



THE SENATE OF CANADA

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**CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP:**  
*Sharing the responsibility*

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**STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE  
ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS,  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

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Acting Chairman  
The Honourable Noël A. Kinsella

Deputy Chairman  
The Honourable Lorne Bonnell

**MAY 1993**

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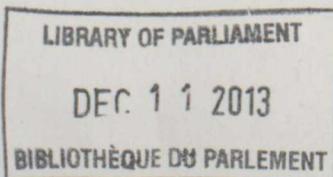
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Acting Chairman  
The Honourable Noël A. Kinsella

Deputy Chairman  
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**MAY 1993**



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# SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY: CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP



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The Honourable Noël A. Kinsella  
Acting Chairman

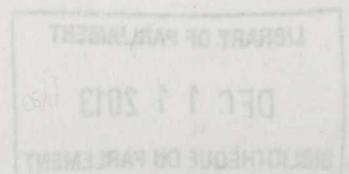
The Honourable Lorne Rennie  
Deputy Chairman

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MAY 1993



## ORDERS MEMBERSHIP

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The Honourable Senator M. Lorne Bonnell, *Deputy Chairman*

and

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Peter Bosa

Ethel Cochrane

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(or Lynch-Staunton)\*

Joan Neiman

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Peter Stollery

John Sylvain

\* Ex officio members

Note: The Honourable Senators Beaudoin, Beaulieu, David, Di Nino, Hébert, Johnson, Marsden, Ross and Stanbury also participated in the proceedings of the Committee.

Gordon L. Barnhart  
Clerk of the Senate

MEMBERSHIP

The Honorable Senator Noel A. Kinoshita, Acting Chairman

The Honorable Senator M. James Bonnell, Deputy Chairman

The Honorable Senator:

- Heath Macdonald
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- (or Lynch-Staunton)\*
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- Phillipe Giguere
- Thomas J. Javo-Roux
- P. Derek Lewis

The six officer members:

Most of the Honorable Senators Benoit, Beaudin, David, Di Nino, Hébert, Johnson, Marston, Ross and Stenberg also participated in the proceedings of the Committee.

## ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings* of the Senate December 11, 1991:

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Marsden:

That the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to examine and report upon the concept, development and promotion of Canadian citizenship, and

That the Committee present its final report no later than December 31, 1992.

The question being put on the motion, it was adopted.

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings* of the Senate December 16, 1992.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Cogger:

That notwithstanding the order of reference adopted by the Senate on December 11, 1991, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to present the final report on the study on the concept, development and promotion of Canadian citizenship, no later than April 30, 1993.

The question being put on the motion, it was adopted.

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings* of the Senate April 28, 1993.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Doyle:

That notwithstanding the Order of the Senate adopted on December 16, 1992, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to present the final report of its study on the concept, development and promotion of Canadian citizenship, no later than May 31, 1993.

The question being put on the motion, it was adopted.

Gordon L. Barnhart  
Clerk of the Senate

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate December 11, 1991:

The Honourable Senator Kinella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Marsden:

That the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to examine and report upon the concept, development and promotion of Canadian citizenship, and

That the Committee present its final report no later than February 31, 1992.

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The question being put on the motion, it was adopted.

Gordon L. Burnham  
Clerk of the Senate

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

Thursday, May 6, 1993

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to present its

### SEVENTEENTH REPORT

Your Committee, which was authorized to examine and report upon the concept, development and promotion of Canadian citizenship has, in obedience to its order of reference of December 11, 1991, proceeded to that inquiry and now presents its final Report entitled: "Canadian Citizenship: Sharing the Responsibility".

Respectfully submitted,

NOËL A. KINSELLA  
Acting Chairman

A special note of appreciation is extended to Mrs. Sandra Harder and Mrs. Helen McKenzie of the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament, for organizing and getting our study off the ground, and to Dr. Wolfgang Koerner for his assistance in the drafting of the final report. We would also like to thank our Clerk, Mr. Tony Onu, for his organizational help.

We began our study by examining the concept of citizenship and tabled an Interim Report on 23 June 1992. Early in our deliberations it became clear that citizenship is an area of major importance and that it is not receiving adequate attention. In the final instance, we must ensure that "Canadian citizenship" speaks to all Canadians - native born and naturalized alike.

The Honourable Noël A. Kinsella

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NOËL A. KINSILLA  
Acting Chairman

## FOREWORD

Canadian citizenship is in many ways a treasure to discover. The present study has unearthed but a few of the elements for a modern conception of Canadian citizenship in the world of the 21st Century.

In late 1991, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, meeting under the Chairmanship of our esteemed friend and colleague, Senator Paul David, took note of the fact that, while the Senate had examined multiculturalism, it had never asked itself exactly "what it means to be a Canadian citizen". Thereafter, on 11 December 1991, the Senate authorized the Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology to examine and report on the concept, development and promotion of Canadian citizenship.

We viewed this inquiry as an opportunity to ask some fundamental questions and to think of ways in which Canada's **Citizenship Act** could be amended to strengthen Canadian citizenship, and enhance its value for our country, ourselves and our children.

In conducting its inquiry, your Committee held 11 meetings and heard from 42 witnesses during the period from March 1992 to February 1993. As well, original research was conducted on the subject matter and the results analyzed by the Committee. Added to this were numerous written briefs, papers and documents.

A special note of appreciation is extended to Ms. Sandra Harder and Mrs. Helen McKenzie of the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament, for organizing and getting our study off the ground, and to Dr. Wolfgang Koerner for his assistance in the drafting of the final report. We would also like to thank our Clerk, Mr. Tônu Onu, for his organizational help.

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The Honourable Noël A. Kinsella

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The Honourable Noël A. Kinsella

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## INTRODUCTION

The exercise of rights and responsibilities is the heart matter of citizenship. It is generally understood that to be a good citizen is to embody both public and private virtue. Historically, citizenship has evoked feelings of belonging and loyalty; the good citizen was not only a law-abiding member of society but also a patriot. As well, an attachment to common purpose and ideals has long been associated with the principle of citizenship, while their setting and definition has occupied the time of many of our best minds. However, despite this intellectual expenditure, there seems to be little agreement on what being a good "Canadian citizen" exactly entails.

As with other political precepts, discussions about citizenship often tend to the search for "ideal types". The assumption is that if we could only come up with an agreed upon definition, or set of qualifying characteristics, then all else -- including appropriate behaviour -- would somehow follow. In our deliberations we have consciously avoided this approach. Rather, we have proceeded sociologically, viewing citizenship as a process or as the vehicle through which it becomes possible to ask a host of questions relating to social and political organization and participation. Citizenship is a dynamic concept that has changed over time and will continue to do so. To those who believe it can be captured in definitive legal terms or gilt bound abstractions hung on study walls, we offer the caution of Kierkegaard's man "who lived his life in increasing degrees of abstraction only to wake up one morning to find that he had died."

Throughout our investigations we heard from those who lamented the apparent absence of a "national spirit" amongst Canadians. By this it was usually meant that for citizenship to have meaning it had to be tied to some overarching or transcendent national goals, myths or symbols with which all could readily identify. However, such a lack of symbols, or sense of mission, is, we suspect, due to the nature of our socio-political development.

Our founding was a "pragmatic" and non-revolutionary one, involving little more than the legitimation of self-government along the lines of traditional British parliamentary practice. Compromises were, of course, made. A federal instead of legislative union was agreed upon; thereby helping to allay fears amongst the population of Lower Canada that its culture would disappear. Such an arrangement also helped offset some of the concerns of reluctant Maritime entrants to Confederation. The provisions for "separate schools" and an Upper House adjusted to meet the requirements of local circumstance were all part of this original compromise. Ours was a founding that contained within it the seeds of pluralism. The survival of the francophone community was provided for and the Senate was to represent regional interests and concerns.

Given the rather mild nature of the exercise, there was little need to search for grand symbols or archetypal heroes; nor was there any reason for them to spring forth. At first, symbolic attachments were readily found in the Crown. As Sir George-Etienne Cartier argued: "If they (French Canadians) had their institutions, their language and their religion intact..., it was precisely because of their adherence to the British Crown." While not all French Canadians were as sanguine about British intentions and institutions as was Cartier, the Crown did provide

a common ground of attachment for many of both cultural groups. However, given the vagaries of history, it was inevitable that feelings on the one side would wane.

Throughout, we also remained mindful of the fact that our country's development has been uneven and took place in stages. Different periods of settlement brought different peoples with their own traditions. The nature of socio-economic development often meant that loyalties were first regional rather than national. Provinces entering Confederation during the post-1867 period had often developed a strong sense of local identity, as well as interests not always thought to be in harmony with those of central Canada. Despite strong regional affinities, our political development continued to be a peaceful one.

Our politics has largely been "pragmatic" and, in the absence of revolution and civil war, the need to generate "myth and symbol" was not as great as it might otherwise have been. At the same time, it may also have meant that the question of citizenship itself proved less than pressing. The American revolution, on the other hand, resulted in the adoption of an entirely new form of political organization, the principles of which needed to be imparted to the public. Thus, citizen education took on an urgency never felt here. As well, the new Republic could not draw on "symbols" of the past for its legitimation and new ones soon emerged to take their place.

There is no Valley Forge or crossing of the Potomac in the historic consciousness of our founding. This is not to suggest that Canadians have not had their moments of heroism and triumph. Yet, while patriotic Canadians fought and died for country and empire at Vimy Ridge, equally patriotic Canadians wondered why it was they were being asked to take part in an imperial war that served the interests of others far more than those of Canadians.

However, brief reflection suggests that there is no reason to lament the lack of so called "great historic" symbols. Such have all too often been forged on behalf of causes that remain questionable. Our pragmatism has led to a gentler politics than that we often find amongst the more idealistic and patriotic breast beaters of other nations. And of those symbols we do have, what better to put before our youth than the Red Maple Leaf -- a flag only ever carried into "battle" on behalf of the international efforts of the United Nations. This is in no way to belittle past sacrifices, for they have been great and should be honoured. It is only to hope that we have set a course we can maintain, for great sacrifice carries with it a price which hero worship can never repay.

Our modern era is also one wherein "identity" often reaches beyond the narrow confines of the nation state. It is not to be naive to suggest that "good citizenship" should primarily entail a concern for the human rights of those beyond one's own borders. Similarly, concerns over environmental protection are now global. The problems of acid rain, nuclear waste and certain kinds of resource depletion are now recognized as having transboundary effects. Maastricht and the European experiment has shown us that national chauvinism need not be the basis of good citizenship.

It is important for Canadians to identify strongly with their country, but we can do so from different perspectives and with different emphases on what it is we treasure most. This is not to preach a disengaged form of relativism but only to permit that a committed form of identity can come from different perspectives.

Citizenship is then the vehicle through which we can share these perspectives, while at the same time ensuring that all have a sound understanding of our basic laws, rights and obligations. It is the vehicle that should help encourage all to participate in the political life of their country, for it is through such participation that a healthy commitment is formed. As well, it is the vehicle that can foster a sense of belonging for all groups, especially for our Native peoples whose land it was in the first instance.

(1) Michael Ignatieff, "The Myth of Citizenship," *Queen's Law Journal*, Vol. 12, 1987, p. 100.

(2) Bryan S. Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism: The Debate Over Reformism*, Aldershot, 1984, p. 141.

(3) Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology*, Issue No. 8, p. 20. *Relevance of the Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology*.

## I CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Discussions of citizenship often begin by invoking the notion of citizenship as expounded by the ancient Greeks. They offered the ideal of a public realm "... in which through participation the citizen transcends the limits of his private interest and becomes, in his deliberation with others, what Aristotle said man truly was -- a political animal."<sup>(1)</sup> It was in this context that the principle of actually gaining or conferring citizenship on persons developed. Clear demarcations existed however, for while democratic precepts prevailed in that residents could participate in government as electors and/or officials, women, slaves, foreigners and resident aliens could not have the status of citizenship conferred upon them. The essential criterion for citizenship was "the capacity to govern and be governed, as a consequence of self-discipline and education based upon full ownership of property."<sup>(2)</sup> Fundamentally, property ownership meant that citizens could devote their time to "public service" in its broadest sense, and not be concerned with the banalities of subsistence.

It was Socrates who best exemplified the classical commitment to citizenship and the public good. For him, life lived in exile from his fellow citizens was a fate worse than death. Citizenship, and the belonging it conferred, involved an existential commitment. However, while death rather than life in exile proved a logical choice for Socrates, it is unlikely that any of our contemporary professoriate would partake of the hemlock for either love of students or community.

In contradistinction to ancient Greece, the modern condition is intensely private. We exercise our sociability in private relations and pursue our interests through the "market". Modern citizenship will always involve a tension between the public and the private. Furthermore, it must also take into account the increasing pluralism exhibited by modern societies, a fact especially important for a country such as Canada.

### 1. Dimensions of Citizenship

In testifying before our Committee, Professor Raymond Breton suggested that we not "... try to define citizenship as a unimodel for everyone." That is, we should not worry excessively about trying to find that one universal model or definition to which all can, or should, adhere. One of our strengths, he went on to argue, is that we allow people to define their relationship to the collectivity in a variety of ways.<sup>(3)</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed by Professor Alan

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(1) Michael Ignatieff, "The Myth of Citizenship", *Queen's Law Journal*, Vol. 12, 1987, p. 399.

(2) Bryan S. Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism: The Debate Over Reformism*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1986, p. 14.

(3) Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology*, Issue No. 8, p. 20. Hereinafter referred to as *Proceedings*, 8:20.

Sears, who suggested that while some Canadians identify with their country in the traditional sense of individual loyalties, others deem themselves to be "... members of the Canadian federation by virtue of their membership in a smaller collectivity."<sup>(4)</sup>

### A. Citizenship Rights

Breton believed it best to conceptualize citizenship as a multidimensional phenomenon comprising a set of readily distinguishable precepts. First, citizenship consists of rights acquired by membership in a given community. Such membership need not be one-dimensional and, in a pluralist society, it should be possible to establish different kinds of relationships with the collectivity. With respect to the rights acquired, these are usually categorized under the general headings of civil rights, political and social rights, examples being freedom from discrimination, the right to vote and the right of access to social programs.<sup>(5)</sup>

Some will also argue that, in order for rights to be meaningful and to have effect, they need to be "concretized" through a corresponding set of institutions. Thus, for the exercise of civil rights we have recourse to the legal system, for political rights, there are the institutions of parliamentary democracy, and for the exercise of social rights we have schools and health care. However, these institutions can only have proper effect if there is general accessibility. A legal system that remains closed to those suffering discrimination, whether for lack of affordability or knowledge of its workings, is not one ensuring civil rights. Similarly, given the complexity of the political-bureaucratic decision making system, many groups with legitimate grievances will find it difficult to gain influence. It is therefore important that institutions not be structured so as to be overly biased in favour of those already well organized and powerful. Accessibility is a necessary prerequisite for the development of a broad based commitment to citizenship.<sup>(6)</sup>

In addition to the three categories of rights mentioned above, recent years have witnessed pressures of a different sort; that is, demands for the extension of cultural rights to a variety of groups including francophones in and outside of Quebec, native people, ethno-cultural minorities, and the like. What is different about these demands is that whereas it was once commonly believed that "... you were entitled to all your rights... irrespective of your race, nationality, religion, etc.," current demands insist that cultural differences be taken very much into account.

These cultural differences are not merely to be permitted within the realm of civil society, so it is argued, but should be reflected in the very structure of society's institutions. However, there is a big difference between a society recognizing and tolerating differences and

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(4) Proceedings, 8:6.

(5) Proceedings, 8:12.

(6) Proceedings, 8:22.

having these differences formally reflected institutionally. The moment governments begin to recognize "special groups" and rights, they inevitably get drawn into the "... differential allocation of status". Unless such allocation is carefully managed, its consequence will be social envy rather than a pluralist tolerance of difference. Thus, the extent to which government should build these differences into the very structure of its institutions remains an open question.<sup>(7)</sup> The challenge, it might be argued, is to go beyond tolerance and to seek the richness inherent in a pluralist society.

To point to this problem is not to make an argument on behalf of assimilation. It is merely to recognize that, as pointed out by Professor Danielle Juteau, "... societies cannot invent themselves in any random way or out of pure fantasy."<sup>(8)</sup> Thus, it will take time before our institutions become truly reflective of the pluralist nature of our society. Although government may accept the principle of pluralism and, for example, enact statutes defining multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of our society, such statutes cannot legislate its normative content into being.

Pluralism like other societal norms, only becomes actualized over time. What government can do is to provide some of the conditions necessary for its fruition. On their part, individuals and groups need to participate enthusiastically in the political and social dynamic of Canadian society. While governments can sponsor affirmative action programs and help provide access to the legal system, such opportunities and avenues need to be taken advantage of.

## **B. Contributing to the Collectivity**

Along with rights, citizenship also consists of contributions made to the collectivity. This is the second major dimension of citizenship pointed to by Professor Breton. What one is speaking of here is not the pursuit of individual or group interest but "... participation as a public responsibility to contribute to the common interest or the common good." The acceptance of citizenship rights needs to be balanced by the active exercise of citizenship responsibilities; including social, political and economic responsibilities. This dimension of citizenship "... involves contributing to the construction, transformation and improvement of the country and society, to the material, social and cultural infrastructure that makes a community and society possible."<sup>(9)</sup>

As individuals we are connected both "vertically" and "horizontally" to the institutions of our society; vertically in the sense that there are certain requirements which we simply accept as legal duties, such as the paying of taxes. Being horizontally connected means "... contributing to community life at the levels of neighbourhood, region, the province, and so on."

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(7) Proceedings, 8:23.

(8) Proceedings, 30:56.

(9) Proceedings, 8:24.

However, for such horizontal contributions to be possible, we need to have the institutional mechanisms permitting effective participation.<sup>(10)</sup>

Along with the institutional mechanisms, we may also require something in the way of an attitudinal change on the part of much of our citizenry. For the last thirty years public discourse has been dominated by talk of rights and entitlements, with duty and obligation taking a definite back seat. At the same time, it was the values of the "market" which were emphasized--individualism, self-satisfaction, the pursuit of individual goals, etc. Many believed that the public good, to the extent that it could be said to exist, would simply be the natural consequence of the pursuit of that myriad of individual interests making up the competitive market.<sup>(11)</sup>

Given the testimony we have heard, we are convinced, as a committee, that it would be most unfortunate if the public good were left to such chance outcome. In this regard, we are reminded of Professor Thériault when he noted that it is difficult to find a basis for "... civic virtues or community spirit" in our liberal democracies.<sup>(12)</sup> Yet, a body politic that becomes excessively occupied with private happiness risks having its political liberties die for lack of interest.

### C. Identification and Commitment

The foregoing is not to suggest that we need find a common ground based on "universal" truths, it is only to recognize that citizenship entails a commitment to a wider realm beyond that of self-interest. This commitment may require little more than participation in public debate or having an enlightened concern with public issues. Indeed, as noted by Thériault, the "... common ground in modern societies is less a reality defined by substantive truths than a public forum for discussion, criticism and debate." The shared values with which we identify are those that emerge from public debate "... not those that govern the debate's process." These are not immutable truths, but rather represent a normative consensus arrived at through public debate and "democratic conflict". What is important is the encouragement of "... wide-ranging information, active social movements, lobby groups and political parties representing the many facets of our social reality - all these are elements likely to create common ground for our community."<sup>(13)</sup>

People can identify with their community in a variety of ways. First, identification may be strictly utilitarian; based on a rational calculation of profitability and the opportunity to live

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(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Proceedings, 8:25.

(12) Proceedings, 28:4.

(13) Proceedings, 5:31-32.

a good life. Second, identification may be based on a sense of interdependence. There is some mutual benefit to remaining a part of the greater collectivity, whether as an individual or as a group. Finally, there is identification based "... on a sense of peoplehood, which is a socio-emotional attachment, a sense of a common heritage, (and) of having the same collective memories...".<sup>(14)</sup>

According to Breton, we have relatively little of this kind of identification in Canada. The simple reason is that the collective experience of people in one part of the country is very different from that of those living in another.<sup>(15)</sup> This conclusion is not surprising given the Quebec fact and the different stages of development through which various parts of the country have gone. It is the second type of identification - a sense of interdependence - which perhaps best characterizes the Canadian tradition.

This is not to suggest that Canadians are incapable of patriotic attachment in an "ethno-emotional" sense. It is merely to recognize that the same symbols, or histories, will not elicit similar feelings from all. We are not a nation in the ethno-cultural sense, rather, our strength lies in the fact that we have developed a *civic virtue* that permits diversity and degrees of attachment while recognizing the mutual benefits of our interdependence. Ours has been a history of cooperative achievement.

## 2. The Delphi Study

As our inquiry progressed, a Delphi study on the concept of Canadian citizenship was carried out under the direction of Professor Andrew Hughes from the University of New Brunswick. The intent of the study was to grasp the meaning of citizenship as we now practice it and as we might come to practice it in the future.

The procedure employed in the study was the Delphi technique, which basically attempts to provide for an informed consensus on a topic among a panel of experts while at the same time insulating them from the forces of direct face-to-face interaction. The reason for insulating panel members from one another is simply to ensure that no one individual's opinions dominate by virtue of personality or prestige and that the bandwagon effect of majority opinion not take hold. Throughout the exercise there is no direct contact between members of the panel, and members may not even know who the other participants are, a practice followed for this study. The views of panel members are shared on an anonymous basis throughout several rounds of exchange. Members are asked to reconsider their views in light of the feedback received and then to proceed with the dialogue. While the procedure deliberately seeks consensus it does not discard dissenting views.

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(14) Proceedings, 18:26.

(15) *Ibid.*

Basically, the exercise consists of a correspondence that is passed through a coordinator whose prime responsibility it is faithfully to distil the essence of the discussion throughout its various rounds and then to provide members with feedback. The panel members are then responsible for reconsidering the issues in light of the information and arguments provided by their colleagues. For the Delphi study the panel consisted of thirty individuals who could bring to the discussion an informed perspective on citizenship. The group included academics from a range of disciplines, senior public servants with major responsibilities relating to citizenship, some members of the Canadian Senate with a special interest relating to matters of citizenship, and members of the public who either individually or through participation in voluntary organizations had shown a particular concern for matters related to citizenship.

#### A. Knowledge and Participation

An interesting aspect of the study was the degree to which it confirmed much of what we had heard from our witnesses. For example, panel members were agreed on the importance of having an informed citizenry. It was important for people to have an understanding of their rights and responsibilities as members of the wider community. As summed up by Professor Hughes: "They would have a good sense of what notions of freedom mean in a Canadian context. They would have a sense of what dissent means in a Canadian context. They would have a sense of what freedom of association means in a Canadian context."<sup>(16)</sup>

Along with the importance of having an informed citizenry, there was also a high degree of consensus on the importance of civic participation. Panel members felt it important that there be a high level of responsible citizen participation in the affairs that shape the character of society. Responsible participation would be well informed and effective. Citizens at large would be knowledgeable about how decisions affecting public policy are arrived at and they would be skilled in giving a "voice" to their views.

Thus, good citizen participation is not simply a matter of having the right to participate and inclination to do so. It is also a matter of possessing the knowledge and skills that will allow one to do so effectively. As one panel member noted, "What matters freedom of expression ... to the citizen who can find neither the ideas nor the words to express his or her aspirations?" The absence of effective communications skills can seriously limit a citizen's ability to participate in either social or political dialogue. In this instance, rights are not limited because of legal restrictions, but because of social and political impotence. The development of effective communications skills is particularly important for groups that are already marginalized because of their position in the social-political hierarchy - immigrant women, native people, certain ethnic minorities, etc.

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(16) Proceedings, 27:17.

## B. Civic Dispositions

While the idea of "dispositions" created some confusion amongst panel members at the outset, particularly in regard to definition, by the end of the exercise this category yielded the ground for a wide consensus. It is here where the underlying belief in our having had a history of cooperative achievement very much came to the fore. Dispositions of good citizenship that were identified include, "... open-mindedness, civic-mindedness, respect, a willingness to compromise, tolerance, compassion, generosity of spirit and loyalty."<sup>(17)</sup> Good citizenship came to be understood as a willingness to set aside private interests for the sake of the common good.

In the end, the dispositions that emerged from the "Delphi conversation" were not ideal types but were multi-faceted. Thus, the concept of loyalty incorporated a place for dissent; the manner of dissent, in turn, was influenced by notions of compromise, tolerance, compassion and generosity. The notion of open-mindedness required that one be receptive to ideas and arguments different from one's own, but it was not to suggest that principled stands be abandoned. Respect implied the equal treatment of others regardless of gender, race, religion or national origin; it required that all be guaranteed their equal place in the Canadian family.

The consensus reached by the Delphi Panel was one of broad strokes and general principles, wherein the ideal Canadian citizenry would be one that was informed, willing and able to participate and characterized by certain dispositions. No ideal construct of citizenship emerged, and good citizenship was never equated simply with rule observance or legal designation. Citizenship emerged as a process and an active form of engagement, subject to differences in interpretation and degrees of commitment.

## 3. Citizenship and the Constitution

In his presentation before the Committee, Professor Alan Cairns argued that when we "... talk about the Canadian constitutional order as a network of institutions we should not talk just of the elite institutions of executive federalism and ... parliamentary government, but we should also include ... the institution of citizenship."<sup>(18)</sup> According to Cairns, we should think of citizenship as one of those central institutions in how we govern ourselves.

The result of the *1982 Constitution Act* was "... to bring citizens into the constitutional order in a way that was a marked departure from our past."<sup>(19)</sup> Clearly, the rejection of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords have spelled the demise of constitutional decision-making by the political elite. However, exactly what the role of citizen participation will be in

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(17) *Ibid.*

(18) *Proceedings*, 5:7.

(19) *Ibid.*

future "constitution making" is not yet clear. What is clear is that future efforts will require more in the way of a cooperative enterprise between citizen and government.

The 1982 *Constitution Act* was an attempt to create, via the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, "... a single rights-bearing Canadian citizenship which would incorporate the total of the citizen body into the constitutional order as bearers of rights enforceable by the courts...", subject, of course, to the notwithstanding clause. While the Charter was to provide for equality of persons, the amending formula was to be the agent ensuring the "equality of position of the provinces."<sup>(20)</sup>

Another attempt at providing for "non-differentiated rights was made in 1969 with the government's White Paper on status Indians. Here, the intention was to do away with the negative consequences of departmental administration and "separate status" by integrating native peoples into the general citizenry. As is well known the attempt failed. Canada's aboriginal peoples preferred a degree of independence and self-government rather than assimilation, so that today we have three named indigenous peoples in the Constitution - Indian, Inuit and Métis.<sup>(21)</sup> In the long run, Cairns argued, "... we are heading toward a situation where up to one million Canadians ... will exist in Canada with some status somewhat different from the rest of us."<sup>(22)</sup>

However, it may be of interest to note that with the exception of three provisions the rights contained in the *Charter* are meant to be enjoyed by all residents of Canada. Citizenship status is only required to vote and qualify for membership in the House of Commons or a provincial legislature, to ensure mobility rights and with respect to minority official language education rights. As such, the *Charter* makes only a limited distinction between the rights of Canadian citizens and those of residents.

With the *Charter*, we also find a significant difference in the degree of support amongst Canadians in different parts of the country. In some parts of Canada identification with the Charter caught on very quickly. However, in Quebec, for example, the "... reception of the Charter ... lacks the emotional, positive support" that one so frequently finds in other parts of the country. At the same time, a broad base of support for the Charter is also absent amongst aboriginal peoples. Currently, disagreement exists as to whether or not they believe the Charter should apply to self-governing aboriginal communities of the future.<sup>(23)</sup>

Interestingly, there is also a "gender-split" within the native community over this very question. The Native Women's Association of Canada strongly advocates the application of the Charter

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(20) Proceedings, 5:8.

(21) Proceedings, 5:9.

(22) Proceedings, 5:10.

(23) Proceedings 5:11.

while the Assembly of First Nations "... is opposed either to its application or, at a minimum, is insisting that the present or some different notwithstanding clause be available to aboriginal governments." It is entirely possible that, down the road, "we could have a Charter whose application to aboriginal peoples is different from its application to the rest of Canadians." Thus, the hope of creating a uniform rights-bearing definition of Canadians, and thereby of citizenship, has run into difficulties in two of our major communities.<sup>(24)</sup>

According to Cairns, matters are further complicated by the differential support accorded the notwithstanding clause. While the clause is under serious attack outside of Quebec, and may indeed be obsolete in English Canada, it is strongly supported by Quebec's nationalist elites. And, as already noted, failing exemption from the Charter, the aboriginal male leadership will at least want its own notwithstanding clause. Finally, we might note what has by now become a truism, namely, that the principle of the "equality of the provinces" will continue to be challenged by Quebec and that Quebec will continue to seek some formal recognition of its uniqueness.<sup>(25)</sup>

Therefore, the issue which we need to face, according to Professor Cairns, is what will be the nature of Canadian citizenship in a multinational Canada "... which contains more than one set of peoples who think of themselves as being nations." Trying to proceed on the basis of uniformity, as we have already seen, is clearly not the answer. However, the concern that remains is "... what sense of community and what sense of sharing will survive a situation in which we have a fragmented citizenship, fragmented along the lines of different nationhood ways of thinking of ourselves?"<sup>(26)</sup>

As a Committee we are not in a position to solve the various constitutional conundra here confronted. Indeed, greater exercises than ours have tried and failed. However, as we have already noted, it is possible for citizens to identify with the collectivity, and its institutions, in different ways and from different perspectives. What is important is that we not try to define citizenship as a "unimodel" for everyone.

It would be somewhat unrealistic to expect aboriginal groups to identify with the Constitution in the same way that other Canadians do. As we have already argued, it is possible to establish different kinds of relationships with the collectivity, and insofar as this is possible there is no reason why mutual accommodations cannot be reached between "self-governing" aboriginal peoples and Canadians as a whole. Such accommodations may take time to work themselves out, but then again, our entire history of federalism has been one of accommodation and compromise.

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(24) Proceedings 5:12.

(25) Proceedings, 5:12-5:13.

(26) *Ibid.*

Professor Cairns went on to suggest that if the aboriginal peoples were to withdraw themselves from the Charter they would "... not have the same capacity to tug at our civic heart strings in terms of supporting the kinds of payments they will require if they are to develop in the way they would like."<sup>(27)</sup> While we cannot pretend to speak on behalf of our aboriginal peoples, it is likely that they will feel more secure about their commitment and belonging to the larger community once they are able to make that commitment from a basis of self-assurance and a degree of independence. Few members of the aboriginal community, we suspect, have any illusions about the utility of tugging at our civic heart strings in the hope of acquiring justice.

It was also suggested to us by Professor Cairns that if citizenship is to keep us together it must provide us with shared identities, merely having shared values is not enough.<sup>(28)</sup> Unfortunately, we were never able to determine what these identities are, nor what they should be. We might therefore simply offer the caution that we not set before ourselves a "holy grail" doomed to remain perpetually out of reach.

For many Canadians their primary sense of identity is local or regional in nature, involving a particular sense of belonging we cannot all share. If identity is meant to be in terms of historic symbols, it is very unlikely that new immigrants will ever develop the attachment for the Union Jack still shared by many older "Anglo-Canadians". If, as suggested by Professor Kaplan,<sup>(29)</sup> it is to be with some grand national purpose that would help us transcend our particular ethnic and regional peculiarities, then we might simply remind all that the CPR has been long completed and that "manifest destiny" is not a concept that has ever held much attraction for Canadians.

We therefore suggest that, rather than try to create artificial identities, we use citizenship as the vehicle to promote an active critical participation in public affairs on the part of Canadians. A sense of belonging and duty, we believe, can best be created by integrating new and old Canadians into the socio-political process as active critical participants. We should also see to it that such participation be based on a sound knowledge of our institutions, history and laws. In the final analysis, it is important that we recognize the pluralist nature of Canadian society and the importance of citizenship as a vehicle for bringing us together.

The current *Citizenship Act* came into force in 1977 and was intended to clear away some of the anachronisms of the 1947 statute. The new Act removed the British preference and those provisions which discriminated on the basis of gender. Plural citizenship was also accepted under the new changes and citizenship was no longer to be considered a "privilege" to be granted to those considered qualified but, rather, was now a right which could be exercised by

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(27) Proceedings, 5:15.

(28) Proceedings, 5:23.

(29) Proceedings, 30:16.

anyone with the requisite qualifications. The waiting period for qualification was reduced from five to three years.<sup>(30)</sup> The changes were timely and helped in the promotion of citizenship among new Canadians.

However, as a Committee, we are convinced that it is time for the Government to enact a new *Citizenship Act*, one that clearly reflects contemporary realities. The Act should recognize the pluralist nature of contemporary Canada as well as reaffirm the fact that we are an officially bilingual nation. In addition, it is important that the Act provide both a clear statement of citizenship rights and responsibilities. A new *Citizenship Act* must be one with which all Canadians, including our aboriginal peoples can enthusiastically identify. We therefore recommend:

- 1) That Parliament enact a new *Citizenship Act* by 1995. That the Act reflect the pluralist, officially bilingual and multicultural nature of Canadian society and that it provide a clear statement of citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Given the central importance of citizenship as a vehicle for bringing Canadians together and for providing them with an understanding of their rights and responsibilities, we further recommend:

- 2) That the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship be renamed the Department of Citizenship and Multiculturalism.<sup>(31)</sup>

Insofar as citizenship responsibilities are incumbent upon us all we recommend:

- 3) That citizenship initiatives espousing responsibilities and rights be targeted at all Canadians and not only at new Canadians.

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(30) William Kaplan, *The Evaluation of Citizenship Legislation in Canada, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada*, 1991, p. 4.

(31) The House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism has also recommended the same name change.

## II CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

As we have already noted, in a modern democratic society citizenship requires of us that we not only be law-abiding but that we also participate in our own governance. To do so effectively requires that we have the requisite skills and this, of course, raises the question of how we can best impart these to our children and to the citizen body at large. Furthermore, the normative content of citizenship skills in a pluralist society will differ considerably from those of an earlier and socially more homogeneous era.

The basic requisite skills, as listed for us by Mr. David Shulman of the Institute for Citizenship Education, include those of "... public discussion, problem solving, decision making and deliberation, ... and the skills of making choices." Mr. Shulman's concern, one shared by many of his colleagues, is that the skills component in citizenship education is not being sufficiently addressed.<sup>(32)</sup> We might also add that, in addition to the skills listed by Shulman, citizenship education needs to develop the appropriate dispositions relating to notions of equality and acceptance of diversity.

If curriculum design is to be relevant to contemporary realities it will need to understand citizenship as being based on critical thinking rather than on passive loyalty. However, the development of such traits is no easy matter given the ceaseless flow of seductive trivialities that comprise popular culture. Sound-bite politics, team sports, TV watching and the like do little to encourage citizens to partake in public debate and discussion. A democratic country "cannot exist or prosper without sustained dialogue about public problems and aspirations." In the absence of such debate and participation, democracy degenerates to the activities of professional bureaucrat-politicians, journalists and lobbyists - it is they who talk while the public lapses into silence. When public deliberation is informed and free of discrimination and repression, "... then it is both cause and effect of an authentic and vital public space." Thus, "the centrepiece of education for democracy ... is instruction on the discursive practices and principles that support open discussion of the public's problems."<sup>(33)</sup>

### 1. Multicultural Education

In our increasingly pluralist society, it is important that we pay careful attention to the multicultural aspects of citizen education. Multicultural education can be understood to consist of three things: an idea, a reform movement, and a process. It is "the idea that all students should have an equal opportunity to learn in school and that some students, for reasons of race, class, and gender do not." As a reform movement, multicultural education seeks to ensure that all will have that equal opportunity to learn. Finally, understood as a process it permits us to

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(32) Proceedings, 24:13.

(33) Walter C. Parker, "Multicultural Education In Democratic Societies: Searching For A Curriculum Site", Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April 1991, Chicago, p. 5.

realize that it represents an ideal that will never be fully realized.<sup>(34)</sup>

Multicultural education can be approached in a variety of ways. First, it is possible to incorporate content about cultural groups into the school curriculum. Initially, this might include little more than the celebration of cultural holidays and ethnic heroes. More importantly, it would involve the inclusion of multicultural content in textbooks and the study of topics from diverse ethnic and cultural perspectives. The "multicultural curriculum should help students to master higher levels of knowledge so that they can better understand race and ethnic relations and develop the skills and abilities needed to make reflective personal and public decisions."<sup>(35)</sup>

A second approach concentrates on achievement, seeking to end the disproportionate academic failure of certain visible minority students, women, students with disabilities, and students who are economically disadvantaged. One way of doing this is to have programs that match teaching styles to learning styles and special subject programs for certain groups. A third approach is what is commonly referred to as intergroup education. Here, the hope is to develop amongst students "democratic" intergroup attitudes and values. This involves the development of positive attitudes toward diverse groups as well as to one's own. Examples might include prejudice reduction projects, and cooperative learning strategies.<sup>(36)</sup>

Ideally, a democratic citizenry is one that no longer harbours negative feelings and beliefs about diverse groups. The link between "democratic education and multicultural education is this: Democracy is the public ideal to which multicultural education is directed. This ideal is the *civic claim* of democratic precept, namely, that ... a free population is free in a civic way: free to talk about the public's problems and hence, free to critique common practice, invent alternatives, and enact better ways of living with one another." It is precisely this kind of open discussion that is the essential bridging activity in which a racially and culturally diverse population would be engaged if multicultural education was successful. Multicultural education and democratic education "are symbiotic ideas, reform movements, and processes - each at once guiding and enabling the other."<sup>(37)</sup> They are both an essential aspect of citizenship education in a pluralist society such as ours.

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(34) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

(35) James A. Banks, *Teaching Strategies from Ethnic Studies*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1991, p. 57. Quoted in Parker, p. 4.

(36) Parker, p. 4.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

## 2. The Present Situation

It would seem that the natural curriculum site for citizenship education would be social studies. However, our investigations have led us to conclude that this seems to be a rather neglected area of instruction in our schools, one often completely absent in the primary grades. When asked to describe the present state of citizenship education in Canada, Professor John Grant replied that; "I think it has been pretty haphazard and probably not very well done..." Professor Alan Sears concurred, noting that citizenship education in Canada has not been much improved since 1967. Furthermore, it "... is often taught by people who are not very interested in it. Social studies teachers are often not qualified to teach social studies."<sup>(38)</sup> Such appraisals do little to instill confidence.

Given the importance of teaching fundamental democratic values, we were also somewhat concerned that political education in our schools is taught in a "passive sense", limited to the factual description of government structures. Little, if anything, is taught about the actual dynamics of democratic conflict resolution or the importance of active political participation. Compounding the problems of limited "political" education is the fact that Canadian history is also being given rather short shrift. Our students are growing up ignorant of their traditions and their country's achievements. As well, we were somewhat disturbed to hear that differences often exist in the manner in which citizenship education is provided to different student groups within the same community. It seems that a broader civics education program is provided to students in academic programs than is to those in vocational ones. Insofar as it is important for all to learn the precepts of good citizenship, we believe this to be an inappropriate form of curriculum design.

One of the more encouraging developments, with regard to citizenship education, is the program instituted in Saskatchewan. Under revised school curricula, citizenship education is now taught in social studies courses throughout grades one to twelve. In the early grades students are taught to develop appropriate attitudes and values with respect to public life. Thereafter, students are acquainted with the essentials of citizenship rights and responsibilities.

## 3. Canadian Studies

Nearly two decades ago The Commission on Canadian Studies concluded that the state of the discipline was in serious need of repair. Today, the situation still leaves much to be desired. The teaching of Canadian subject matters in postsecondary institutions remains inadequate and is taught in piecemeal fashion. As noted by Professor Thomas Symons, "... there are still incredible areas of neglect and imbalance in terms of attention to the Canadian component of the matter under study. I am concerned that teaching about Canada is still, in many of our universities and colleges, ghettoized. It is taught, not pervasively throughout the curriculum of the university, but over here, in this corner, with a flag on it called 'Canadian

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(38) Proceedings, 8:13.

Studies".<sup>(39)</sup>

This is an unfortunate conclusion. One would hope that enough economic, social, political and legal research has been done in areas of Canadian experience that homegrown examples would be a natural part of the curricula in social science and humanities courses. We have had the self-image of one generation shaped by Peter Fonda riding a stars-and-stripes motorcycle; we should be able to do better.

Of some help in this regard is the Canadian Studies program of the Department of the Secretary of State. In the hope of encouraging Canadians to learn more about themselves, the Canadian Studies and Special Projects Directorate was established in 1984. Its specific objectives are to encourage the use of Canadian studies learning materials, to increase public knowledge about Canada, and to encourage research in Canadian studies. The Education Support Branch aids in the development and preparation of teaching materials and provides funds in four basic content areas.

One such area involves materials dealing with the uniqueness of Canadian society. These are built around "...themes which draw Canadians together by encouraging a sense of citizenship and belonging to the Canadian Community." Second, there is the area focused on the media in Canadian society which is designed to support projects that increase "...the capacity of Canadians to understand and analyze mass communications media; their strengths, weaknesses, ethics, priorities, roles and impact on Canada." Third, we have what is referred to as "Canadian comparisons", which focuses on materials that "compare the experiences of Canadians and their expression within Canada." These include comparisons of English and French Canadian literature, regional geography, social trend indicators, regional arts,...as well as international comparisons (such as) comparisons of federal systems, political cultures, artistic and economic systems, and so on." Finally, there is the content area of Canada in the world, designed to "...elicit proposals that maintain the notion of Canada's significant contribution to the world community through organizations such as the UN, the Commonwealth and la Francophonie..." As well, it also pays attention to "...global, political, economic and environmental issues that pose challenges for Canada which need to be known and understood."<sup>(40)</sup>

Much of the funding for the various programs is done through what is called dollar matching. Through this scheme the department develops partnerships with private and public funding agencies, thereby encouraging the private sector to invest in Canadian studies and various other projects. Partnerships include authors, publishers, film makers and software developers all of whom aid in the development of high quality products that add to the stock of texts and other materials distributed by the department. The evaluation of proposals is done in concert with experts often suggested by provincial and territorial ministries of education, thereby ensuring an appropriate curriculum fit where applicable. The thrust of the program is not to "...

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(39) Proceedings, 2:60.

(40) Proceedings, 28:30.

work directly with the provinces but rather to encourage the development of materials...which can then be used by the provinces in teaching about various content areas in whatever fashion they deem appropriate."<sup>(41)</sup>

#### 4. Civitas

While the efforts of the Department of Secretary of State are laudable, we could not help but be struck by the concern that something more in the way of a "focused" overarching approach, to citizenship education, was required. We fully recognize the fact that education is a matter of provincial jurisdiction, but, surely it is also very much a matter of national concern. Education is a 52 billion dollar a year enterprise in which all Canadians have a tremendous stake. In our opinion it would be more appropriate for the Department of Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, to take a lead role in the development of a common curriculum framework that could be used by teachers throughout the country.

Of the various models we came across in our investigations, the one most intriguing might be the American CIVITAS program. CIVITAS is a curriculum framework whose purpose is to revitalize civic education in schools throughout the country. The program presents a set of national goals to be achieved in a civic education curriculum, essentially for primary and secondary school levels, specifying the knowledge and skills needed by citizens to perform their roles in a modern democracy. Extended applications of the program can also be applied in communities and in higher education.<sup>(42)</sup>

The CIVITAS Framework was more than three years in the making and was developed by the Centre for Civic Education in Los Angeles, with contributions from more than forty scholars throughout the country and consists of a final text more than 650 pages in length. Made possible by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Framework is part of a collaborative project conducted with the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship in Washington, D.C. and is distributed by the National Council for the Social Studies.

The CIVITAS Framework provides a Rationale for why civic education is necessary in a modern democratic state, and continues with a detailed statement of the Goals and Objectives of a civic education curriculum. The Goals and Objectives statement is divided into three parts, Civic Virtue, Civic Participation and Civic Knowledge. Also included, are sample Scope and Sequence statements that suggest what aspects of the subjects in the Framework can be taught at varying school grades and how they may be taught.

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(41) Proceedings, 28:34.

(42) Notes for the description of the CIVITAS Framework are taken from the executive summary of CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education, Centre for Civic Education, Calabasas, CA, 1991.

The intended audience for CIVITAS is, in the first instance, educators at state and local levels concerned with the development of civic education curricula in the schools. It is designed to aid in improving the quality of civic knowledge contained in textbooks, instructional materials, methods of teaching, assessment and testing, and the preparation of teachers. It is also suggested that, for teachers already in the classroom, the Framework should prove a useful resource and reference book. Furthermore, it was designed to be of value to those public bodies and professional organizations that are seeking to raise standards of achievement in core subjects expected to be studied by all students. According to its authors, the ultimate goal of CIVITAS is to enable students equipped with the requisite civic knowledge and the skills of civic participation to make their own commitment, carried to adulthood, to the civic values deemed necessary for the nurture and strengthening of the ideals of a democratic society.

In the curriculum Framework, civic virtue is described in terms of civic dispositions and civic commitments. Civic dispositions refer to those attitudes and habits of mind of the citizen that are conducive to the healthy functioning and common good of the democratic system. Civic commitments refer to the freely given, reasoned commitment of the citizen to the fundamental values and principles of constitutional democracy. The Framework clearly enumerates and discusses appropriate dispositions and commitments and also offers an extended commentary on civic values.

The Framework is clearly based on the premise that proper citizenship education is not simply to increase the rates of civic participation, but to nurture competent and responsible participation. It seeks to promote a form of participation that is deliberative, knowledgeable and reflective. The authors conclude that if educators are to enhance civic participation, they must help students reflect upon their personal civic commitments. In doing so, they should aim to generate excitement about the quest for the public good and try to replace pervasive cynicism about democratic participation with a more hopeful public commitment.

As a Committee we firmly believe that the availability of a model similar to the CIVITAS experiment would prove most useful in aiding the promotion of effective citizenship education in Canada. While we were pleased to hear that the Department of Secretary of State has commissioned Professor David Cameron to do a study on the current state of Canadian Studies, this can only partially fill the gap we are confronting. If we are to have an effective citizenship education program we need to know, not only the state of the discipline, but also the requisite tools with which to redress shortcomings. We are reminded of Professor Symons when he noted that the "...teaching profession is out there. It is terribly concerned about this at all levels of education and, I think, would welcome...instruments that would be of use in teaching."<sup>(43)</sup> We therefore recommend:

- 4) That the Federal Government promote national initiatives addressing matters of citizenship education.

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(43) Proceedings, 2:64.

- 5) That the Department of Secretary of State assess existing models of citizenship education.
- 6) That the Department of Secretary of State consult with the Council of Ministers of Education concerning the applicability of such models in school curricula.
- 7) That the Department of Secretary of State participate in a second series of initiatives on Canadian Studies.

One of the key programs in the area of promotion is the initiative known as National Citizenship Week. This week is held annually in April and is a time when the government encourages citizens to get involved in their communities. The Department of Secretary of State is responsible for coordinating this week and for providing information and materials to help citizens get involved. In addition, the Department of Secretary of State also sponsors a number of other initiatives in the area of citizenship education, including the Canadian Citizenship Program and the Canadian Citizenship Test.

The Department of Secretary of State is also responsible for promoting the importance of citizenship and for encouraging citizens to get involved in their communities. This is done through a variety of means, including the use of mass media, public relations, and community outreach. The Department of Secretary of State also sponsors a number of initiatives in the area of citizenship education, including the Canadian Citizenship Program and the Canadian Citizenship Test. In addition, the Department of Secretary of State also provides information and materials to help citizens get involved in their communities. This is done through a variety of means, including the use of mass media, public relations, and community outreach.

(45) Ibid. p. 49.

(46) Ibid. p. 49.

### III CITIZENSHIP PROMOTION

Because the concept of citizenship is rather an elusive one, the cultivation and promotion of citizenship and the values attached to citizenship pose particular challenges for all levels of government, for community organizations and groups and for the general public. At the same time, the rather "fuzzy" nature of citizenship demands that careful attention be paid to this activity. Such attention will, ultimately, rest on a strong commitment to financial and programmatic initiatives in this area.

According to the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, the purpose of promotional activities is to "...encourage active citizenship, enhance understanding of Canadian citizenship values, reinforce Canadian identity and facilitate a sense of belonging among all Canadians and residents of Canada." In practical terms, this statement translates into a broad array of activities ranging from the production and distribution of print and audio-visual materials to co-ordination and support for special citizenship projects undertaken by community groups and schools to involvement in the citizenship educational activities within educational institutions in Canada.

One of the key programs in the area of promotion is the initiative known as National Citizenship Week, initiated in 1987, to mark the 40th anniversary of the first Citizenship Act. Over the years levels of involvement and interest have expanded. The activities during the week (usually held in April) differ from province to province and generally include the participation of multicultural groups or associations as well as provincial and municipal levels of government. The Citation for Citizenship program is an additional component of the promotional activities of the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

In addition to the two major programs outlined above, citizenship ceremonies for new Canadian citizens are held across the country on a regular basis. An average ceremony entails the participation of approximately 100 new citizens and the formats for the ceremonies may vary from one location to another. Apart from the explicit purpose of citizenship acquisition, the ceremonies are intended to encourage "greater understanding of the reciprocal respect for other cultures that is necessary in a multicultural society and to encourage new citizens to take an active role in Canadian life." From what we have been able to determine, it seems that the thrust of the promotional aspect of citizenship remains tied to the practicalities of citizenship registration and acquisition. We were told that, for the fiscal year 1992-1993, the resources allocated to civics instruction and citizenship promotion consisted of a modest 900,000 dollars and six person years.<sup>(44)</sup> Given the importance of citizenship and the need to combat apathy about public affairs, we consider this to be an inadequate commitment.

The question here is, "how can we best promote active citizenship and how do we do so in a way that is compatible with our views of individual liberty and pluralism?" As we have

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(44) Proceedings, 4:9.

already argued, people need to learn the skills and knowledge necessary for civic participation, and they need to be given the opportunities and incentives to participate. "Skills, knowledge, opportunities and incentives are not innate, but must be developed, often by government policies and institutions."<sup>(45)</sup>

### 1. Removing Barriers

One of the more obvious ways to promote active citizenship is to remove barriers to participation. While it may be regrettable that many lack the desire to participate in civic matters, it is "...an injustice if those citizens who want to participate are prevented from doing so by social, economic or cultural barriers." The need to overcome such barriers was one of the central concerns of a Commission on Citizenship undertaken by the government of the United Kingdom in 1990. In its report, *Encouraging Citizenship* the Commission listed what it considered were seven barriers that needed to be overcome:

- lack of knowledge of the rules of the community
- legal confusion regarding people's rights and responsibilities
- the under representation of women, ethnic minorities and the working class in political bodies
- social disadvantage, including poverty, bad housing, unemployment, religious, racial and sexual discrimination, physical and mental disability and ill health, and the need to care for a dependent member of the family
- administrative complexity in the provision of social entitlements
- lack of accountability of public agencies<sup>(46)</sup>

In response to these impediments, the Commission made a range of proposals. These proposals included: improved citizenship education in schools; a new law on citizenship clarifying and codifying the rights, duties and entitlements of citizenship; the maintenance of a floor of adequate social entitlements which enables every citizen "to live the life of a civilised human being according to the standards prevailing in society"; the establishment of a comprehensive citizen's advice service which would include a national advocacy scheme for those disadvantaged groups who cannot claim their own entitlements; improved training for the judiciary, civil service, teachers, doctors and nurses, local government officials, the police and the armed forces on the rights of citizens "and the corresponding obligations of public institutions"; and the establishment of a Standing Royal Commission on Citizenship to document and monitor and report on the social, economic and education aspects of citizenship.<sup>(47)</sup>

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(45) William Kymlicka, "Recent Work in Citizenship Theory", A Report Prepared for Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, September 1992, p. 39.

(46) Listed in Kymlicka, p. 40.

(47) Ibid., p.40.

What is of particular interest with regard to the study is that it goes beyond the traditional list of social disadvantages to include certain issues usually considered as purely "private" matters, such as caring for dependent family members. This can prove to be a particularly important barrier for women, who still carry a disproportionate share of the burden in such matters. While the legal barriers to women's public participation are now prohibited by anti-discrimination laws, the difficulty of combining family and public responsibilities remain. As a consequence, many "...feminists believe that equal citizenship for women is impossible until workplaces and career expectations are rearranged to allow more room for family responsibilities, and until men accept their share of domestic responsibilities."<sup>(48)</sup>

Along with the traditional focus on the expansion of women's rights and opportunities, there is now also considerable attention being paid to the issue of responsibility and what it means from a feminist perspective. For many there still exists the traditional fear that the burden of "responsibility" will fall unfairly on women. Thus, gender-neutral talk about "self-reliance" and "family-responsibilities" is often seen as little more than a code for the view that men should financially support the family, while women should look after the household, and care for the elderly, sick, and young. Such a conception, of course, does little save reinforce the barriers to women's full participation in society.<sup>(49)</sup>

Many feminists therefore tend to be wary of the language of responsibility because it may be little more than a veiled attempt to reinforce traditional notions of patriarchy. Others, however, welcome it and see it as a language with which women can in fact feel more comfortable. According to them, men and women reason "in a different voice", and one of the central differences is that women tend to view moral problems in terms of "conflicting responsibilities" rather than "competing rights". Women, so the argument goes, "...are often diffident about claiming rights, which they see as selfish or adversarial, and are more inclined to think about their responsibilities."<sup>(50)</sup> As a Committee we are not in a position to come down on either side of this debate, but it does highlight for us the urgent need to have more done to encourage citizenship participation by women. Overcoming the inequalities of the private sphere will take time, and there are no magic formulae. In the meantime however, it is important that more be done to ensure that the concerns and voices of women not be ignored.

## 2. Further Considerations

In our investigations we came across a variety of methods for promoting citizenship, some of which might prove useful for future consideration by Canadians. One of the more interesting is the National Issues Forum (NIF) sponsored by the Kettering Foundation in the

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(48) Kymlicka, pp. 40 and 15-16.

(49) Ibid., p. 16.

(50) Ibid., p. 17.

United States. The Foundation's focus is the practice of democracy and what citizens must do to make the democratic process work effectively. The basic assumption underlying the NIF program is that "citizens must have practical experience in making sound choices." NIF therefore draws on the tradition of the town hall meeting to provide citizens with practical experience in what Kettering calls "choice work". Using workbooks and discussion guides specifically tailored to topics at hand, trained convenors help citizens work through various policy options. At the conclusion of the forum, participants use ballots to register their conclusions. These ballots are then forwarded to relevant policy makers in both government and bureaucracy. The Foundation has organized over 1,700 such events.<sup>(51)</sup>

From the point of view of promoting citizenship, such exercises can prove to be useful tools. However, the fact that they do not traditionally attract a wide cross section of citizens, and the fact that those that are attracted already have a well established commitment to citizenship participation, is a potential shortcoming. At the same time, there is little evidence that the conclusions reached by forum participants have any impact on policy-making; study circles rarely make the transition to action circles.<sup>(52)</sup>

Another experiment in the promotion of citizenship participation is one established by the Lincoln Filene Centre, associated with Tufts University. The National Citizenship Participation Project is an analysis of citizen/government relations in five municipalities: St. Paul, Minnesota; Dayton, Ohio; Portland, Oregon; Birmingham, Alabama; and San Antonio, Texas. With the exception of San Antonio, all of these cities have developed and institutionalized procedures for joint citizen/government decision-making. The cities are divided into recognized neighbourhoods where citizens are granted regular opportunity for self-government. Staff and administrative support is provided, by the cities, to these neighbourhoods and are subject to neighbourhood authority. Neighbourhoods not only review policy initiatives from government, but initiate significant policies themselves. In St. Paul, for example, decisions on a wide range of land use issues are made only with neighbourhood consent.<sup>(53)</sup>

The programs sponsored by the Centre have been so successful that the Centre has been requested to help establish citizen participation programs in a variety of other cities. As concluded by David Shulman, "the Filene Centre's research suggests that a rich potential for citizenship promotion lies in providing citizens with the resources and opportunities to make decisions as full and equal partners of government."<sup>(54)</sup>

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(51) David Shulman, "Promoting Citizenship: American Approaches/Canadian Opportunities", Prepared for *Citizenship Registration and Promotion Branch Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada*, 1991, p. 10.

(52) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(53) *Ibid.*, p. 12.

(54) *Ibid.*

An example of the promotion of citizenship among youth is Project Public Life, based in the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs. Established in 1989, Project Public Life begins with the assumption that most Americans do not like the political process and that this ailment is particularly chronic among America's youth. In order to counter such apathy a program called Public Achievement was put in place. Public Achievement is based on the premise that young people are attracted to enterprises which they can design and manage themselves. This, of course, requires real resources and, in the case of Public Achievement, these are provided by the Mayor's office in St. Paul and by Minnesota 4H. These resources are managed by teams of high school students whose responsibility it is to first identify issues in which they have a stake. Once the fifteen to twenty participating teams have identified their objectives, they must then arrange their resources so as to ensure the viability of their various commitments. Most often, the teams gravitate toward issues close to home, like organizing child care for teen mothers, mediating relations between students and school officials, and addressing racial tensions. What is particularly striking about this program is the recognition that effective citizenship programs have to be linked to real problem solving.<sup>(55)</sup>

The foregoing examples, we believe, could prove useful prototypes for similar experiments in Canada. However, as pointed out by David Shulman, we have no similar Canadian centres with a dedicated mandate for citizenship. We therefore recommend:

- 8) That the Government give consideration to the provision of an "endowment fund" for the establishment of a Canadian Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion.
- 9) That the Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion report on an annual basis to the Minister of Multiculturalism and Citizenship who shall table the report in Parliament.

In the development of its program, it is important that the Canadian Centre not overemphasize marketing and discussion group approaches to promoting citizenship. "There is a place for advertising in developing civic awareness - but as part of a larger strategy that fuses awareness with action. Discussion groups best promote responsible dialogue when the discussions have consequences, when they are linked to visible outcomes."<sup>(56)</sup>

Citizenship promotion is most effective when people are given the means and the opportunity to carry out real problem-solving and when they perceive themselves to have an impact on the decision-making process. We suspect that this can best be achieved "... in the immediate and familiar environment of the local community." The best strategies for citizenship promotion will be those encouraging "direct democracy", that is, those kinds of activities permitting "face-to-face decision-making."<sup>(57)</sup> We sincerely hope that a Canadian Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion, will prove an effective vehicle in this regard.

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(55) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

(56) *Ibid.*, p. 16.

(57) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

# CONCLUSION

We Canadians are a pragmatic people. There have been moments when we have tended to hold this against ourselves, yearning for a more "exciting" or "romantic" history. Our political heritage has been forged by leaders more renowned for their plodding style than their charismatic appeal. Yet, their style and principles, have led to a quality of life ranked first amongst all by the United Nations. Canadian citizenship is indeed a "treasure", one sought after by many, and one that needs to be respected and properly nurtured by those of us fortunate enough to possess it.

- 3) That the Government of Canada should continue to support initiatives and projects that promote national identity and citizenship education.
  - 4) That the Department of Education should continue to promote national initiatives addressing matters of citizenship education.
  - 5) That the Department of Education should continue to assess existing models of citizenship education.
  - 6) That the Department of Education should continue to consult with the Council of Ministers of Education concerning the applicability of such models in school curricula.
  - 7) That the Department of Education should continue to participate in a second series of initiatives on Canadian Studies.
  - 8) That the Government should give consideration to the provision of an "endowment fund" for the establishment of a Canadian Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion.
  - 9) That the Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion report on an annual basis to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and Citizenship who shall table the report in Parliament.
- James L. Taylor  
 Council Citizenship Federation  
 James L. Taylor  
 Council Citizenship Federation

## LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1) That Parliament enact a new *Citizenship Act* by 1995. That the Act reflect the pluralist, officially bilingual and multicultural nature of Canadian society and that it provide a clear statement of citizenship rights and responsibilities.
- 2) That the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship be renamed the Department of Citizenship and Multiculturalism.
- 3) That citizenship initiatives espousing responsibilities and rights be targeted at all Canadians and not only at new Canadians.
- 4) That the Federal Government promote national initiatives addressing matters of citizenship education.
- 5) That the Department of Secretary of State assess existing models of citizenship education.
- 6) That the Department of Secretary of State consult with the Council of Ministers of Education concerning the applicability of such models in school curricula.
- 7) That the Department of Secretary of State participate in a second series of initiatives on Canadian Studies.
- 8) That the Government give consideration to the provision of an "endowment fund" for the establishment of a Canadian Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion.
- 9) That the Centre for Citizenship Education and Promotion report on an annual basis to the Minister of Multiculturalism and Citizenship who shall table the report in Parliament.

**APPENDIX**

**STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

**LIST OF WITNESSES**

<b>ISSUE NO.</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>ORGANIZATIONS AND WITNESSES</b>
2	March 17, 1992	<p>Dr. John Grant Nova Scotia Teachers' College</p> <p>Professor Thomas Symons Trent University</p>
3	March 24, 1992	<p>Professor Arthur Stinson Ottawa</p> <p>Professor Elliot Tepper Carleton University</p>
4	April 9, 1992	<p>The Honourable Gerry Weiner Minister of Multiculturalism and Citizenship</p>
5	April 28, 1992	<p>Professor Alan Cairns University of British Columbia</p> <p>Professor Jean Crete Laval University</p> <p>Professor Diane Lamoureux Laval University</p> <p>Professor Joseph-Yvon Theriault University of Ottawa</p> <p>Constance Middleton-Hope President Canadian Citizenship Federation</p> <p>Diana Togneri Canadian Citizenship Federation</p> <p>Eric L. Teed Canadian Citizenship Federation</p> <p>James Larson Canadian Citizenship Federation</p>

- 5 (continued) April 28, 1992  
 Dr. N.M. Zsolnay  
 Canadian Citizenship Federation  
 Charles E. Dojack  
 Canadian Citizenship Federation
- 6 May 5, 1992  
 Mr. Alain Landry  
 Assistant Deputy Minister,  
 Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada  
 Ms. Eva Kmieciec, Registrar  
 Citizenship Registration and Promotion  
 Judge Elizabeth Willcock  
 Senior Citizenship Judge
- 7 May 12, 1992  
 Ms. Mary M. Gusella  
 Deputy Minister, Multiculturalism and  
 Citizenship Canada  
 Mr. Alain Landry, Assistant Deputy  
 Minister, Citizenship  
 Mr. Greg Gauld  
 Director General  
 Corporate Policy and Research  
 Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada
- 8 May 19, 1992  
 Professor Alan M. Sears  
 University of New Brunswick  
 Professor Raymond Breton  
 University of Toronto
- 24 December 1, 1992  
 Mr. David Shulman  
 Project Co-ordinator  
 Institute for Citizenship Education  
 Ms. Michèle S. Jean  
 Under Secretary of State  
 Department of Secretary of State  
 Ms. Norma Passaretti  
 Director General  
 State Ceremonial Branch  
 Department of Secretary of State  
 Mr. James E. Page  
 Director General  
 Education Support Branch  
 Department of Secretary of State

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January 19, 1993

Professor Andrew S. Hughes  
Faculty of Education  
University of New Brunswick

Professor Kenneth Osborne  
Faculty of Education  
University of Manitoba

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January 20, 1993

Professor Keith McLeod  
Faculty of Education  
University of Toronto

Mr. James E. Page  
Director-General  
Education Support Branch  
Department of Secretary of State

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February 16, 1993

Professor William Kaplan  
Faculty of Law  
University of Ottawa

Professor John Meyer  
Faculty of Education  
University of Windsor

MGen. Herbert C. Pitts  
National Commissioner  
Scouts Canada

Mr. John Pettifer  
Chief Executive  
Scouts Canada

Professor Danielle Juteau  
Director of the Centre for Ethnic Studies  
University of Montreal

Professor Douglas Ray  
Faculty of Education  
University of Western Ontario

Mr. Peter Doherty  
Former Chairman of the Adventure and  
Citizenship Program  
Rotary Club of Ottawa

Ms. Tina Van Dusen  
Vice-President, Communications  
Canadian Association of Broadcasters

Mr. Peter Miller  
Legal counsel  
Canadian Association of Broadcasters

30 (continued) February 16, 1993

Colonel Brian Handley  
Director of Cadets  
Department of National Defence

Mr. Marc Godbout  
Director General  
Federation of Francophone and Acadian  
Communities of Canada

Mireille Duguay  
Research Director  
Federation of Francophone and Acadian  
Communities of Canada

Sylvio Morin  
Director of Communications  
Federation of Francophone and Acadian  
Communities of Canada

University of New Brunswick  
Faculty of Education

University of New Brunswick  
Faculty of Education

University of Toronto  
Faculty of Education

Department of Secretary of State  
Education Support Branch  
Director-General

University of Ottawa  
Faculty of Law

University of Windsor  
Faculty of Education

National Commission  
Sports Canada  
Ms. Helen C. Pitt

Scouts Canada  
Chief Executive  
Mr. John Patten

University of Montreal  
Director of the Centre for Ethnic Studies  
Professor Danielle Juteau

University of Western Ontario  
Faculty of Education  
Professor Douglas Jay

Rotary Club of Ottawa  
Chairman of the Advisory and  
Consulting Program  
Former Chairman of the Advisory and  
Mr. Peter Downey

Canadian Association of Broadcasters  
Canadian Association of Broadcasters  
Vice-President, Communications  
Ms. Tina Van Dusen

Canadian Association of Broadcasters  
Legal Counsel  
Mr. Peter Miller



30 (cont'd)

United States  
Director of  
Department

Mr. Max  
Director  
Federal  
Commission

Mr. Max  
Director  
Federal  
Commission

Mr. Max  
Director  
Federal  
Commission



