Building Common Spaces: Citizenship and Education in Canada and Spain

Construyendo espacios comunes: Cuidadania y Educación en Canadá y España

Construisant des espaces communs: L’Éducation et la Citoyenéte au Canada et en Espagne

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Introduction

Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Gonzalo Jover

Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres seeks to open a space for critical dialogue on educational issues from the perspective of educational theory and history. This first volume of the series is devoted to citizenship education in Canada and Spain, and concomitant issues of rights, duties, the language and practice of democracy, pluralism, images of the other in childhood, anti-racism and the current impact of economic globalization and electronic forms of communication. The health and stability of contemporary democracies depend, according to Kymlicka and Norman, not only on the justice of their ‘basic structure’ but also on the qualities and attitudes of the citizens and their sense of identity, on their ability to work with those who are different from themselves, and on their capacity to participate in the pursuit of a public good.¹

Within the context of economic globalization, electronic world communications and political paradigmatic shifts, which question the traditional focus of citizenship upon individual nation states, it is understandable that citizenship education has become a central issue in current pedagogical debates. The focus, Kerry Kennedy pointed out, has moved away “from the needs of individual nations to more global needs and interests,” although the approaches to globalization may differ.²

This collection includes four papers written by Canadian authors having Canada as the point of reference and four by Spanish authors who focus on Spain. The reader will readily note the historical contextuality of the understanding of citizenship, and multiculturalist and anti-racist education in its conception and application. The divergency is apparent even as the authors are all concerned with issues of identity, rights and duties, difference and connectedness, the politics of recognition, the politics of exclusion, and the new face of economic globalization. The Canadian authors are preoccupied with citizen-state relations and national identity. In the


case of Magsino’s paper this preoccupation appears in relation to cultural retention. In the case of Bruno-Jofré and Henley it is treated in light of the penetration of the market into every aspect of life and the articulation of a social ethic. Magnusson fully addresses the issue by analyzing the impact of globalization on post secondary institutions. Haire and Manley-Casimir are concerned with the restoration of the primary civic duty in the discourse of citizenship education as a means of stressing the interconnection of people, and of providing more than workers for the global market place.

The Spanish papers do not show the same degree of concern with penetration of the market in defining civic life or in the role of schooling or with the negative impact of economic globalization on educational reform. Instead, they deal with the building of a democratic community in relation to difference and to social integration as in the ethnographic study by Jover and Reyero that understands culture as resembling a complex network of interacting meaning; the concerns expressed by Mayordomo that the weight of previous experiences create a reluctant attitude toward citizenship education as a means to foster social integration; the proposal by Puig to make the school a democratic community aiming at the achievement of democracy and social integration; and the argument by Muñoz Sedano that we need to develop an intercultural education concerned not only with diversity and equity but also with social cohesion.

The Spanish papers need to be read within the Spanish contemporary historical reality and Spain’s recent autocratic past. The 1978 Spanish Constitution marks the final rupture with four decades of an autocratic regime. The Constitution established a normative framework for Spain as a social and democratic state based on law and the values of freedom, justice, equality, and political pluralism (Article 1.1); and a state that proclaims the rights and freedom of its citizens (Article 14-38); a state that acknowledges not only the cultural and historical peculiarities of the different territories and communities that are components of the state, but also the right to autonomy and solidarity (Article 2 and 143.1). The new Spanish educational policies inspired by those principles emphasize educational civic objectives that include, “a) full development of human personality; b) a formative process based on respect for fundamental rights and freedoms and on tolerance and freedom within the democratic principles of coexistence; e) a formation based on respect for the linguistic and cultural plurality of Spain; f) preparation for active participation in social and cultural life; and g) a formation for peace, cooperation, and solidarity among peoples.”

Spain also became an open society with a European orientation by joining the Council of Europe in 1977, by being a signatory to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and finally by becoming part of the European Union in 1987. This repositioning of Spain implied that the Spaniards could belong to and exercise rights to participate in different living spheres: local, autonomic, national, European, etc. As one of the editors, Gonzalo Jover, says, to be a Spaniard is to be at the same time a citizen in various sites.

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3 Ley Orgánica 1/1990, de 3 de Octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo, Article 1.1. (Boletín Oficial del Estado del 4 de Octubre de 1990)
The changes accelerated the immigration of people to Spain from various countries, in particular from northern Africa, with consequent repercussions on the school population. Spain is a country from which people migrated to Europe and the Americas, but it is also a colonizer and colonized country with a long history, characterized by Pierre Vilar as a “melting pot in which the contributions of the most diverse cultures melted.” The geography of Spain embodies its own contradictions. As Vilar put it, Spain “on one side, opens itself widely to all kind of external influences thanks to a welcoming periphery; on the other side, quickly struggles against those who want to penetrate it more profoundly with multiple barriers set by mountains and plateaus, the rigour of its climate, and the scarcity of resources.”

The contingencies of history, together with the presence of diverse cultural influences, should help to relativize rigid ascriptions to external and internal differences. However, this is not the case. Spain is not free of attitudes of rejection of others and intolerance toward what is different.

There are also other issues that need attention. Recent studies indicate that in Spain there is an unconditional support for the democratic system but little interest in political participation. They also show that young Spaniards consider the rights related to their close needs (housing, jobs, education) more important than basic freedoms (such as religious and ideological freedoms, freedom of expression, etc) and the right to political participation. These attitudes are in line with the general tendency in the old welfare Europe and they are a threat to democratic systems. The Canadian philosopher, Charles Taylor, having Tocqueville in mind, wrote that the risk affecting contemporary democracies is that the citizens may end becoming individuals “enclosed in their own hearts.” Rather than participating in the democratic process, “they will prefer to stay home and enjoy the satisfactions of private life, as long as the government of the day produces the means to these satisfactions and distributes them widely.”

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5 Ibid., 5.
8 Gonzalo Jover, “Educación y Ciudadanía: El Compromiso Cívico de los Jóvenes Españoles,” manuscript.
Canada, in contrast to Spain, has a well established parliamentary democratic tradition. The Canadian papers reflect current political dilemmas. Their historical roots are, on one side, in the expansion of the British empire, in particular the conquest of New France in 1763, and the colonization of the Aboriginal Peoples; and on the other side, in the American Revolution that symbolizes the point of reference for the consideration of Canada's place in North America.

The Canadian papers are by and large historically framed by Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in Canada, by changes in French-Canadian nationalism and the Quebec's distinctiveness, by the lasting consequences of the intrusive penetration of British values as a form of globalization in the XIX and part of the XX century; by demands from ethnic minorities within the context of evolving identities; and, of course, by the impact of globalization in economic and communication terms, which opens questions regarding Canadian sovereignty. The official character of Canada since 1971 as an English-French bilingual and multicultural country, and the passing into law of the Constitution Act in 1982 with the inclusion of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, provide a framework for the debate over issues of difference and citizenship education. In fact, multiculturalism was entrenched in Section 27 of the Charter that states: “This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.”

The collection is divided into two parts, one devoted to the discussion of issues framing citizenship education in Spain and Canada, such as multicultural education and national identity or the impact of globalization, and the other to issues that are related to life in the classroom.

Part I, entitled Issues of National Identity, Difference, and Globalization includes five papers. It opens with “Fomentar la Ciudadanía en una Sociedad Multicultural: El Multiculturalismo Canadiense como un Modelo Político” (“Nourishing Citizenship in a Multicultural Society: Canadian Multiculturalism as a Policy Model”), written by Rómulo Magsino. The author makes a strong argument for the need to nourish citizenship through a multicultural education, consistent with, and following from, the notion of multiculturalism adopted and developed in Canada. He takes issue with authors who, given their ignorance or misunderstanding of the Canadian policy of multiculturalism, question it as a threat to the development of a Canadian national identity and counters the assertion that it fosters ghettoization. On the contrary, Magsino argues that accommodation of the aspirations of cultural groups and individuals as provided for in the policy and upheld by the Court has led to better integration. Magsino also argues for an inclusive curriculum that accommodates the study of diverse cultures in the country and the study of the entitlements and responsibilities of citizenship. This paper, although unique to Canada, contains

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introduction

issues that are present in the Spanish debate as is evident in the paper by Alejandro Mayordomo.

The paper by Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Richard Henley, “Educación Pública en Canadá de Habla Inglesa: El Tratamiento de la Diferencia en el Contexto de la Globalización Económica” (Public Schooling in English Canada: Addressing Difference in the Context of Globalization), moves beyond culture as the defining element of multicultural/anti-racist education. It is based on an understanding of the Canadian polity based on a pluralistic moral democracy that recognizes a fluid concept of cultural retention, differentiated citizenship as explained by Kymlicka, and a social ethic of care. Using this understanding as a point of reference the paper questions the limits of multicultural education and calls attention to the impact of economic globalization and of important components of educational reform on multicultural/anti-racist practices. It makes problematic the understanding of democracy as a neutral concept and discusses the implications of the shift toward a privatized model of democracy within the current global economy. The pedagogical proposals are grounded in the understanding of the Canadian polity as indicated above and aim at making difference a fundamental feature of the public Canadian culture, one in which public participation would be a moral imperative. The analysis has also a historical perspective goes beyond the literal reading of multicultural policy and advocates the creation of a common ground beyond the imperatives of the market. In a way it complements and expands Magsino’s paper while offering a critical perspective that also situates Canada’s international role in current processes of educational reform.

The next paper, written by Alejandro Mayordomo, is entitled “Regenerar la Sociedad, Construir el Patriotismo o la Ciudadanía: Educación y Socialización Política en España del Siglo XX” (Regenerating Society, Building Patriotism or Citizenship: Education and Political Socialization in Spain during the XX Century). Mayordomo traces the various profiles that civic education adopted during the last one hundred years in theoretical writings and in legislated educational policies. According to Mayordomo, the Spanish history of the XX century can, by and large, be considered the history of the failure to vertebrate the Spanish society, or, in the words of the poet Antonio Machado, a history plagued by chimeras and shipwrecks. Civic education has always been seen as an instrument to build a desired type of society and to justify political ideals and practices. The latter could be expressed as the formation of class consciousness, as a critical and revolutionary response to constituted power, or on the other extreme, as the formation of a national spirit and love for the homeland, understanding it as a community having an essential destiny. The historical background provided here helps to explain current sceptical attitudes toward proposals to include civic education in the school curriculum. Today, however, we know that pretending that the school is a neutral political space risks leaving the door open to political influences as they filter through many cracks.

There is not just one answer to the question of how to approach education and diversity, education across difference. The paper by Antonio Muñoz Sedano, “Hacia una Educación Intercultural: Enfoques y Modelos” (“Toward an Intercultural
Education: Approaches and Models”) reviews the various models to deal with a multicultural reality in schools. He conceptualizes the models as schemes, frameworks of reference, that provide orientation to the work of researchers and educators and embody ideologies, goals, values, and norms. Muñoz Sedano organizes the main models under four major approaches which, in turn, respond to different political options: cultural hegemony, integration, acknowledgement of the plurality of cultures, and intercultural. The paper represents a critical reading of the literature, with a substantial number of North American titles, from the perspective of a Spanish scholar interested in a combination of multicultural, antiracist, and civic education along with global education. The expected result is a critical and inclusive model of intercultural education. In Muñoz Sedano’s view, intercultural education cannot be concerned only with diversity and equity but must also take into account social cohesion. It is necessary to cultivate, he says relying on other Spanish authors, a culture of convergence and a common public culture.

Part I closes with the paper by Jamie-Lynn Magnusson titled, “Canadian Higher Education and Citizenship in the Context of State Restructuring and Globalization” (“La Educación Superior Canadiense en el Contexto de la Restructuración del Estado y de la Globalización”). The author, using Jacob Torfing’s theoretical insights, analyzes the changes in higher education from the perspective of political economies conceptualized as discourse formations that are supportive of strategies of capitalist accumulation. After reviewing the relationship between the Keynesian- welfare state and higher education and examining it as an extension of the capitalist nation state, Magnusson explores the impact of neoliberal strategies on higher education within a global context. She puts particular emphasis on issues of identity formation, citizenship and the role of higher education in relation to equity, social justice, and the democratic imperative. This paper opens important questions about research paradigms, such as constructivism, that are embraced by progressive educators without making problematic their political implications.

Part II, Issues Emerging from the Praxis of Education Across Difference opens with the paper by Gonzalo Jover and David Reyero, “Images of the Other in Childhood: Researching the Limits of Cultural Diversity in Education from the Standpoint of New Anthropological Methodologies” (Imágenes del Otro en la Niñez: Investigando los Límites de la Diversidad Cultural en la Educación desde la Posición de las Nuevas Metodologías Antropológicas). The authors’ point of departure is that if we are going to teach in a multicultural context with multicultural values we should start by asking how our students see the other who is culturally different. The paper is based on field research conducted with girls and boys of ages ranging from six to twelve years, in two primary schools in the Madrid Autonomous Community. The methodology is grounded in the analysis of viewing and representing reality that is prevalent in Cultural Studies and Visual Anthropology. The results show, how in the representations children make of others, customs and forms of dressing outweigh physical differences such as skin colour. The results also manifest the richness of detail that children see hidden behind the images of other. The authors call for attention to this richness and varied details that can easily
be drawn in the efforts to promote tolerance and recognition. The authors argue that educating in a multicultural milieu requires teachers to reveal the artificiality and variability of cultural barriers and to search for the “you” living in the other, the particular biography beyond identifying labels.

Catherine Haire and Michael Manley-Casimir place their paper in the context of the debate about the nature of the Canadian national identity and citizenship education. It is called “Restoring ‘Duty’ to the Discourse of Rights and Citizenship Education: A Radical Retrenchment” (“Restaurando ‘Deber’ en el Discurso de Derechos y Educación Ciudadana: Una Retirada Radical”) They raise a very important issue in the Canadian context, the tendency of public discourse to include assertions about putative rights without a clear understanding of human rights laws or theories. Such discourse not only diminishes the claim to rights but ignores the obligations or duties that those rights invoke. The authors approach the shift from preparing students to assume their role as responsible citizens to an economic orientation in which students are prepared as workers for a global competitive market by restoring civic duty in the discourse permeating curriculum.

The underlying theme is the danger of the breakup of society in which the civic bond has been attenuated by emphasis on rights with little regard for civic duties. The actual exploration in this paper of ways to interconnect rights and obligations in the Ontario curriculum is really useful to the reader. The paper throughout displays a preoccupation with a civic order which does not disregard the common good. It also has interesting points in common with Bruno-Jofre and Henley’s paper, in particular by their inclusion of a social ethic of care in the understanding of the Canadian polity, and with the emphasis on differentiating a “privatized democracy” from a “moral democracy” when thinking of pedagogical strategies. Both papers are concerned with the public good, social integration based on social justice, and active citizenship rather than on the pursuit of private interest.

Part II closes with a paper by José María Puig, “La Escuela como Comunidad Democrática” (The School as a Democratic Community). The author explores how schools could help to generate social integration in societies that are highly differentiated. He reviews sociological and philosophical responses to his main question and moves toward an analysis of interpersonal relations, such as affective ties, dialogue, and cooperation, that could help to generate social integration and civic participation. The author moves those concepts and ideas to the school setting to generate a democratic school community and ultimately a horizon of values gestating a minimum common ground.

This collection of papers provides some answers but also opens questions and leaves us with the realization of the difficulties encountered by educators today. Among the unanswered questions are those related to the issues dealing with deep diversity and the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Deep diversity is relevant to political theorists but also to educators both in Canada, where the presence of Quebec and Aboriginal First Nations set particular parameters to being Canadian, and in Spain where there is a long history of claims of autonomy or autonomic forms. The collection shows a shared concern with democratic participation and
social integration across difference. However, Spanish contributors do not seem to be troubled by the process of globalization and the loss of their identity. They display a sense of being historically rooted although those roots display a diversity of cultures and influences over centuries. The issue of social integration with new immigrants appears at the centre of most Spanish contributions. Coexistence within an open relativism based on tolerance and privatized democracy does not seem to be enough to build a sense of a identity and a degree of cohesion. Canadian contributors also tend to think of the common good in light not only of social integration but also of the impact of globalization (including loss of Canadian identity and sovereignty) and of civic participation as part of a civic discourse that contains social responsibility. Spanish contributors feel mostly at ease with a European identity that is perceived in a weak sense in a rather new political space, although one burdened by history. It is interesting to note that when discussing participation the Spanish authors did not place the issue in relation to the process of European integration and the many decisions that are being made through bureaucratic procedures without much consultation.

Finally, the collection shows to an important extent that the systems of thought regulating universities, the definition of scholarship, the regimes of truth and reasoning, and the professional norms that pervade academia have been historically constructed and are embedded in cultural life. For those readers who are able to read both the English and Spanish papers written in Spanish, it will be occasionally a cross cultural exercise.