mcgill.ca/citizen/myers2.htm

Table 2: The Ontario Curriculum in Social Studies Grades 1-6: History and Geography Grades 7 and 8

Grade	Heritage and Citizenship Strand	Canada and World Connections Strand
One	Relationships, Rules, and Responsibilities	The Local Community
Two	Traditions and Celebrations	Features of Communities Around the World
Three	Pioneer Life	Urban and Rural Communities
Four	Medieval Times	The Provinces and Territories of Canada
Five	Early Civilizations	Aspects of Government in Canada
Six	Aboriginal Peoples and European Explorers History	Canada and its Trading Partners Geography
Seven	New France, British North America, Conflict and Change	The Themes of Geographic Inquiry, Patterns in Physical Geography, Natural Resources
Eight	Confederation, The Development of Western Canada, Canada: A Changing Society	Patterns in Human Geography, Economic Systems, Migration

Source: Patricia N. Shields and Douglas Ramsay. "Social Studies Across English Canada" Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies. Ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004. Pg. 47

It can be argued that while the ministry sets out an intended curriculum, within this idea there is a "taught" curriculum, a "tested" curriculum, the "unintended" or "hidden" curriculum and the "learned" curriculum.[94] While it is difficult to evaluate or analyze the "hidden" curriculum without visiting classrooms across Ontario and observing lessons, the "taught" and "tested" curriculum is spelled out in great detail within the ministry's 111-page curriculum guide on civics. The new civics curriculum sets out three areas or strands of citizenship themes for teachers to follow and evaluate their students. Informed Citizenship, Purposeful Citizenship and Active Citizenship are listed as the main themes of the half unit course. The following table outlines a few of the goals and expectations defined under each thematic area.

[94] Ibid.,

Table 3: Overall Expectations of Ontario Civics Course

	Informed Citizenship	Purposeful Citizenship	Active Citizenship
Overall Expectations	- demonstrate an understanding of the reasons for democratic decision making - compare contrasting views of what it means to be a "citizen" - describe the main features of local, provincial, and federal governments in Canada and explain how these features work - explain the legal rights and responsibilities associated with Canadian citizenship - demonstrate an understanding of citizenship within a global context	- examine beliefs and values underlying democratic citizenship, and explain how these beliefs and values guide citizens' actions - articulate clearly their personal sense of civic identity and purpose, and understand the diversity of beliefs and values of other individuals and groups in Canadian society - demonstrate an understanding of the challenges of governing communities or societies in which diverse value systems, multiple perspectives, and differing civic purposes coexist - demonstrate an understanding of a citizen's role in responding to non-democratic movements through personal and group actions	- demonstrate an ability to research questions and issues of civic importance, and to think critically and creatively about these issues and questions - demonstrate an ability to apply decision-making and conflict-resolution procedures and skills to cases of civic importance - demonstrate an ability to collaborate effectively when participating in groups enquiries and community activities - demonstrate a knowledge of different types of citizenship participation and involvement

Source: Ministry of Education. Course Profile. Civics. Grade 10. Open April 2000. Ontario. http://www.curriculum.org/csc/library/profiles/10/pdf/CHV2OP.pdf

As mentioned earlier, while we can understand the conceptualization of citizenship education and the intended implementation, the actual implementation in the form of what transpires in the classroom is difficult to assess. Many educational scholars acknowledge the wide gap in research on teaching practice in social studies. Shields and Ramsay note "citizenship is commonly stated as the raison d'etre of social studies education, but very little is actually known about what goes on in Canadian social studies classrooms to teach for citizenship."[95] Isolated anecdotes can help to gain a better understanding of what may be transpiring in schools. It is difficult to imagine that under the Harris-regime during the major labour strife between the teachers and the government a "hidden" curriculum did not appear. Teachers who have spent time on the picket lines or in political arenas may have struggled in keeping an objective political narrative while presenting

[95] Shields et al.,"Social Studies Across English Canada" , Pg. 43

civic lessons. In 1995, at a New Brunswick school, students were threatened with disciplinary action for signing a petition directed at school regulation reform.[96]

Therefore, it can be argued that the civic course in Ontario is based on previous models but does represent a new policy phenomenon for the jurisdiction. Most of the Ontario civics' course first students in 2000 would have been voting age in 2006. The data on that federal election is gradually appearing but it may be years before there is definite evidence of the civic course having a positive impact on political participation on young citizens in Ontario. While it is difficult to speculate on the implementation of the course, it is possible to consider the conceptualization. Based on the three strands presented in the curriculum guide, the ministry has created a course based on broad, inclusive and pluralist ideas of citizenship. In comparison to the observations made in Hodgetts study forty years ago, the presentation of citizenship education in Ontario has changed from memorization of institutions, individuals and dates to lessons of participation, values and issues.

[96] Sears, "Social Studies in Canada" , Pg. 23

Conclusion

In May 1918, Henry J. Cody, rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Toronto, became Ontario's minister of education. Cody believed that history was a "great vehicle of patriotic instruction" and saw "the value of the subject in promoting patriotism, in providing material for a clear grasp on Canadian civics and in expounding Canada's Imperial relations and her place in the Empire." Robert Stamp writes that Cody's "promotion of imperialism and moral rectitude went far beyond the formal school…he sought to attract returned soldiers into the teaching profession for their 'moral force and influence'…promoted the League of Empire…and supported the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements."[97] Egerton Ryerson's last important piece of educational legislation was the 1871 school act that included the subject of civics and social studies that presented the "first principles of Christian morals, so essential to every honest man and good citizen."[98]

While Ryerson's overt Christian discourse has mostly disappeared from the public school in Ontario, secular character values have contributed to a hope to create principles "essential to every honest man and good citizen." The causal story of the "situation" and the "human intervention" in citizenship education in Ontario has a deep history. The difficulty citizenship education has experienced is in its competition with other causal assertions concerning education. Gaps in the labour force, low test results and high dropout rates have created cause for various policy innovations in curriculum development. "Civics" as a subject area does not achieve the attention core subjects such as English, Math and Science receive. The recent stress on trades has created major activity in developing a secondary school system which can create citizens prepared for a career in this labour field. As Stone argues, "If problem definition is a great tug of war between political actors asserting competing casual theories, one wants to know what makes one side stronger than another. What accounts for the success of some causal assertions but not others? What are the political conditions that make one causal theory seem to resonate more than others?"[99] The strength of the citizenship education causal story can be debated but one could agree that since 2000, the political conditions have existed to allow two successive Ontario governments to present a policy innovation that resonated more than others. Stone's description of "cause, blame and responsibility" may not be completely well-defined for this policy case but "government power" and "government action" have been used. This paper has focused on the "human intervention" but much more could be said about the "situation". Further work not on the existence of political apathy and civic illiteracy but on the conceptualization of political apathy and civic illiteracy by policy actors is needed. Once the process of image making by policy actors is better understood, the model of causal story applied to citizenship education in Ontario would be closer to complete.

[97] Stamp, Pg. 105
[98] Stamp, Pg. 7
[99] Stone, Pg. 293

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Appendix A

Deborah Stone's Types of Causal Theories

TABLE 1

Types of Causal Theories

		Consequences: Intended	Consequences: Unintended
Actions	Unguided	**MECHANICAL CAUSE** intervening agent machines trained animals brainwashed people	**ACCIDENTAL CAUSE** nature weather earthquakes machines that run amok
	Purposeful	**INTENTIONAL CAUSE** assault oppression conspiracies that work programs that work	**INADVERTENT CAUSE** intervening conditions unforeseen side effects neglect carelessness omission

Source: Deborah A. Stone "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas" *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 104. No. 2. Summer 1989.

Appendix B
The Significance of Civic Knowledge

1. Civic knowledge helps citizen understand their interests as individuals and as members of groups. The more knowledge we have, the better we can understand the impact of public policies on our interest, and the more effectively we can promote our interests in the political process.

2. Civic knowledge increases the consistency of views across issues and across time.

3. Unless citizens possess a basic level of civic knowledge – especially concerning political institutions and processes – it is difficult for them to understand political events or to integrate new information into an existing framework.

4. General civic knowledge can alter our views on specific public issues.

5. The more knowledge citizens have of civic affairs, the less likely they are to experience a generalized mistrust of, or alienation from, public life.

6. Civic knowledge promotes support for democratic values. For example, the more knowledge citizens have of political principles and institutions, the more likely they are to support core democratic principles, starting with tolerance.

7. Civic knowledge promotes political participation. All other things being equal, the more knowledge citizens have, the more likely they are to participate in public matters.

Source: Adapted from William A. Galston. "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education" *Annual Review Political Science.* Vol. 4. 2001. Pg. 223