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**UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA**

**Alberta Social Studies Textbooks and Human Rights Education**

**By**

**Randy Williams**



**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree**

**of**

**Master of Education**

**in**

**International and Global Education**

**Department of Educational Policy Studies**

**Edmonton, Alberta**

**Spring, 2001**



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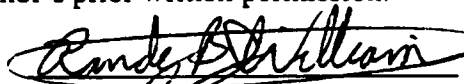
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**Degree:** Master of Education

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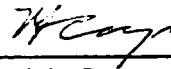
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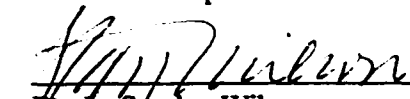
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## **Abstract**

**Human rights education is growing in importance worldwide. The role of schools can play an vital role in human rights education. Textbooks provide an important source of information, knowledge and understanding for students' awareness and advocacy in their society and the world. The study investigates the role of textbooks in Alberta's Social Studies courses.**

**The primary research methodology of the study is a qualitative content analysis of a select number of senior high school Social Studies textbooks used in Alberta over the past three years. A conceptual framework of human rights principles, issues and practices is designed based on major international human rights instruments pertinent to the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education and used to critically analyze the textbook content for its ability to empower practical activities beyond the mere provision of information.**

**A comprehensive range of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights is included in the coding framework. A detailed checklist is used to identify issues of human rights found in the content of textbooks. The study indicates that at present, Alberta textbooks cannot serve as the sole source for students and teachers. Supplementary resources are required in order to provide a human rights education using Alberta textbooks in their present form.**

## Acknowledgement

Trust in my co-supervisors, Dr. Swee-Hin Toh and Dr. Virginia Cawagas, was the main ingredient in allowing me to finish this thesis. Their guidance in creating the final product, from the written words to the ideas they convey, taught me as much as the work itself and began years prior, when I was an undergraduate student in their class. As one of those students excluded from an Alberta Student Loan by Alberta Learning, I would not have been able to complete my thesis without the kind generosity of Dr. Toh and Dr. Cawagas.

Dr. L. Stanley Wilson's original approach to teaching inspired me as a graduate student in his class and I could not have produced the final product of this thesis without his thoughtful comments and unique perspective. His considerable skill with sentence structure and his eye for what was missing but necessary for the content and analysis became apparent from his edit of my thesis and it added a dimension of depth for which I am appreciative.

Dr. Sandra D. Ubelacker reminded me that when the cause is right, one must speak one's thoughts, even if the words are not ready to be heard. The ripple effect of words travel from tongues to ears, from words to eyes, from ideas to actions, and actions produce a new curriculum that promotes authors to develop books with a new focus on human rights.

This thesis was truly a team effort from an academic point of view but behind the scenes, I need to recognize the considerable contributions from my mother, Marlene V. Williams, who rather than retire, has remained working, as Student Finance has demanded, so that I may complete both this thesis and the second year of my Law degree. I must also acknowledge my grandmother's contributions, Mary C. Savorn, who throughout has provided contributions for books, living expenses and tuition in times of need. Finally, the spirit of Desiree J. Williams, my niece, age nine, is the reason for my involvement in human rights. She provides hope, resilience and purpose that makes the effort of the journey worthwhile. This thesis carries the torch of social justice for three generations of females in my family. I hope that I can fulfill their faith.



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human rights was endorsed by the United Nations as an international norm to uphold the rights and freedoms of all human beings. The Declaration not only reaffirmed the vital role of civil and political rights of human beings found in earlier constitutional documents but it also articulated a range of economic, social, and cultural rights to which all human beings are entitled. Since 1948, the field of human rights has been elaborated and implemented in substantive detail through many instruments known as covenants, conventions, and declarations.

During the 50<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the Universal Declaration of Human rights in 1998, there was wide consensus in official circles as well as nongovernmental (NGO) movements worldwide on three issues.

First, the Declaration and subsequent covenants and subsidiary instruments have laid crucial foundations for the promotion and upliftment of human rights in all levels of life.

Second, despite significant progress in protecting human rights in many countries and regions, there is still a serious gap between theory and practice in upholding the rights and freedoms of billions of human beings in the world. Violations of human rights in all its forms continue unabated especially in South contexts. But even in affluent liberal-democratic societies, some areas of human rights promotion remain deficient such as the rights of aboriginal peoples, “visible minorities,” gays and lesbians, and people in socioeconomic deprivation.

The third issue highlights the role of education in the theory and practice of human rights after five decades of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Human rights education is now regarded as indispensable in promoting human rights. As people are educated about their rights and the rights of others, they are empowered to protect and promote those rights. In many situations, the lack of awareness among citizens that they

are entitled to basic rights and freedoms has enabled individuals, institutions, and systems to commit violations of these rights. Furthermore, educating for human rights seeks to catalyze awareness into courageous action to build more just, democratic, and ultimately peaceful relationships and structures.

Human rights education should lead to a peaceful world that shares resources and where each human being, respectful of the rights of others, can freely fulfill a promise of potential and his/her personal and societal obligations to humanity. Illiteracy, poverty, war, greed, joblessness, homelessness, hopelessness, hunger, disease, crimes, premature death, torture and dictatorships are the symptoms of human rights violations, neglect, arrogance and a lack of human rights education. At present, human rights education is absent where it is most needed: the poor, the unskilled, the uneducated, the unhealthy, the young, and the old, particularly in developing nations. Among the privileged few who do receive human rights education, there are those who choose, for personal advantage, to digest the information but fail to act to build a culture of human rights. These statements are supported by the contents of the Human Development Report 1999 (UNDP) and it is a theme stated throughout the report.

The role of human rights education in the world is dependent upon several key factors such as the political will of governments and individual citizens; the financial resources available to individuals and to governments; the military, police and judiciary respecting life and the rule of law as stated in international human rights instruments; the balancing of past and current corporate activities with their once and future obligations to local and global rights; the social activities of families and communities as well as practices undertaken in a society; and the knowledge accessible to individuals and to governments.

On December 23, 1994, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 49/184 and proclaimed 1995-2004 as the United Nations Decade (January 1, 1995 - December 31, 2004) for Human Rights Education. The UN Decade for Human Rights Education compliments, enhances and originates from earlier international human rights

instruments. They include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26: “education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,” and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 13 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 28 (UN Resolution 49/184).

The theoretical knowledge of human rights and its practical application were established as an educational policy priority by the Commission on Human Rights with resolution 1993/56 on March 9, 1993. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights created a Plan of Action (Resolution 1994/51) to implement the UN Decade for Education and through the Social and Economic Council, the Secretary-General submitted it to the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly (UN Resolution 49/184).

The Plan of Action would contain the principles that (1) education is a life-long process and more than the mere provision of information, (2) people at all levels of development, in all strata of society should learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods that societies ensure it, (3) people would mean men and women of all ages, including diverse segments of society, children, indigenous peoples, minorities and disabled persons, (4) to realize one’s human potential, men, women and children must know their civil, cultural, economic, political and social human rights, (5) human rights education is a prerequisite individual human right for the societal realization of human rights, democracy and social justice (UNESCO, Montreal, 1993), for harmonious inter-community relations, mutual tolerance, understanding and peace (UN Resolution 49/184).

Worldwide, there are increasing efforts to promote human rights through educational institutions at all levels. As the next generation of children is socialized through to adulthood, schools provide a vital role by teaching successive generations to understand and to practice respect for human rights.

In the North, and slowly in a growing number of South countries, school curricula and programs have been attempting to integrate understanding of human rights issues. While it would be rare to find human rights as a separate subject in schools, proponents of human rights education and related fields such as peace education and global education have shown how human rights issues can be infused in diverse topics in many subject areas especially but not exclusively in social studies. In Alberta and other Canadian provinces, students are expected to develop a good understanding of key constitutional instruments like the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other instruments that enable specific rights to be upheld (e.g. statutory: Multiculturalism Act). From elementary levels, students are also educated on the importance of respecting the rights of others, and to practice relating with everybody based on nonviolence, acceptance of diversity, justice and democracy, all of which underpin a culture of human rights.

In Alberta, during the 90s, the Alberta Teachers Association (ATA) Global Education Project has also encouraged human rights education under the overall goals of creating a just, nonviolent, and sustainable world. Nationwide, agencies such as the Provincial Human Rights Commission, Canadian Heritage, and NGOs have also assisted teachers in focusing on such human rights issues as discrimination based on race/ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation, physical violence (e.g., bullying and domestic abuse), and sexual harassment.

This study is an attempt to assess one key dimension in implementing human rights education through the curriculum area of Social Studies, namely the role played by textbooks. While supplementary learning resources distributed by the Alberta Learning Resource Distribution Centre and Heritage Canada are regularly used in classrooms, department recommended textbooks clearly serve as a source of knowledge and understanding of human rights for high school students. For teachers, these textbooks are potential tools for human rights education. It is therefore important to conduct research to

assess whether and how a sample of high school Social Studies textbooks may or may not be helping teachers to bring human rights education into Social Studies teaching.

## **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Prior to an elaboration of the research problem, it is pertinent to clarify the conceptual framework of the study. This study makes the assumption that the state of the world is a matter of choices made by individuals and groups, views local and global problems as issues of human rights, and considers human rights education to be a vital means of transforming our choices. A holistic approach based on the principle of human dignity is applied in this study. In a legalistic framework, international human rights instruments set formal obligations and standards on governments and arms of governments rather than on private organizations and individuals acting outside of governments. However, conceptually and practically, in the everyday world, human rights values and norms apply to the practices of all human beings, institutions and other societal structures and systems. Moreover, within societies, existing laws and regulations also facilitate the maintenance of relationships and structures that uphold human rights in its various forms and levels. At the international and global levels, human rights advocacy is also focusing on the role of powerful private agencies, such as the transnational corporations, in human rights promotion or violation (Peoples Decade of Human Rights Education, 1995). Human Rights educators therefore seek to transcend a narrow legalistic approach in educating about and for human rights.

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, human rights education has expanded as a field of educational theory and practice in many regions. In this regard, a key international agency has been UNESCO whose programs have highlighted integration of human rights understanding and advocacy (Senarclens, 1983). For example, the Associated Schools Project established in 1953 has encouraged children and youth to participate in promoting UNESCO ideas of peace, human rights, and international

understanding. The 1974 UNESCO recommendations concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms were influential channels for human rights education. More recently, in Vienna (1993), the World conference on Human Rights reiterated the importance of human rights education and proposed the UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004). The Vienna Declaration stated that:

*Human rights education, training and public information were essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace. It called on all states and institutions to include human rights, humanitarian law, democracy and rule of law as subjects in the curricula of all learning institutions in formal and non-formal settings. (1993, p. 67)*

In various countries and regions, efforts to promote human rights education have proceeded at various rates depending on political, social, cultural and educational factors. Especially in school contexts, human rights education is invariably integrated into core subject areas such as Social Studies. Human rights are often also a crucial component of a range of educational movements or areas (e.g., global education, peace education, moral education, civic or citizenship education) (Starkey, 1991; Eide, 1983; Tarrow, 1987). In Canada, human rights education has been promoted by agencies such as provincial human rights commissions and teachers associations, and academics within the framework of peace education and global education. The Manitoba Human Rights Commission (Burch, 1991), for example, developed an institutional framework whereby all aspects of school policies and practices can be assessed for its human rights content and process. The ATA's Global Education Project and its Safe and Caring School Program have stressed that teachers and students need to understand human rights principles and practice these in their school and community life. Likewise, multicultural education has been "instrumental in developing awareness, sensitivity, and the



implementation of human rights and human rights education regarding ethnicity, race, religion, national origin, citizenship, and [other analogous] rights such as equality before the law” (McLeod, 1991, p. 164).

Conceptually, this study also draws from the work of a human rights educator and advocate, Betty Reardon (1995). Betty Reardon, founding Director of the International Institute on Peace Education, defines two objectives of the Decade for Human Rights Education as: “(1) all human beings should be made aware of the rights accorded to them by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international instruments for its implementation, procedures for redress, and that political authorities and citizens ...can be held accountable.... (2) ...Facilitate society’s becoming aware of problems that impede the realization of human rights, ...and ways to resolve those problems” (1995, p. 4).

In most cases, societies and individuals know when they are violating human rights but have been taught that it is acceptable for whatever reason. Sometimes the excuse is that if a certain individual or a certain group of people must suffer in whatever way and to whatever degree, it is for the “greater good.” For instance, the Seville Statement On Violence (Adams, 1989) questions the belief that war is inevitable. The Geneva Convention of 1949 on Prisoners of War sets rules for the treatment of prisoners and it is only one of numerous treaties throughout centuries where countries have set rules for the conduct of warfare. The United States dropped the atomic bombs on civilian Japanese cities based on the official reasoning of “saving” an estimated million casualties that may have been lost by defeating Japan by conventional means. Human rights should be teaching that the value of one person is inviolable. No sacrifice is acceptable, even for the so-called greater good.

Reardon describes the Decade for Human Rights Education as:

*... a set of tools...to limit and ...to eliminate social, structural and political violence... by creating minimum conditions of human rights as a foundation of a*

*non-violent social order...defined as positive peace which would ...reduce the causes of war. (1995, p. 4)*

She connects positive peace which includes social and economic justice, with negative peace, through “elimination of armed conflict...and political repression imposed by force...” (Reardon, 1995, p. 4). Forms of armed conflict or the exercise of military, economic, political and structural power has shaped the development of the world and it has been used as a means of determining whose values would become the standard values of justice. In order to preserve human dignity of some peoples, countries and individuals have violated human dignity of others, with millions of victims and many sacrifices (human, animal, plant and environmental).

Can human rights education eliminate poverty, greed, hunger, religion, boundary or ideological disputes between countries or possessions that are at the root of so many conflicts? Can it undo past injustices, or revive to life the loved ones killed, taken from families who cannot replace them, or from relatives who care for nobody remaining alive on the planet and who are willing to die for the justice of revenge? The future must leap past the interconnected and cyclic vengeance pits of the past but that can only occur on the holistic basis of values and choices, often clouded by the emotions of injury, despair, injustice, destitution and anger.

While Reardon’s holistic approach is based on “core values of dignity and integrity... from which all human rights emerge,” holism comprises the idea of interconnection. I define dignity as comprising respect for what each life is worth and although I do consider it to be innate, my view is that recognition of dignity in all forms of life is a choice based not only on the value of human rights but on the value of all life and of the Earth itself. Even if we believe in human rights, we must choose to live by them or not and we must determine when they apply and under what conditions they do not, especially when rights conflict or are blatantly violated. The remedy for violation presents a complex dilemma fraught with errors of judgment and the contradiction of

societal justification for violating individual rights “with reasonable force” to preserve international and national standards.

Human rights should therefore include respect for the dignity of all forms of life and the Earth at their core and this study will focus on human rights clustered into the following divisions:

1. Civil Rights: Measures of Equality, Rights of Dignity, Freedoms of Choice;
2. Political Rights: Freedoms of Affiliations, Freedoms of Activities;
3. Economic Rights: Work Rights, Right to freely pursue one’s economic development, Minimum Living Standards;
4. Social Rights: Right to Education, Right to Health Care, Right to Development;
5. Cultural Rights: Language, Cultural Development, Right to culture, to participate in a cultural life

These divisions will be explained in more detail in the coding framework section of Chapter 3 on research methodology.

Reardon states “two fundamental value concepts of human rights education for global responsibility” which I support: “human relationships based on the dignity of all persons and global citizenship” (Reardon, 1995, p. 7) and I would add a third to be preservation of the Earth rather than reverence for it, and I would add the dignity of all life forms as a fourth fundamental value. Dignity of life cannot be exclusive only to humans; it must be universal to all forms of life.

Reardon describes generations of rights (1995, p. 8-9). By her terminology, this study would focus on two generations of individual rights. Civil and political rights are categorized as “restraints on the power of the state over citizens to assure freedom.” Economic and social rights are classified as “obligations of the state to the citizens to assure economic and social well-being.” A third generation she labels “collective or solidarity rights” but this study includes many of these rights such as self-determination within the so-called generations of individual rights. Cultural rights may fit into

Reardon's third generation but like her fourth generation of rights classified as "crimes against humanity," these third and fourth generation of rights fit comfortably into the five clusters I use in the analysis rather than clutter the study with discussion of generations of rights. For this study, it is sufficient to recognize that rights provide restraints and obligations on the relationship between states and citizens. But as earlier noted, a holistic human rights education perspective must include the rights and responsibilities of all individuals and groups in all forms of relationships.

This study adopts what Reardon describes as "an international standards and institutions approach" which she describes as "the most effective conceptual approach to human rights education through the international standards themselves, the principles, declarations, covenants, and conventions that are the foundations of international human rights law promulgated by the United Nations" (1995, p. 9). Reardon further explains that it is:

*... a holistic approach... (1) to demonstrate... define, assess, and determine the severity of ...major world problems demonstrated by... values conceptualized... within international standards, and (2) to provide norms for assessing trends towards or away from a world community and global social integration and (3) to assess the definition and growth of universality...in rights defined in the face of social wrongs. (1995, p. 10)*

This study thus applies the international standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with a particular focus upon the International Covenants On Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in a global perspective and adapted to Canadian instruments such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. If they are to be effective sources of knowledge and understanding of human rights education, the textbooks under analysis should provide Alberta students with the relevant tools for awareness and advocacy.

In complementary fashion, a reconstructionist position is taken to suggest how knowledge from the Alberta textbooks may be used for social change or for

transformative action. Do the textbooks identify social wrongs and suggest how to apply the values of human rights to address them? For instance, do they describe how women obtained the vote in Canada or other countries; and do they address the issue of children having a voice in matters that affect their interests? As Reardon states, such processes are “education for authentic democracy” (1995, p. 12).

Why are international human rights standards important? According to Reardon (1995), they are (1) a means to “assess...values of human dignity and social justice” (p. 13), they are (2) “indicators of the development of peaceful and just societies” (p.13) and they are (3) “guides to development of social responsibility among learners” (p.13). She has created a flexible developmental sequence and suggests human rights education is “best understood [by] issues and problems [it is] intended to address” (p.14). This study conducts a search in Alberta textbooks for such issues and problems and analyzes whether they are addressed by international human rights standards.

Reardon bases human rights values upon human dignity and a social contract of reciprocal rights and responsibilities between citizens and states. She suggests that high school textbooks should “deal directly with the realities of [high school students’] lives” (1995, p. 21). Following Reardon’s perspective, do Alberta’s textbooks address the realities of students’ lives? Reardon further suggests that reconstructionist textbooks should confront human rights abuses with (1) public awareness, (2) analysis of causes...and remedies proposed and tried, and introduce the concepts of (3) *moral exclusion* that considers persons or groups outside the bounds in which rules of fairness apply and (4) *moral responsibility* that comprises individual and social responsibility to speak out or act to stop rights violations against others. Students thus “assess values” and “make choices” under conditions where they will have “questions of risk and sacrifice” on whether or not to speak out and act (p. 21). High school students are capable of making choices and of taking social action.

## **Research Problem**

In sum, guided by the conceptual issues of human rights education summarized in the preceding section, this study seeks to analyze the content of two senior high Social Studies textbooks in Alberta from the perspective of human rights education. Based on such a content analysis, the study draws implications for the role of Social Studies textbooks in promoting the understanding and practice of human rights among senior high school students.

More specifically, the study asks what key concepts does Alberta's human rights education framework offer to students? Does it provide students with a set of values to identify violations of human dignity (awareness) and what to do about them (advocacy)? What human rights education materials do the textbooks contain that are pertinent as tools for awareness and advocacy?

The goal of human rights education is to change what we think so that our values and choices result in more dignified local and global communities. Do Alberta textbooks contribute to achieving such a goal?

Unfortunately, the international human rights instruments may not hold individual citizens accountable unless they develop the values and make the choice to adhere to international or national standards of dignity to which governments or arms of governments may be held accountable. Do these two textbooks provide either awareness or knowledge of applicability to students?

Do Alberta textbooks address criteria used by governments to justify the violation of rights and provide a means for students to assess the criteria as either impartial or prejudicial?

The realization of universal respect for human dignity and adherence to human rights requires enforcement. Do Alberta textbooks address such difficult issues for student contemplation? Do Alberta textbooks detail how good intentions have unexpected

consequences? Do Alberta texts recognize that rights provide restraints and obligations on the relationship between states and citizens?

When confronted with a violation of their rights, do the Alberta textbooks provide high school students with sufficient values, skills, and knowledge to recognize, verbalize and actualize a remedy for themselves and for others?

### **Significance of the Study**

This study will draw implications for the role of Social Studies textbooks in promoting human rights education pertinent to human rights action, activities, participation and/or life skills among senior high school students. It will clarify one important aspect of Canada's accomplishments in fulfilling its educational obligations as a signatory to the human rights instruments. It will help to partially assess Canada's capacity to fulfill the promise of 1995-2004 as the UN Decade for Human Rights Education.

It is hoped that this study could claim that either Alberta Social Studies textbooks contain sufficient and necessary information to provide students with a human rights education or that Canadian obligations for the UN Decade for Human Rights Education were merely a temporary half-decade or decade effort of special informational packages without any long term, life long plan for students.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **Introduction**

This review of related literature comprises two sections. First, a summary of key concepts, issues and problems in the theory and practice of human rights is presented. Second, the field of human rights education is clarified drawing on theoretical discussions as well as case studies and practical exemplars in both North and South contexts.

#### **Human Rights**

The concept of human rights maintains that all human beings are entitled to the fulfillment of rights and freedoms by virtue of being human. Although it was only in 1948 that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was articulated and approved by the United Nations, some key values and principles of human rights thinking and practice have already been implicit in a range of political, social and cultural frameworks. For example, the constitutional documents arising from the French and American revolutions refer to various formal civil and political liberties or freedoms (Selby, 1998). From a cultural perspective, diverse religions and faiths would also claim that key values and beliefs uphold human dignities and freedoms parallel to the promotion of human rights (UNESCO, 1995).

In the framework of international human rights law, stress is laid on the relations between states and citizens. Hence, governments are regularly monitored to assess the degree to which they fulfill their obligations to uphold the human rights of their citizens. However, as earlier noted, from a holistic human rights education perspective, human rights should also apply to relationships between and among individuals and/or groups, whether or not states are directly involved. All rights are attached to responsibilities.



Some rights are absolute and cannot be violated under any circumstance, while most other rights are conditional in order to ensure respect of the rights of others. Nations have a responsibility to provide special provisions in order to effectively fulfill the rights of basic disadvantaged groups (United Nations, 1993).

Since the Universal Declaration on Human Rights was proclaimed in 1948, a host of covenants, conventions and declarations have been created. This body of instruments will continue to grow with efforts to elaborate and to implement specific rights. However, changes in societal philosophies and conditions will provide catalysts for such “evolution” in conceptualizing human rights theory and practice.

Comprising information provided by the United Nations High Commissioner For Human Rights with that of Kindred et al (2000), the following useful listing of vital human rights instruments were able to be classified under several major categories of human rights. In the following list, two asterisks (\*\*) indicate ratification and one asterisk (\*) indicates signing by Canada.

#### Charter of the United Nations\*\*

Three articles comprise the United Nations Human Rights Charter: The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the 1966 Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 1988).

The UN Charter refers to human rights that were defined by the General Assembly (ARTS 13 and 62) and the Economic and Social Council (ART 62) through the creation of a Human Rights Commission that drafted an international Bill of Rights beginning in 1946. “The principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other states is reaffirmed in ART 2(7) of the UN Charter but human rights have now carved a significant exception to the rule” (Kindred et al, 2000, p.776).

### Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) - 1948\*\*

This Declaration sets out the defining principles of human rights. Although it was originally non-binding on states, it has become customary law.

Today, “human rights are now well-entrenched within the international legal system ... no government challenges the existence of such rights or their applicability to state behavior taking place wholly within national territory” (Kindred et al, 2000, p.773).

The UDHR is a source of reference for international human rights treaties within the UN organization, for regional human rights treaties around the globe and for national human rights instruments of many countries, including Canada.

Under Karel Vasak’s generation of rights classification, collective rights are third generation rights set out in the UDHR, ART 28 (a right to a social and international legal order in which other rights can be realized). Universal solidarity attempts to share power and wealth of the world. Its proponents are developing countries and Aboriginal peoples. Examples include a right to development, peace and a healthy environment (Kindred et al, 2000, pp.781-782).

### International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights\*\* (ICESCR) – 1966

This Covenant is one of two treaties to make the principles set out in the UDHR legally binding on states.

Under Vasak’s generation of rights classification, these are second generation rights set out in the UDHR, ARTS 22 to 27, said to be framed in positive terms of a - right to - impose active duties on states and represent claims by individuals for an equitable share of economic and social resources. East Bloc and developing countries promoted, in theory, these rights to stem the excesses of free market economies and capitalism, to ensure equality of all participants. Examples of these rights include rights to social security, work and education (Kindred et al, 2000, p.781).

### International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights \*\* (ICCPR) – 1966

This Covenant is the other of two treaties to make the principles set out in the UDHR legally binding on states.

Under Vasak's generation of rights classification, these are first generation rights set out in the UDHR, ARTS 2 to 21, said to be framed in negative terms - rights against or freedom from - and impose on the state a duty to refrain from acting in an injurious manner. Western countries promoted these rights grounded in the idea of individual liberty. They protect the individual against interferences from the state, where human rights act as a shield against abusive intrusions by the state. Examples include the right to life, to be free from torture, and not to be the object of discrimination (Kindred et al, 2000, p.781).

### Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights\*\*

This Protocol provides a procedural mechanism to ensure that states implement rights in the ICCPR. "Treaty rights are binding solely on states who have ratified the treaty" (Kindred, et al, 2000, p.784).

### Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty \*\*

This Protocol provides a procedural mechanism to ensure states implement rights in the ICCPR.

According to the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 that adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. Interdependence relates to the fact that often the realization of a right is necessarily linked to rights of other generations ... and most rights overlap the generation of rights with which they are associated (Kindred et al, 2000).

Other United Nations international human rights treaties include:

### Human Rights Defenders

- Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: A/RES/53/144

#### Right of self-determination

- Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
- General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, "Permanent sovereignty over natural resources"

### Prevention of discrimination

- United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination \*\* - 1966
- International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid\*
- International Convention against Apartheid in Sports \*
- Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention \*
- Convention against Discrimination in Education
- Protocol Instituting a Conciliation and Good Offices Commission to be responsible for seeking a settlement of any disputes which may arise between States Parties to the Convention against Discrimination in Education
- Equal Remuneration Convention \*
- Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief
- Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution to the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War
- Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

### Rights of women

- Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women \*\* - 1979
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women

- Convention on the Political Rights of Women \*
- Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict
- Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women\*

#### Rights of the child

- Declaration on the Rights of the Child
- Convention on the Rights of the Child \*\* - 1989
- Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflicts \*\*
- Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography \*
- Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally

#### Slavery, servitude, forced labor and similar institutions and practices

- Slavery Convention\*
- Protocol amending the Slavery Convention \*
- Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery \*
- Forced Labor Convention \*
- Abolition of Forced Labor Convention \*
- Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others \*

#### Human rights in the administration of justice

- Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners
- Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners
- Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment
- United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty
- Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

- Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment \*\*- 1984
- Principles of Medical Ethics relevant to the Role of Health Personnel, particularly Physicians, in the Protection of Prisoners and Detainees against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- Safeguards guaranteeing protection of the rights of those facing the death penalty
- Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials
- Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials
- Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers
- Guidelines on the Role of Prosecutors
- United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-custodial Measures (The Tokyo Rules)
- United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines)
- United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice ("The Beijing Rules")
- Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power
- Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary
- Model Treaty on the Transfer of Proceedings in Criminal Matters
- Model Treaty on the Transfer of Supervision of Offenders Conditionally Sentenced or Conditionally Released
- Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances
- Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions

#### Freedom of information

- Convention on the International Right of Correction \*

#### Freedom of association

- Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention \*
- Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention \*
- Workers' Representatives Convention \*
- Labor Relations (Public Service) Convention \*

#### Employment

- Employment Policy Convention \*

- Convention (No. 154) concerning the Promotion of Collective Bargaining \*
- Convention (No. 168) concerning Employment Promotion and Protection against Unemployment \*
- Convention (No. 169) concerning Indigenous & Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries\*

#### Marriage, Family and Youth

- Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages \*
- Recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages
- Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples

#### Social welfare, progress and development

- Declaration on Social Progress and Development
- Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons
- Principles for the protection of persons with mental illness and the improvement of mental health care
- Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition
- Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interests of Peace and for the Benefit of Mankind
- Guidelines for the Regulation of Computerized Personal Data Files
- Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons
- Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace
- Declaration on the Right to Development
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families \*
- Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights (UNESCO)

#### Right to enjoy culture, international cultural development and co-operation

- Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation
- Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

### Nationality, statelessness, asylum and refugees

- Convention on the Nationality of Married Women \*
- Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness \*
- Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons \*
- Convention relating to the Status of Refugees \*
- Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees \*
- Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- Declaration on Territorial Asylum
- Declaration on the Human Rights of Individuals Who are not Nationals of the Country in which They Live

### War crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide

- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide \* - 1948
- Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity \*
- Principles of international co-operation in the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity

### Humanitarian law

- Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field
- Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea
- Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War
- Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War
- Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I)
- Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II).

Furthermore, there are also a number of regional human rights treaties reflecting closer integration of states of the same region or subregion. The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental Freedoms (1950) was created by the Council of Europe. The American Convention On Human Rights (1969) was signed by



members of the Organization of American States (OAS), including Canada. In Africa, the Organization of African States for Unity adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1981. The African Charter integrates human and peoples' rights, including more recent issues like environment and equitable development.

On November 20, 1989, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention On The Rights Of The Child. Respect for human rights begins with how we treat our children. The younger they are, the more vulnerable they are. There is a difference between a child's world and an adult's world (United Nations, 1993).

Abandoned by their families, 100 million children subsist by back-breaking work, petty crime, prostitution or begging. More than 50 million children work in unsafe or unhealthy conditions. 120 million children between the ages of 6 and 11 are deprived of schooling. Three and a half million children die of preventable or curable diseases, 155 million children under the age of five live in absolute poverty in developing countries, millions more are maltreated, neglected, sexually exploited and victimized by drug abuse even in the richer countries (United Nations, 1993).

Laws often treat children as if they were little versions of adults. Historically, such a perspective has led to executions, dismemberment and imprisonment of children by the governments and courts (United Nations, 1993).

*Hidden Scandal, Secret Shame - Torture and Ill-Treatment Of Children* (2000) is a report created by Amnesty International (AI) disclosing the torture of children around the world. While international human rights instruments including the UN CROC (United Nations Convention On the Rights of The Child) prohibit the torture of children by the state or arms of the state, AI supports the position that private torture unsanctioned by the state must also be protected by international, regional and domestic laws, especially during times of internal or external conflicts within or between/among nations.

The 1989 UN Convention on Children's Rights provided a child with the right to express views on all matters affecting her/him and the right to be heard in all court,

welfare and administrative proceedings touching on her/his interests. In essence, it gave children a legal voice to express their wishes and choices (United Nations, 1990).

Alberta was the only Canadian province that had not ratified the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Parents were afraid of losing their right to impose their choices upon their children's choices, that they will be unable to discipline their children, and that their children will not choose the same religion as their parents (United Nations, 1990). Recently, thanks to the personal intervention of Archbishop Desmond Tutu from South Africa, who visited Alberta Premier Ralph Klein in November 1998 and in 1999, Alberta finally ratified the Child Convention. Bishop Tutu had impressed upon the Premier the importance of setting domestic standards that comply with international standards for the position of children in society.

In recent decades, another major issue in human rights discussion has focused on the link between human rights and international development. While development should enhance human needs and dignity, this goal is often lost during its implementation. Under the dominant paradigm of modernization, policies and strategies have increased inequalities and environmental destruction (Toh, 1987; Korten, 1995). There is a problem when UN Human Development Report 2000 statistics indicate that 20 percent of the world's population shares 86 percent of its wealth, 60 percent of the world's population shares 13 percent of its wealth and 20 percent of the world's population shares 1 percent of its wealth (UN Human Development Report, 2000). Aid to South countries is not charity but retribution, for there is an individual and collective human right to development (Diokno, 1983).

Similarly, trade in military armaments and economic policies imposed by the North controlled International Monetary Fund and World Bank violate the individual and collective human rights of the people in the South (George, 1994). Increasingly, the impact and responsibility of powerful transnational corporations in directly or indirectly supporting human rights violations is being monitored by human rights advocates

(UNHCHR, 1999). As Diokno (1983) noted, we have a responsibility to care for the well-being and welfare of our brother and sister human beings, no matter where they live on the planet.

In Canada, the Plan of Action for the decade has instigated the release of human rights packages by Heritage Canada and some government agencies in non-formal settings, with some spill-over into classroom activities, but formal settings where human rights textbooks are included in the provincial education curricula appear to be absent in Alberta.

### **Human Rights Education**

As earlier discussed in Chapter 1, human rights education is recognized as vital to the promotion of human rights at local, international and global levels. It should also be implemented in all forms of education, from formal to nonformal and informal contexts. Undoubtedly, schools play a major role in educating about and for human rights. As Shiman (1991) usefully states:

*Human rights education presents important concepts, skills and perspectives which any young person should encounter while attending school. Students need to grapple with questions related to ethnocentrism, universalism, relativism, and conflict, and to examine perspectives other than their own. They should be able to place human rights issues in a global framework and recognize their relationships with environmental concerns and those of war and peace. They should understand that human rights problems manifest themselves differently in different cultural contexts and that they do not occur only out there, in foreign lands, but have local and national dimensions as well. (p. 190)*

Furthermore, Shiman and other human rights educators also emphasize the empowerment and action dimension of human rights education. By becoming aware of their own human rights as well as those of other peoples, locally and globally, it is hoped that they will be motivated to build a culture of human rights.

Shafer (1987) noted that in the United States, global education has provided a framework for educating about various human rights and freedoms. In other countries, moral and/or religious education has also enabled issues of human rights and dignities to be taught. However, as later noted, the issue of universal versus particular interpretations in different social and cultural contexts is still under debate/dialogue. Another major curriculum area where human rights education applies is in social and civic education. Good and active citizenship demands citizens who accept responsibilities to promote human rights.

In Canada, as earlier noted, human rights education has been promoted by agencies such as provincial human rights commissions and teachers associations, and academics within the framework of peace education and global education. Since the early 70s, multicultural education has also been an important channel for human rights education in Canadian schools (McLeod, 1991). There are several recent exemplars of resources in human rights education.

For example, Heritage Canada created [www.credo98.com](http://www.credo98.com) and a bright yellow information package: 1998-1948, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* with fact sheets on (1) John Peters Humphrey, (2) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (3) Canada's record of respect for human rights in peacekeeping, anti-racism, women's rights, children's rights, foreign aid and observation missions, (4) activities promoting human rights in the community and at work, (5) Canadian and international human rights instruments and (6) why Canadians should care.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) released a couple of packages, one on human rights and one on their activities in Asia. Both the Canadian Human Rights Commission and the Alberta Human Rights Commission released packages on how they offer human rights protections.

The United Nations Association in Canada has released an *Action Guide, a Human Rights Resource Manual for Secondary Schools* (1998). Its content introduces human

rights for all, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Canadian Human Rights Act, Provincial Human Rights Legislation, Human Rights Commissions, Canadian defenders of human rights, human rights questions and answers, action ideas and how to become involved in the classroom, in the community, and in making a difference. It considers case studies on hunger and land mines and provides web sites, films and non-fiction resources for aboriginal rights, freedom of religion, human rights and development, human rights and the environment, human rights education, human rights in Canada, human rights research guides, justice and legal rights, labor and employment rights, language rights, racism, ethnicity and minority rights, refugees and immigration, right to food, rights of children, rights of persons with disabilities, sexual harassment, sexual orientation discrimination, the United Nations and women's rights. It also lists video distributors and human rights commissions.

In 1998, the Alberta Aboriginal Human Rights Committee cooperated with the Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission and the Canadian Human Rights Commission in preparing a booklet entitled *The Rights Path – Alberta*. Praised by the UN Commissioner on Human Rights, Mary Robinson (2000, p. 12), as “an extraordinary way of educating about human rights,” the booklet recognizes that Aboriginals encounter common challenges and problems in unique and different ways. *The Rights Path - Alberta* recognizes Aboriginal Spirituality as a religion of Alberta and it recognizes the rights of Elders. It provides steps for taking action, explains ten areas of existing provincial legislation, lists methods of contacting existing organizations, and offers a voice to once silent victims. *The Rights Path - Alberta* teaches Aboriginals how to use tools for demanding, exercising and acting on their rights.

In European educational systems, much has been accomplished since the '70s (Starkey, 1991). A five-year programme (1978-1983) organized by the School Education

Division of the Council of Europe, led to the 1985 Recommendation on the Teaching and Learning of Human Rights in Schools. This Recommendation stated that:

*... throughout their school career, all young people should learn about human rights as part of their preparation for life in a pluralistic democracy ... schools are communities which can, and should, be an example of the respect for the dignity of the individual and for difference, for tolerance, and for equality of opportunity.*

Concretely, human rights in European School Curriculum have emphasized respect for others and tolerance of divergent views as manifested in classroom and school relationships, school disciplinary procedures, and no discrimination by gender, race and disability. Human rights education has taken a three-dimensional approach advocated by the Council of Europe in *Starting Points for Teachers* (2000) and concerning the European Convention on Human Rights. Teaching should be (1) **Knowledge-based** (about human rights) which comprises: “information and understanding about types of rights and the history of rights through international legal instruments and how democracy functions.” Teaching should be (2) **Skills-based** (for human rights) that comprise: “personal and social skills of self-knowledge, self-awareness, assessing, understanding one’s motives and prejudices; interactive skills of listening, resisting group pressures and expressing opinions; and problem-solving skills of locating information, making decisions, using judgment and conflict resolution.” Teaching should be (3) **Environment-based** (in or through human rights) which involves: “creating a learning environment where the structures, methods and relationships operating in the teaching and learning situation (environment) reflect the values of human rights and its learning objectives; creating a whole-school policy with democratic working methods that demonstrate mutual respect between teacher and student.”

In Latin American universities, Mont el egre (1983) noted that human rights topics tend to be found in courses in philosophy and law, rather than as a separate course. In the

African region, the 1981 African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights specified that signatory states should promote and ensure, through teaching, education, and publication, the respect of rights and freedoms in the Charter (Canteh, 1983). In many Arab countries, the central role of Islam as a state religion has limited human rights education to be interpreted through Islamic principles and beliefs. However, as Daoudi (1983) noted, some countries have allowed "autonomous" teaching of human rights in subjects such as law and political science. In particular, issues relating human rights to social and economic development, as well as the key question of the rights of Palestinian peoples to self-determination, are inevitably raised. In recent years, various NGOs such as the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (2000) have worked to increase regional sharing and commitment, leading to the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights Education and Dissemination (CIHRS, 2001). In Asia, an active network of human rights educators have been expanding, organizing conferences and publishing resources for teachers and adult educators (e.g., Amnesty International Philippines, 1998).

At the international level, numerous agencies continue to promote human rights education through conferences, seminars and publications. For example, as part of the UN's "world campaign for human rights" in 1999, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights published *Human Rights Education and Human Rights Treaties* to provide "human rights education defined as training, dissemination and information efforts aimed at building a universal culture of human rights" (UNHCHR, 1999). It provided human rights educational information on the Committees that analyze state reports as required by parties to international human rights treaties. Labeled *No. 2*, it was released as part of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004). Likewise, UNESCO (1998) has also published its manual on teaching human rights.

The United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCHR) has created a Plan of Action with human rights education principles and objectives, theoretical conscientization and practical components, holistic partnerships among stakeholders, and

treaty monitoring bodies maintaining a dialogue with countries that fulfill obligations or submit reports of their efforts to implement a National Plan for human rights education. Although sufficient as a conceptual framework for human rights education, as part of its documentation for the framework of the Decade, the UNHCHR created and published, *Human Rights Education: Lesson For Life, Basic Information Kit no. 4* in November of 1998 (UNHCHR, 1988). In the Kit's foreword, Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, stated that human rights education empowers people to defend their rights, the rights of others and it prevents the violation of human rights. The 1998 information kit notes that there has been a lack of effort or political will and insufficient financial and human resources available to implement the objectives of the Decade for HRE.

The Information kit's Mission Statement lists four objectives: (1) make human rights a reality worldwide, (2) prevent human rights violations, (3) build a global partnership for human rights, and (4) make human rights, peace, democracy and development the guiding principles for the Twenty-First Century (UNHCHR, 1998, p.2).

Seven clusters of themes are raised in the kit, namely: respect for the dignity of all people; human rights as the common language of humanity; women's rights, the responsibility of all; human rights, democracy, and development; the role of civil society; achievements and challenges; and the role of the United Nations.

According to Eide (1983), the task of educating for human rights is "complex and difficult but not impossible" (p. 113). The teacher nowadays is faced with multiple roles and challenges, nevertheless, the contradictions to human rights requirements posed by "existing injustices, privileges of power and dominance, subordination in terms of class or ethnic group" cannot be overlooked (p. 113-114). Similarly, Diokno (1983), a human rights lawyer-activist in the Philippines recognized that the task of internalizing reverence for human rights is neither easy nor simple. Those who would undertake it "must overcome obstacles rooted in the political system of each nation, shaped by history,



traditions, culture and aspirations of its people” (p. 35). Diokno further believed that the immediate task of human rights teaching and research should be “to prevent or substantially decrease violations by discovering and applying inexpensive, practical and effective methods of awakening, in individuals, groups, peoples and governments” (p. 35).

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

The primary research methodology of the study is a qualitative content analysis of a select number of senior high school Social Studies textbooks used in Alberta over the past three years. A conceptual framework of human rights principles, issues and practices is designed based on major international human rights instruments pertinent to the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education and used to critically analyze the textbook content for its ability to instigate practical activities beyond the mere provision of information. A comprehensive range of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights is included in the coding framework.

As a research method, content analysis has been applied extensively in the field of communication studies (Stone, 1966). Newspapers and other forms of media are subject to analysis of their content to illuminate issues of public awareness, attitudes and bias on the part of the news providers. Similarly, books have also been the subject of content analysis to see what beliefs, values, ideologies and knowledge paradigms may be propagated by the authors.

One established approach to content analysis has been quantitative, whereby frequencies of words or other units (e.g., specific categories of news items, column inch occupied, etc.) are counted and then subject to various statistical, analytical techniques. However, this quantitative mode of analysis has been criticized as reductionist and superficial (Gilbert, 1989). It fails to locate those words or units within a coherent context of meaning. Hence, qualitative content analysis has emerged as a widely used method to understand texts in a more holistic way. It reflects the strengths of qualitative research methodology by emphasizing the importance of meaning and perspectives, as well as inductive analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

Educational research textbooks in Social Studies and related subject areas like history, have served to clarify the nature of one vital development of school knowledge. Anyen (1970), for example, provided a powerful critique of the transmission of ideology in United States history textbooks. Cheryholmes (1983), Giroux (1979) and Apple (1990) likewise showed that social studies is a key subject area for developing understanding and consciousness about society among future adult citizens. The choice of social studies textbooks for this study is therefore very meaningful, given that human rights education seeks to develop awareness and active citizenship towards a culture of human rights.

### **Selection of Textbooks**

In Alberta schools, a number of recommended social studies textbooks are available for use by teachers. Table 1, 2, and 3 list those books in terms of course, grade and sales figures over the 1996-1999 period given by the Learning Resource Distribution Centre.

| <b>Table 1</b>   |               |                                |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Sales Figures for Grade 10 Social Studies Textbooks</b> |               |                                |
| <b>Grade 10 Titles</b>                                     | <b>Course</b> | <b>Sales Figures 1996-1999</b> |
| Canada Today   | 10            | 13,228                         |
| <b>Twentieth Century Canada</b>                            | <b>13</b>     | <b>09,150</b>                  |
| Canada: A Nation Unfolding                                 | 10            | 03,261                         |
| Canadian Citizenship In Action                             | 10            | 00,196                         |

| <b>Table 2</b>   |               |                                |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Sales Figures for Grade 11 Social Studies Textbooks</b> |               |                                |
| <b>Grade 11 Titles</b>                                     | <b>Course</b> | <b>Sales Figures 1996-1999</b> |
| Century Of Change: Europe from 1789 to 1918                | 20            | 07,570                         |
| World History- Patterns Of Civilization                    | 20            | 04,154                         |
| The Pageant Of World History                               | 23            | 04,146                         |
| World Prospects: A Contemporary Study                      | 20            | 03,140                         |
| World Issues In The Global Community                       | 23            | 01,517                         |
| Towards Tomorrow-Canada In A Changing World                | 23            | 01,440                         |
| One World  | 20            | 00,909                         |

| <b>Table 3</b>   |               |                                |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Sales Figures for Grade 12 Social Studies Textbooks</b>   |               |                                |
| <b>Grade 12 Titles</b>                                       | <b>Course</b> | <b>Sales Figures 1996-1999</b> |
| Ideologies   | 30            | 12,552                         |
| Global Forces Of The 20th Century                            | 30            | 08,540                         |
| A History Of The 20th Century                                | 33            | 05,814                         |
| A Changing World: Global, Political,<br>and Economic Systems | 33            | 05,257                         |
| Twentieth Century Viewpoints,<br>An Interpretive History     | 30            | 03,088                         |

To limit the scope of this study, a sample of two textbooks was selected, one from grade 10 and one from grade 12. The criteria of purposive sampling employed, were significant usage (but not necessarily the highest); more comprehensive coverage of topics; and a geographical coverage that goes beyond one region of the world. The following two textbooks were finally selected for content analysis:

1. *Twentieth Century Canada*, Janis Barr, Derald Fretts, Shaun Hunter, Pat Rediger, 1996, Weigl Educational Publishers Limited, Calgary, Alberta, ISBN 0-919879-71-3, abbreviated code: TCC.

This book seeks to “explore” the forces of events that have shaped Canada’s development as a country and have guided its international relations. It examines the links between the development and maintenance of Canadian sovereignty, the effects of regionalism, and the development of Canadian identity. Each of the three units contains an introduction with a number of chapters and key terms. Each of the eight chapters contains an introduction and “Focus Questions” to guide one’s reading. TCC contains skill boxes, profiles, “Starting Point” activities, questions and issues for inquiry outside the text. Pictures contain a diverse variety of ethnic, sexual, age and other multicultural depictions of Canada and the world. Students are advised to create a newspaper clipping file.

The content of the book is organized under three main units, each composing a number of topics and themes as follows:

Unit One - Canada: Its Lands and Peoples (Canadian identity, Canadian diversity,

Canadian unity, Canadian sovereignty)

Unit Two - Canada: Its Place in the World (Canadian security, International cooperation)

Unit Three - Canada: Its Government and Citizenship (Canadian government and politics, Citizenship, rights and responsibilities).

2. *Global Forces of the Twentieth Century*, Second Edition, E. Alyn Mitchner and R. Joanne Tuffs, 1997, Reidmore Books Inc., Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, ISBN 1-895073-53-7, 336 pages (referred to as GF in the study).

This book seeks to introduce four major themes, namely:

1. The range of motivations behind international confrontation and cooperation such as collective security, internationalism, nationalism, balance of power, humanitarianism and global survival;

2. Global interactions during the inter war period and the second world war that involve concepts of nationalism, national security, self-determination, reparations, internationalism, alliance and global collective security;
3. The rise and interaction of the superpowers and related concepts like balance of power, spheres of influence, decolonization, defense and self-determination; and
4. Regional cooperation, environmental responsibility and multicultural corporations.

The major topics covered under these four themes include the following:

- Global forces of the twentieth century
- The First World War: The Industrial Powers Collide
- Reconstruction of Europe 1919-1934
- The Third Reich: 1934-1939
- The Soviet Union and the United States: 1917-1941
- Japan's Ascendancy in Asia
- The Second World War" War in Europe 1939-1945
- The Pacific War
- The United Nations
- USA/USSR: The Cold War – Rivalry for Global supremacy: 1945-1962
- Superpower détente
- The Middle East: Turbulence and Instability
- The People's Republic: China after 1948
- Revolution in the Global Power Structure: 1975-1990
- The Gorbachev Revolution
- The Legacy of the Soviet Collapse
- Contemporary Global Interaction

Each chapter is introduced by a "time line," a quotation on a major issue, an activity for understanding, an overview and a summary. Biographies, side bars, case studies provide perspectives on key issues and events. Each chapter ends with questions, critical analysis, research projects, activities and historical analysis.

## **Content Analysis**

In my qualitative analysis of the textbooks, I have not been bound by the books' objectives or the divisions of their chapters. I have instead searched for issues of human rights comprising civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and their implications for the role of the books in human rights education.

Adhering to the Peoples Decade for Human Rights Plan of Action principle that "education is a life-long process and more than the mere provision of information," this content analysis of human rights education within senior high Social Studies textbooks in Alberta has not only looked into whether and how the textbooks deepen the awareness and knowledge of human rights but also takes inspiration from the saying "think globally and act locally" and asks whether the texts may help to empower students to take action on human rights issues.

To facilitate the content-analysis of the textbooks, a qualitative coding framework was constructed based on the key categories or issues of human rights. To develop a major awareness of human rights, the coding framework guided me in assessing the role of textbooks and the degree of weight assigned to questions from the textbooks. Methodologically, the study seeks to critically evaluate the content of the two textbooks based on a critical framework of human rights principles, values and concepts.

## **Coding Framework**

The major categories of human rights are civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights as embodied respectively in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Many specific human rights instruments were also drawn upon to enrich the coding framework for my content-analysis of the textbooks.

Expressed as conventions, charters, declarations or resolutions, these specific instruments were designed to strengthen the implementation of particular rights embodied in the Universal Declaration and in the major Covenants.

Table 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 list clusters of rights under the categories of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights respectively. When each textbook was analyzed, the list provided a qualitative set of issues for assessing the quality and relevance of the books in human rights education.

| <b>Table 4</b>  |
|---|
| <b>Coding Framework for Content Analysis for Civil Rights</b>           |
|   |
| <u>Measures of Equality</u>   |
| Sexual equality   |
| Protection against slavery and forced labor                             |
| Prohibition of ethnic/racial discrimination and racism                  |
| Equality based on sexual orientation                                    |
| Equal opportunity.  |
|   |
| <u>Rights of Dignity</u>  |
| Right to life, prohibition of arbitrary killing                         |
| Protection against nonconsensual medical and scientific experiments     |
| Rights of prisoners   |
| Protection against torture  |
| Protection from other cruel, degrading, inhuman treatment or punishment |
| Protection of privacy   |
| Rights of children  |
| Rights of persons with disabilities                                     |
| Freedom from sexual harassment, enforced pregnancy or prostitution      |
| Protection from physical violence                                       |
|   |
| <u>Freedoms of Choice</u>   |



|  |
|--|
| Freedom of thought and conscience              |
| Freedom of expression and opinion              |
| Children's right to a say in what affects them |
| Religious, cultural and language rights        |
| Marital and reproductive choices               |

| <b>Table 5</b>   |
|--|
| <b>Coding Framework for Content Analysis for Political Rights</b>      |
|  |
| <b><u>Freedoms of Affiliations</u></b>                                 |
| Right to self-determination  |
| Right to freely determine ones political status                        |
| Freedom of movement  |
| Freedom to choose one's residence                                      |
| Refugees and immigration   |
|  |
| <b><u>Freedoms of Activities</u></b>                                   |
| Freedom of peaceful assembly   |
| Freedom of association; democratic participation                       |
| Political rights - right to take part in the conduct of public affairs |
| Right to participate in decisions affecting ones life                  |
| <b><u>Democracy</u></b>  |
| Right to good governance   |
| Right to just laws and judicial system                                 |
| Right to hold political views  |

| <b>Table 6</b>   |
|--|
| <b>Coding Framework for Content Analysis for Economic Rights</b> |
|  |
| <b><u>Work Rights</u></b>  |
| Right to work  |
| Right to work benefits   |

|  |
|--|
| Right to just and favorable conditions of work, fair wages, opportunity for promotion by seniority and skill |
| Equal pay for equal work of equal value  |
| Right to a safe and healthy working conditions   |
| Right to a leave for religious observance and other leave  |
| Freedom from sexual harassment at work   |
| Right to form and join trade unions  |
| Protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families                                |
|  |
| <u>Minimum Living standards</u>  |
| Right to social security, unemployment insurance benefits, social assistance, pension benefits               |
| Right to protection and assistance for family, especially women, children and the young                      |
| Right to an adequate standard of living  |
| Right to food  |
| Environmental rights: clean water, food, health, sustainable living  |
| Economic equity, distributive justice  |
|  |
| <u>Right to Development</u>  |
| Right to freely pursue ones economic development   |
| Right to social justice  |
| Right to equitable distribution of worlds resources  |
| Right to participate in decision-making on development   |
| Rights to codes of conduct for international organizations and agencies                                      |
| Right of indigenous peoples and marginalized sectors to determine development goals                          |

| <b>Table 7</b>  |
|---|
| <b>Coding Framework for Content Analysis for Social Rights</b>                      |
|   |
| <u>Right to Education</u>   |
| Right to free, compulsory, primary education (education for all)                    |
| Right to equal opportunity and equitable outcomes                                   |
| Right to have teachers  |
| Minority language educational rights, freedom of conscience and religion in schools |
|   |

|   |
|---|
| <b>Right to Health Care</b>                               |
| Right to adequate standards of mental and physical health |
| Equitable provision of health care services               |
|   |
| <b>Right to Environmental Care</b>                        |
| Environmental protection                                  |
| Sustainable development                                   |
| Preservation of species diversity                         |

| <b>Table 8</b>   |
|--|
| <b>Coding Framework for Content Analysis for Cultural Rights</b>                                       |
| <b>Language</b>  |
| Right to speak ones language   |
| Promotion of language maintenance and development  |
|  |
| <b>Cultural Development</b>  |
| Right to freely pursue ones cultural development   |
| Rights of cultural survival of indigenous/aboriginal people  |
| Freedom of religion and spiritual beliefs  |
|  |
| <b>Right to participate in cultural life</b>   |
| States have a duty to conserve, develop and diffuse science and culture                                |
| Right to enjoy benefits from scientific applications   |
| Protection of moral and material interests for scientific, literary, or artistic authorship            |
| States have a duty to respect the freedom necessary for scientific research and creative activity      |
| States recognize benefits of international contracts and cooperation in scientific and cultural fields |
| Protection and promotion of art, music and literature  |

In undertaking the content analysis, separating the clusters of rights was often difficult because of the interconnections that issues have among the various rights. It was

necessary therefore, to make a judgment as to which cluster of human rights was the most directly relevant in terms of the content being analyzed. Furthermore, as the textbooks do not usually identify explicitly when issues are linked to human rights, it was my task to determine which right or rights are affected by the issues discussed. A further important facet of the content analysis is to note how the textbooks help students to be more aware of possible conflict and tensions between various rights that often happens in everyday life.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONTENT ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

Overall, a qualitative analysis of the two textbooks indicate that each has both strengths and weaknesses in helping students understand the importance of human rights and the need to build diverse cultures of human rights and obligations. The Grade 10 book, *Twentieth Century Canada* (hereafter referred to as TCC), provided more content and opportunities to raise awareness on civil, political and cultural rights than on economic and social rights. The Grade 12 book, *Global Forces of the Twentieth Century* (hereafter referred to as GF) likewise has an emphasis on civil and political rights. Economic rights issues are more visible, but social and cultural rights are less analyzed.

#### Twentieth Century Canada (TCC)

In chapter 8, TCC provides students with a brief introduction to the concept of human rights (p. 244). However, most of the examples of human rights given are in the areas of individual civil and political rights. It would have been helpful for students to at least be familiar with the key categories of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. A more extensive description of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (pp. 246-247) does help students see that human rights apply to a whole range of individual and social aspects of life. This section is important in reminding students that rights and freedoms are not necessarily absolute. As the Charter states,

*“... there must be a balance between and individual’s rights and freedoms and the common good of society” (p. 246). From a human rights education perspective, TCC also effectively stresses that rights should be accompanied by responsibilities: “Good citizenship includes performing legal as well as implied responsibilities. Citizens must exercise and defend not only their own rights but also the rights of others. They have an obligation to contribute to*

*the welfare of society as a whole by participating in their communities or in our political system.” (p. 245)*

TCC further helps students’ empowerment by presenting various institutional mechanisms for protecting human rights. Apart from the role of the Charter (p. 248) and Human Rights Commissions (p. 251), there are provincial laws such as the Alberta Bill of Rights and the (former) Individual Rights Protection Act (IRPA) which help to protect individuals from “discriminatory actions of Government, and ensures that individuals treat each other without discrimination” (p. 250). TCC also makes a crucial point that in Canada, the rights of some peoples and groups have not always been upheld, such as the head tax on Chinese and other Asian immigrants, the internment of Ukrainian Canadians in work camps during WWI, the relocation of Japanese Canadians to internment camps during WWII, discrimination of women, and discrimination of Native Peoples (p. 252-253). This section is very helpful to teachers in reminding students that although Canada has made advances in promoting individual human rights, there are still significant areas for improvement.

### **Educating for Civil Rights**

TCC overall highlights the right to life, liberty and personal security as well as legal rights of individuals in the areas of rights of dignity as mentioned above in chapter 8 focusing on the Charter and institutions to protect human rights. However, an interesting example of a conflict between the right to life, liberty and security of the person and Canadian national defense policy is given by TCC.

*“In 1985, a group of Canadians asked the Supreme Court to rule that Cruise Missile testing on Canadian territory violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. They argued that such tests increase the chances of nuclear war and therefore violates the right to life, liberty and security of the person. The Court ruled against the case because the causal relationship cannot be established between the test and an increased chance of war.” (p. 156).*

In the area of rights of dignity, TCC could also have referred students to the abolition of the death penalty as a significant example of Canada's societal commitment to the right to life. However, TCC's discussion of the atomic bombs and casualties of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where combined 140,000 people were killed (p.122), provides a powerful example of how wars can readily deprive human beings of their right to life. Students are also reminded by TCC of current international measures to uphold the right against arbitrary killing. For example, a UN Commission of Experts on Human Rights was established in 1992 to investigate human rights violations in war crimes and ethnic cleansing (p.195). TCC regrettably does not discuss the rights of prisoners and protection from cruel, degrading, and inhuman treatment or punishment.

TCC provides a number of useful examples for understanding civil rights in terms of freedoms of choice. For example, in 1977, Bill 101 made French a unilingual language for Quebec business, government, courts, schools and immigrants (p. 88). Although Bill 101 was slightly modified in response to protest from Anglophones and many new immigrants, this example shows students that the freedom of choice in language can be limited in particular social and political contexts.

TCC also discusses in some detail Canada's War Measures Act of 1914, which allowed the internment of Ukrainians and Japanese during WWI and WWII (p. 253) and also the suspension of all citizens' rights during the FLQ crisis in Quebec in 1970 (p. 88). This meant that government could violate citizens' rights and consequently no legal rights, individual security rights and property rights were protected. TCC does not disclose that today the War Measures Act would violate the constitutionally entrenched Charter of Rights. The Act could be declared to be of no force or effect unless the government of Canada invoked the notwithstanding clause, s.33 of the Charter, to take away Canadians' fundamental freedoms (s.2), legal rights (ss.7-14) and equality rights (s.15).

Another example of freedom of choice through the right of expression and opinion can be found in TCC's discussion of media and politics (p. 265-266). It is good to see TCC reminding students that while the media gives opportunity for citizens' opinions to be heard, the media is not necessarily neutral (e.g. propaganda and bias).

*"... the public must be careful about the information it receives from the media. By learning to identify what is fact, what is opinion, and what seems a mixture of both ... people can become more astute citizens. By referring to a variety of information sources in the process of forming viewpoints, citizens can insure they are informed and cautious media consumers."*(p. 266)

In the area of rights of equality under civil rights, TCC provides numerous opportunities for students to understand the rights and their applications. As earlier noted, in Alberta, the (former) Individual Rights Protection Act (IRPA, 1972) and the Alberta Bill of Human Rights complement the Charter in upholding individual rights of equality (pp.250-251). For example, the "IRPA prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religious beliefs, color, sex, physical disability, ancestry and place of origin" (p. 250), which is similar to s.15 of the Charter. The IRPA is enforced by the Alberta Human Rights Commission (1973, p. 251). Alberta Acts can be changed by the legislature (p. 250) but changing the Charter requires amending procedures from the Constitution Act 1982 and that process is far more difficult. A useful pedagogical exercise is given in TCC (p. 249) to remind students that citizens can have diverse views on the value of human rights (e.g. on refugees, discrimination and disabilities), leading to conflicts and controversy.

TCC also includes definitions of prejudice and discrimination (p.252). Examples of government prejudice and discrimination include Chinese immigration policies during the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR) from the 1870s until 1967's removal of federal restrictions, Ukrainian work camps during WWI, and Japanese internment during WWII, the latter two under the controversial War Measures Act (p.253).



Although there is one glaring omission: no mention of the denial of the right to vote to Aboriginals until the 1950s.

There is also significant content in TCC in the area of sexual equality, especially in regard to rights of women. TCC (pp.253-254) states that women had no federal vote until 1918 and women did not become legal persons until 1929. TCC also gives a useful example of sex discrimination in athletic activities which was eventually declared unlawful by the Ontario Human Rights Commission (p. 248).

Protests against “unequal opportunities” in the 1960s contributed to gender legislation like the 1978 Canadian Human Rights Act, showing that rights are difficult campaigns that require effort and sacrifice to achieve. Neglect can then allow the gains to deteriorate over time, forcing a repetition of the struggle in the future. For instance, demands by Natives for land and cultural rights have led to requests for (internal) self-determination (p.254) but such demands are not new, they have existed for more than a hundred years and they have been renewed because now is a more receptive time for such requests to be considered, when in the past, government prejudice was less receptive to Native needs and government understanding was less tolerant of differences.

TCC also helps students appreciate the complexity of reconciling equality rights of different groups. For example, the Native women of the Tobique Reserve in New Brunswick appealed to the United Nations (pp.256-257) to challenge federal legislation under the Indian Act whereby a female who marries a non-Indian loses her Indian status but a male who marries a non-Indian does not lose his Indian status.

Finally, it is important to note that TCC does not discuss the equality rights in terms of sexual orientation. Teachers using the book should find opportunities to raise its issue given its increasing visibility in Canadian society and efforts to address deficiencies in federal and provincial legislation. For instance, s.1.1 of the Alberta Marriage Act (RSA 1980, c. M-6) contains a s.33 notwithstanding clause Charter override of s.2 and ss.7-15 of the Charter and an override of the Alberta Bill of Rights. The Charter override must

be renewed every five years to remain valid. The Alberta government actively ensures that marriage is between a man and a woman exclusively and same sex couples are excluded.

### **Educating for Political Rights**

TCC provides numerous opportunities for students to understand political rights in the area of freedoms of activities, such as a right to participate in public and political affairs and in decisions affecting one's life, that are taken for granted in democratic societies like Canada. In a section entitled Participatory Citizenship, TCC encourages students to participate in society in many different ways including voting, letters to the media, lobbying, informing themselves or discussing politics with other citizens, and public protests (p. 260-263). On the latter strategy, it would have been useful for TCC to note that citizen's protests can sometimes be met by repressive and even violent actions by authorities/police on demonstrators which sets a dangerous trend against the exercising of free speech, as seen during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Vancouver in 1998. TCC notes two main areas of participation: volunteering in the community and working to influence political decision making. On the latter point, TCC emphasizes that:

*... political participation is very important. Government decisions affect everyone's life ... A democratic society gives the opportunity to influence government decisions. Change happens through the participation of citizens in the political process. (p. 261)*

From a human rights education perspective, this discussion of political participation should be strengthened. Although TCC does note the role of special interest groups in influencing government policies, it needs to remind students of structures of unequal power in all societies, including Canada, which can favor the influence of powerful elites

and organizations (e.g. large corporations) over that of ordinary citizens, especially disadvantaged groups. Unfortunately, TCC stresses the formal and legal concept of citizenship. Some members of Canadian society are non-permanent residents prior to gaining citizenship but they too are entitled to a wide range of political rights (except for example, in voting) and hence, should also be encouraged to participate in political and public affairs.

On the specific right of voting, TCC appropriately reminds students that this was not always available to several disadvantaged groups such as women, the poor, non-property owners, Natives and slaves (pp.218-219). TCC also has a list of others, such as prisoners (those serving 2 years or more) and those in mental institutions, that cannot vote (p.218). Denial of the right to vote has left a legacy of people victimized because they lack political representation around the world.

Within the area of freedoms of affiliation, TCC provides considerable content in regard to the right to self-determination and the right to freely determine one's political status. Chapter 3, for example focuses on the theme of Canadian unity and highlights the concepts of alienation due to regional disparities and movements for separatism such as the long-standing campaign for Quebec sovereignty (p. 70-105).

On the Quebec issue, TCC helps students understand the motivations for political support within Quebec for various degrees (internal and external) of self-determination (p. 86-89). It also usefully raises the arguments for the federalist position (p. 90). However, the failed referenda have resulted in a constitutional challenge that TCC could not have anticipated: a Clarity Bill was created by the Federal government in response to a political requirement set out in the Secession Reference (1998) by the Supreme Court of Canada (S.C.C.). It involves an Aboriginal rights issue with regard to having control over themselves and their lands should Quebec succeed in a future referendum. Clearly, teachers using TCC today have much to consider in helping students view Quebec's sovereignty issue from a perspective that takes into account the right to self-

determination of a political territory and that of specific groups living within that territory, and Canadians outside Quebec.

On the vital issue of the right to (internal) self determination of the First Nations or Aboriginal peoples in Canada, TCC's discussion needs improvement from a human rights education perspective. While the section on Native Politics (p. 101-103) describes the past and present policies of colonization and assimilation, it does not fully express the tragic scale of suffering and oppression experienced by Aboriginal peoples. TCC however, does help students understand the root causes underlying the 1990 Oka crisis (p. 104) which provides a compelling exemplar of the urgency for meeting the rights of the First Nations. It should be pointed out that although theoretically, the Canadian government accepts that self-government is a step in the right direction, Canadian regions under Native political influence still officially remain as territories: Yukon, Northwest and Nunavut. They are denied provincial status with the accompanying political and economic rights in Canada. Nunavut is too recent to be addressed by TCC, which does not point out the discriminatory territorial status of the "Indian" territories with Native majority populations. As Williams (2000) claims, a Canada without Native discrimination would have thirteen provinces. Canadian Native discrimination is hidden or systemic:

*Hidden discrimination ... is harder to identify. It is less direct - even invisible - but just as harmful. Hidden discrimination targeted at a whole community happens when a policy, practice or system results in a disadvantage to certain groups. ... This kind of discrimination is also called systemic or structural discrimination, because it operates as part of the basic systems our society is built on, for example, governments, banks, schools [and] media (p. 4, The Rights Path).*

TCC also provides opportunities for students to reflect on the political right of the Canadian nation to sovereignty. TCC (p.222) claims that by the Canada Act of 1982, a British Act of the British Parliament of the United Kingdom, Canadians swear allegiance

to the Queen of Canada, not the Queen of England. I checked the Canadian created portion of the Canada Act, what comprises our Constitution, but I found no reference to the Queen of Canada. In the Constitution Act 1867, s.2 was repealed but s.9 still vests executive power in the Queen. There is also no reference to a repealed section that changes the allegiance to the Queen of Canada in the Constitution Act 1982.

Allegiance to the Queen of Britain would antagonize Canada's French population that protested against conscription for what they perceived as British wars going back to the Boer War and including World War I (p.78) and WW II. When the Queen lives in England, does it make a difference whether allegiance is sworn to the Queen of England or to the Queen of Canada? When such allegiance is a source of tension in Canada, why not swear allegiance to Canada without reference to a theoretical monarch?

I have noticed the oath of allegiance has become an issue for the Law Society and the media too. Canada's sovereignty, independence, and our ability to include Quebec may depend on severing constitutional references to the monarchy and Britain. References to the Queen and the Governor General are sources of discontent in Quebec that Twentieth Century Canada overlooks. Separatist governments have talked in terms of "national" interests (p.87) and the Quebec's legislative assembly has been dubbed the "National Assembly" (p.90), and a "national holiday, St. Jean Baptiste Day" (p.87) is celebrated.

TCC discusses the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen of Canada (pp.106-107). When the San Juan boundary dispute off Vancouver Island and the Alaskan Panhandle dispute were decided, Britain represented Canada of 1872. Why celebrate Confederation of 1867, if Canada were neither independent nor sovereign; arguably, we are not yet sovereign because the U.K. can still pass laws in Britain that can have the effect of undoing any law or act created in Canada by Canadian legislators (p.119). Canada stopped appeals to the Privy Council in Britain for cases after 1949 (p.119) and the Constitution was repatriated in 1982 but it is still rooted in the Canada Act of Great Britain, which can be altered or revoked by Great Britain, a point the text does not

disclose as it details various steps to independence. TCC is also helpful to students in pointing out numerous examples whereby Canada remained for decades after Confederation, under the political domination of Britain (pp. 110, 112, 119).

Another interesting example of limits to Canadian sovereignty given by TCC is the issue of Arctic sovereignty (p. 126-129). Because of Canada's lesser military and economic power, the resource-rich and ecologically sensitive Canadian Arctic has been a point of conflict of sovereign rights between Canada and the United States. The sphere of US-Canada economic and political relations covered in TCC also provide opportunities for students to appreciate the concepts of independence and autonomy that can impact on the human rights of Canadians and other peoples. TCC does alert students to criticisms of Canadian cooperation with the USA in strategic military programs such as NORAD (North American Air Defense Agreement).

*...For some Canadians, the close ties with the Americans through NORAD are uncomfortable. Although Canada shares in NORAD decision making, Canada's dependency on the United States for defense has increased. Many people believe that Canada's proximity to the United States would lead to enormous Canadian suffering in the event of a nuclear conflict that involves the United States. Fall-out from such a war would easily contaminate Canadian territory, or Canada could even serve as a battleground for two other countries to settle their conflict. (p. 154)*

Another appropriate example raised in TCC about international conflicts over Canadian sovereignty is the so-called "turbot war." When Spanish and Portuguese boats exceeded their fishing quotas of turbot in Canadian waters, a Canadian fisheries patrol boat fired warning shots and arrested the crew of the Spanish fishing ship (p. 132-133). This led to tensions between Canada and the European Union until a negotiated settlement was reached. This case helps students to see that human rights claimed by different parties could lead to conflict.

TCC also informs students of some Canadian policies to assert foreign policy independence from the United States, especially initiated under the Trudeau era (p. 130-131). However, TCC needs to help students appreciate that Canada's involvement in the North American Treaty Organization (NATO) (p. 153-153) and other Western strategic alliances can lead to violations of human rights of peoples in other countries and regions (e.g., impact of sanctions against Iraq, direct or indirect support of dictatorships). Although TCC describes Canada's participation in the Gulf war and the war in the Balkans, and reminds students of human rights violations through ethnic cleansing, the analyses need to be more holistic (p. 193-195). For example, the West's role in arming Saddam Hussein, prior to the Gulf conflict and human rights abuses by groups other than the Serbs in Bosnia should have been clarified (*New Internationalist*, 1994).

One useful case where TCC can help students understand the problem of self-determination in the international arena is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In 1948, the UN created Israel in the hopes that a Jewish State may prevent future holocausts and persecutions of Jewish minorities in other countries as occurred in WWII (p.189). In securing rights for the persecuted Jewish populations who had been emigrating to the area since the 1920s when the idea of a Jewish state was first contemplated, many of the area's present occupants were displaced. The Palestinian rights may be secured with the creation of a Palestinian state that borders Israel. In terms of human rights education, teachers will need to provide more analysis of the complex conflict than is found in TCC (Chomsky, 1983).

Finally under education for political rights, TCC contains considerable content to help students understand the complex issue of what democracy means in theory and practice. Exemplars include: the division in powers between federal and provincial governments that can lead to conflicts and alienation (p. 228-232, 96-100); block voting by parties in Parliament (p. 233); the limited power of the Senate in spite of its theoretical veto power (p. 234); the checks and balances among the three branches of government (p. 240);

domestic government methods for assessing public views and listening to public opinions prior to the passing of bills (p.264), and the tension between public role versus private beliefs as in the publicized case of Member of Parliament (MP) Svend Robinson who was arrested in 1994 for joining a peaceful protest against clear-cut logging (p. 220-221). From a human rights education perspective, it is also good to read in TCC that “the most important check on government power is active citizen participation. Through participation, citizens can ensure their government is democratic, responsible, and representative” (p. 240).

It is important that TCC noted, “democracy existed in North America long before the first Europeans appeared” (p. 217), in describing Iroquois democracy that existed prior to European contacts. Students were thereby alerted that democracy was not unique to Western societies.

### **Educating for Economic Rights**

While there is a significant content in TCC that would have been relevant to educating for economic rights, unfortunately, the book’s approach to economic issues fails to provide an adequate understanding of the right to minimum living standards and work rights. The right to development is somewhat better treated but still there are many areas for improvement.

With regard to rights related to minimum living standards, TCC does not help students understand the meaning and realities of Canadians living below the poverty line in a country that has been consistently ranked first in the UN Human Development Index. For example, in a section entitled Standard of Living, the emphasis is on regional disparities within Canada (p. 51) and the related issue of federal policies of equalization among provinces (p. 60-61). Students should be informed about the concentration of wealth in Canadian society and the significance of the increasing gap between rich and poor, as well as the structural causes of such inequalities (Clark 1991, EJ 1996, Williams



EJ 1999). The analysis must go beyond the statement that “even a region with a great deal of wealth can have a low standard of living for most of [its] population if this wealth is not distributed fairly among its citizens” (p. 51).

Likewise, in the section on wages and the economy, TCC again stresses wage disparities among provinces, and attributes poverty to lack of education, facilities, and rates of employment (p. 55-56). A human rights education perspective would need to raise students' awareness about the concept of power in determining wealth or poverty. Other important rights related to the provision of social security and unemployment benefits are virtually not discussed in TCC.

TCC shows little interest in the area of work rights, even though it would have been relevant to discussions of wages and the economy, the service industry, manufacturing and industry, and economic strength (p. 53-57).

In the area of right to development, TCC provides more opportunities for students to understand why and how economic development is linked to promotion or violation of human rights. But as analyzed below, the paradigm or orientation emphasized by TCC diminishes the quality of their understanding.

TCC devotes, in its chapter on international cooperation, a significant amount of content on development in South countries including Canadian aid policies (p. 196-208). TCC essentially depicts Canada as an affluent industrialized country with social welfare programs, whose citizens “often do not realize how fortunate they are,” in contrast to South countries “that are not as fortunate” (p. 200). Students are then informed of the symptoms and an explanation of South poverty:

*Some people do not have the basics for daily living. More than half the children in the world suffer from lack of food. Some will never see a doctor. Almost half of the world cannot read and write... Developing countries rely upon traditional farming or fishing techniques, and lack the modern industrial infrastructure to compete in the global economy. (p. 200)*

Clearly, TCC endorses the modernization paradigm of development which avoids a critical analysis of structural injustices within and among nations. Thus students can miss the opportunity to understand that human rights violations in the South are linked to the role of powerful and rich nations as well as the transnational corporations in a globalized world economy (Brecher-Costello 1994, Barnett-Cavanagh 1994, New Internationalist 1995).

TCC then goes on to justify the role of foreign aid as an act of charity from Canada and other rich nations to the poor South:

*Many developed nations such as Canada feel a sense of responsibility to parts of the world which are not as fortunate. Many developed nations give aid to the developing world ... [consisting] of money, education, food, medical supplies, expertise, technology, loans or grants; in short, anything that helps improve the standard of living in poor countries. (p. 200)*

TCC does mention that aid can also benefit donor nations like Canada, such as tied aid and helping Russia to develop a new free-market economy and a democratic government which will be favorable for Canadian investments (p. 202). Aiding the poor is also seen as protecting Canada's international economic interests.

*If population overcrowding and disease are allowed to run unchecked in developing nations, inevitably the war or disease will affect Canadians. By improving the quality of life for everyone in the world, Canada can protect its own ability to trade and travel safely around the globe. (p. 202).*

This discussion of aid projects to students is a self-centered understanding of Canada's foreign policy and relations with peoples of the South. But especially TCC fails to evoke a sense of accountability for Canadian economic activities that undermine basic economic rights, including the role of Canadian transnational corporations and the international debt trap (Toh 1987, George 1987, Barnaby 1988, Clark 1991).

TCC also describes the role of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in assisting over 100 developing countries (p. 203-206). Many of these programs are based on equitable development principles such as putting poverty first, helping people to help themselves, and partnership so as to reach the poorest. TCC does however, briefly mention some criticisms of aid including tying of aid and rich countries should take care of their own poor first (p. 208). Nevertheless, TCC needs to help students raise more questions about CIDA aid which can widen inequalities or contribute to environmental destruction. TCC provides descriptive information (pp.124-125) on the 1944 Bretton Woods, New Hampshire conference that created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB or International Bank for Reconstruction and Development-IBRD). Human rights education requires, however, that students be exposed to available critiques that show these agencies' contribution to global injustice (Maren, 1997).

TCC details the difficulties with aid corruption: local authorities take foreign aid as contributions to their personal wealth rather than distribute it to their local populations. Donor actions to stop the aid corruption produces cries of "cultural interference" for what is locally legal (p.208). This practice is called systemic corruption but TCC does not name it. For students reading the text, they get the impression that it is merely a different cultural practice or tradition. Some traditional or cultural practices should not be continued or condoned but TCC should make that point concerning systemic aid corruption. Finally, in regard to aid, TCC should remind students that aid may be distributed by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). While there is some evidence (Maren, 1997) that some NGOs can also be corrupt, many more NGOs are engaged in grassroots development activities that uphold the rights of poor peoples (Partnerships, 1996).

On the specific issue of trade in international development, TCC provides a liberal economic approach which does not question global injustices and supports elite-centered

globalization (p. 168). Thus, Canadian relations and interests in the Pacific rim and in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are primarily justified in terms of increased trade and investments (p. 174). No mention is made of human rights violations by dictatorial regimes such as the former Marcos era in the Philippines and Suharto in Indonesia. Similarly, although a few opposing arguments are mentioned, TCC largely presents a favorable view of free trade (e.g. North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA)) (p.168-169). Hence, students receive no information on the strong movements that have organized to challenge the violations of workers rights. TCC however does help students better understand the conflicts between trade/development activities and the environment such as, for example, imports of tuna caught by methods that kill too many dolphins or manufacturing that causes pollution (p. 172-173).

TCC discusses positively the role of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), now the WTO (World Trade Organization). For example, it argues that

*... while on the surface such agreements may seem harmful to Canadian interests, a closer look reveals long-term benefits. Through the elimination of world agricultural subsidies, Canada initially secured larger markets for its wheat and oil-seed crops. In the long term, inefficient Canadian farms may close down, enhancing Canada's overall economic security by improving the economic efficiency of the country as a whole. (p. 171)*

Human rights educators will question TCC's approach here since it does not pose serious questions about the impact of such liberalization policies on the economic rights of small Canadian farmers and citizen consumers, not to mention Canadian economic sovereignty. It is an argument of Milton Friedman "invisible hand" economics on the one hand and economic protections allowing farmers sufficient time to transfer their crops, and to balance locally sustainable and economically viable crops on the other hand (Friedman, 1981).

Finally, TCC provides substantial content on economic development issues within Canada. One major issue raised is the disparity between richer and poorer provinces (p. 54-55). On this point, TCC refers to the Constitution Act 1982 with respect to how it addresses regional disparities in a way to level the standard of living across Canada (p. 60). But it does not reproduce the relevant section, s.36 of the Constitution Act 1982, which “commits the Parliament and the legislatures, together with the government of Canada and the provincial governments, to (a) promote equal opportunities for the well-being of Canadians; (b) further economic development to reduce disparity in opportunities; and (c) provide essential public services of reasonable quality to all Canadians.”

From the perspective of human rights education, it is important for students to be aware of the Constitution Act, including s.36, because many democracies usually overlook economic rights. The free market is based upon competition, with winners and losers. Market economies expect incentives to drive it efficiently and productively while gaps between the rich and the poor are expected to provide the incentives to succeed. As a result, the economic rights of the rich are reinforced at the expense of the poor. Furthermore, TCC’s discussion of transfer payments merely presents a debate (pp.62-63) about how taxpayers of “have” provinces pay a higher price, burdened by sending money to “have-not” provinces, than those who in turn pay less tax to be Canadian, those who live and receive benefits from transfer payments to their have-not province. TCC needs to emphasize that sharing provincial wealth does not direct financial resources to regions within a province that may most require it.

In Canada, jobs were created for people in areas (1) with and (2) without (p.66) an infrastructure for development but TCC does not discuss the issue of “work for welfare,” now being tested as a means of finding jobs that allegedly alleviate joblessness and with it, poverty. Unfortunately, work for welfare may be a form of slavery that forces the poor to work for their subsistence, rather than acquire the education and training they need to

compete in the market place. No economy is diversified by forcing those on social assistance to work for their welfare cheques. They have a right to a job but the government lacks the right to force them to work for welfare that results in the job being a duty, obligation or condition. From the perspective of human rights education, students can benefit from exposure to such an analysis.

### **Educating for Social Rights**

TCC is much less useful for clarifying issues of social rights, except in the area of health and environmental care. There is hardly any discussion of the basic need for housing, and the right to education, although it does admit that there are regional disparities in education within Canada: in some areas, people cannot afford to continue their schooling; other areas lack facilities (p. 56).

Students have an opportunity to consider the right to health care in the section on Medicare (p. 64-65). TCC usefully reminds students that, despite federal-provincial conflicts, a national health care system such as Medicare can promote the rights of all citizens.

*In a country of diverse regions, it is important to foster unity by distributing goods and services to all citizens in a fair and equitable manner. Through programs like the National Health Insurance Program, Canada reduces disparities between peoples of different economic situations. This in turn helps to unify different socioeconomic groups by providing everyone with a common standard of living. (p.165)*

In the area of the right to sustainable environment, TCC provides several exemplars and issues for the students to consider. As earlier mentioned, TCC challenges students to look at the impact of trade on the environment (p. 172-173). A whole section is devoted to the concept of environmental security (p. 162-163). Students are exposed to environmental problems such as Chernobyl, Exxon Valdes oil spill, destruction of Amazonian rain

forest, global warming, and especially acid rain which involves US-Canada relations and tensions (p. 163). Students will realize that a sustainable environment will help to protect social and economic rights of all citizens (Mackintosh, 1990).

TCC sees overfishing (p.43) as the reason for oil and gas exploration off-shore in the Atlantic provinces. Canadian regulations were insufficient to stop other nations such as Spain from fishing Atlantic stocks to near extinction. Hence, the Maritime provinces must diversify their economies.

The Prairies are described as producing beef cattle without a statement that cattle consume a greater percentage of resources than humans. Oil and gas were described as contributing to wealth from natural resources without any mention of a downside such as potential environmental hazards (p. 46, TCC); and the forestry industry of B.C. was described as being concerned about deforestation but there was no explanation of deforestation in the section, nor was there a definition of deforestation at the beginning of the unit.

TCC helps students draw links between the right to a sustainable environment and the rights of indigenous peoples in Canada. For example, compensation to the Cree in exchange for environmental damage caused by the James Bay project was in the form of money and regional autonomy (p.45, TCC). The text suggests water may be exported but it does not indicate the potential downside of exporting water from the Great Lakes region. Traditional hunting, fishing and trapping by the Inuit and the lure of tourism is how TCC describes the North (p.48) but the text does not mention that tourism could contribute to environmental damage. TCC contains an excellent exercise for creating an environmental anti-pollutant bill (p.237)

### **Education for Cultural Rights**

Overall TCC contains substantial text for students to appreciate various dimensions of cultural rights. In the area of cultural development, TCC is strong in clarifying the right

to freely pursue one's right to cultural development and identity. Thus, in the first chapter on Canadian identity, TCC explains the origins of the Canadian "cultural mosaic" since the 17<sup>th</sup> century (12-13). As it states:

*Canada's Government has adopted policies to encourage immigrants and citizens to retain parts of their ancestral cultures with each culture contributing to the Canadian cultural mosaic ..... The enormous diversity of Canada's ethnocultural roots has meant that many Canadians have a double self-identity.*  
(p. 12)

Students therefore are encouraged to respect the right of all cultural and ethnic groups to preserve and develop their heritage while being open to accepting or even adopting other cultural influences through "diffusion" (p. 13). TCC notes that "without the benefit of Native experiences," many explorers and settlers would not have survived (p. 13). TCC further acknowledges the distinct ways of life as well as the diversity within Native peoples. It also helps students to appreciate that before European colonization, Native peoples had well established social and cultural systems. "They had well developed trade patterns, religions, laws and government" (p. 15).

In discussing multiculturalism, TCC provides a useful contrast of positive and negative views of multiculturalism policies (p. 30-31), which helps students understand why some Canadians may behave negatively towards newcomers. "The racism experienced by many immigrants and native groups in Canada is clear evidence that not all Canadians embrace multiculturalism as part of their personal identity" (p. 31). On new and non-European immigrants, TCC occasionally refers to the violations of their rights, such as the head tax on Chinese and the internment of Japanese during WWII. TCC states:

*Despite the Government's efforts to encourage the cultural diversity of Canadians, many cultural and ethnic groups remain dissatisfied. Incidents of intolerance and racism are not uncommon across the country. A challenge for*



*Canada, if it is to remain successful as a nation, is to eliminate discrimination and inequality, and to ensure that all Canadians, regardless of their country of birth or their ethnic or cultural backgrounds, have equal opportunities in society. (p. 290)*

From a human rights education perspective, TCC needs to provide more understanding of the nature of systemic racism that continues to be faced by ethnic “minorities” and Aboriginal peoples (Rights Path, 1998).

TCC discusses issues related to the right to speak one’s native language. In the section on bilingualism, TCC notes its conflictual nature and a gap between the policy and the reality of Canada’s multicultural society. As it notes,

*“Large numbers of Canadians do not claim the linguistic and cultural heritage of either of the founding groups .... Some Native groups suggested that since they were here first, there should be provisions for their languages. Other sizable immigrant groups such as the Ukrainian Canadians have also made demands for their own languages. (p. 27)*

Hence, students can explore alternative policies that can help promote language maintenance and development of diverse cultural groups in Canada, as is occurring through bilingual schooling programs (e.g., Ukrainian and Chinese) in Alberta.

TCC does not enter into a definitional discussion of multiculturalism, interculturalism, crossculturalism or cultural democracy, nor does it indicate what distinguishes one from the other.

TCC also raises the issue of Canadian cultural development in relation to external influences, especially those coming from the United States. As it notes,

*Canada also has trouble controlling the influence of American culture on its population. Cultural information flows stronger from South to North than the other way around. Compared [with] what Canadians know about the United States, many Americans know very little about their northern neighbors. (p. 34)*

Hence, Canada has policies of “cultural protectionism” as “an essential factor for the survival of Canadian identity and the Canadian nation” (p. 36). However, TCC needs to help students better understand the political and economic structures that enable American cultural influence to be so strong.

## **Global Forces of the Twentieth Century**

### **Educating for Civil Rights**

In describing one of the themes of this book, Global Interactions during the Inter war Period and the Second World War, GF mentions “justice, human rights, and the ideologies influencing the inter war period” (p. vii). Unlike the Grade 10 book TCC, GF does not discuss directly and explicitly the issue of human rights except in a few occasions related to the United Nations organization (p. 150), the Glasnost period in post cold-war Russia (p. 150), the Helsinki Accord (p. 271-272), and the repressive Ceausescu regime in Romania (p. 298). However, as students work through the textbook, the content presents several opportunities for students to understand the impact of global forces during the twentieth century on human rights. But in contrast to TCC, GF places more emphasis on educating for civil and political rights than on economic, social and cultural rights.

Given the historical orientation of GF on numerous events and episodes of world, regional and civil wars and other forms of militarized conflict, students are continually confronted by violations of the right to life and other rights of dignity. For example, in WWI, GF documents the “staggering losses” suffered by warring countries.

*In the first five months of fighting, the French and Germans had lost about a million soldiers each, and the British Expeditionary Force alone lost almost half of its 160,000 soldier strength. The figures were staggering, but small by*

*comparison of what was to come. The objective of Britain and France was to hurl the invaders out of France and Belgium. This could be done only by infantry attacks against the machine guns, barbed wire, and mine fields that protected the German lines, in places seven km deep. These assaults would cost an average of 5,000 lives everyday for the next 52 months. (p. 16)*

GF reports that 10 million soldiers and civilians were killed in WWI, 21 million soldiers and civilians were wounded and 68 million people contributed either supplies or work for the preparation of war in which they did not directly participate (p.21). GF also states that WWII killed 50 to 60 million people comprising: 20 million Soviets, 10 million Chinese, 5 million Germans, 2 million Japanese, 2 million among the British, French and Italians combined, and ...14 million central Europeans including victims of the genocide, and ...295,000 Americans (p. 130-131), but Canadians are not included in the statistics. Throughout the book, students also encounter the tragic loss of lives in many conflicts such as the Spanish civil war (p. 59), the Russian revolution (p. 70), the Japanese raid of Nanjing (p. 102), the Chinese revolution led by Mao (p. 100-103), the Japanese occupation of Southeast Asian countries in WWII (p. 140), the Korean war (p. 235), the India-Pakistan partition (p. 234), the Arab-Israeli wars (p. 213-216), the Vietnam war (p. 238), the Iran-Iraq war (p. 217), the Contra war in Nicaragua (p. 280), the Gulf war (p. 219), the Rwanda civil war of 1994 (p. 165), and the Bosnian war (p. 313).

In GF's presentation of these conflicts, the casualties sustained by soldiers are highlighted. From a human rights education perspective, students need to understand that civilians also suffer great violations of their right to life and various rights of dignity. It is helpful that GF mentions that the cost of WWII includes:

*... a far larger number left homeless, and the material and environmental costs of industrial devastation. Mere figures fail to convey the horrifying breadth of the human cost of this war. (p. 131)*

GF does report that during the Battle of Britain in the air from June 10 to mid-September of 1940, thousands of British civilians were killed and wounded (pp.113-115). But GF does not report the number of German civilians killed and wounded from British reciprocal raids on German cities. In human rights education, the right to life is universal and applies to all sides, whether victors or losers of a conflict.

Undoubtedly, the most tragic and horrifying case of violations of the rights of dignity of peoples was the genocide committed by the Hitler regime in the holocaust, where some 10 million Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs in Europe were tortured and executed (p. 124-125). While the role of the German and Nazi military forces as mass murderers and perpetrators of such crimes against humanity is identified in GF, it is equally important that students also realize the complicity of ordinary citizens and the passivity of the international community. GF provides a graphic narration of the violations of individual's and peoples' rights during the Third Reich from 1934-1939, highlighting the atrocities committed (pp.51-55). The book could have explained further that the depth and ruthlessness of human rights violations during this period served as reasons to create a code of human rights conduct for the future of the world (UN, 1948). GF however, commented on how "Foreign nations did not protest" the atrocities of "Kristallnacht (Glass Night) November 1938" when "26,000 male Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps, ...70 [men] were murdered, ...women and girls were raped and beaten in public" (p.53).

Similarly, in the Rwanda genocide of 1994 (p. 165) and the Bosnian wars (p. 313), the atrocities of ethnic cleansing involved not just soldiers but also civilians who even turned on their neighbors and friends. The implication for human rights education in these examples is that a culture of human rights needs the commitment of all citizens, not just leaders of government and the armed forces. Furthermore, it would have been more educational to also add a more holistic analysis of the root causes of such atrocities committed by humans against fellow humans (Barnaby, 1988).

GF discussion of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the US is somewhat limited in explaining the full scale of the violations of the rights to dignity of the hundreds of thousands of civilians killed in the bombing. GF approach to this horrific event in human history tends to uphold official US justification:

*... the atomic bomb ... was the weapon that would eliminate the need to invade the home islands and therefore save countless American battle casualties. The decision to use the bomb was never in doubt. The atomic bomb also meant that the Americans no longer needed the Soviets as allies in the Pacific. The war could now be won without them. (p. 144)*

From the human rights perspective, students need to be exposed to alternative views including US cold-war policy to contain the USSR and the ethical valuing of American soldiers' lives over so many Japanese civilian lives (World Guide 1997/1998).

Furthermore, GF states that after WWII, the Americans identified and tried 28 war criminals in Tokyo, Japan and transported 9000 other Japanese to be tried for war crimes elsewhere in Southeast Asia (p. 231). GF also describes how US General LeMay decided to terrorize civilian populations to break the Japanese people's spirit (p.142). There is no doubt that an atom bomb dropped on a civilian population qualifies as a crime against humanity under the criteria of "genocide" and "devastation of cities" defined in international law. Yet GF does not question why nobody has brought a charge for these atomic bombings of civilian cities before the international court of justice. From the perspective of human rights education, crimes against humanity need to be addressed regardless of who are the perpetrators. Moreover, GF account needs to mention that the deal made by the US authorities in not charging Emperor Hirohito in exchange for Japan's biological warfare technology (Barnaby, 1988).

The topic of the nuclear arms and arms control that GF discusses in some detail (p. 200-207) also provides a good opportunity to look at the right to life. As GF notes:

*The 1950s and the 1960s were characterized by technological innovations that resulted in a vast array of weapons, none of which could be used without the risk of an all-out nuclear holocaust. The arms race developed out of a desire on each side to possess enough new and technologically superior weaponry to prevent the opposition from striking first. (p. 200)*

The possible nuclear holocaust that can occur unless the nuclear arms race is abolished and deterrence abandoned will remind students that the nuclear powers hold the right to life in their hands. Hence, GF could have demonstrated empowerment to students by including not just the technical and political details of the arms race and arms control but also the efforts of people's movements worldwide to attain nuclear disarmament (Caldicott 1983, TCC p.157).

In relation to war crimes, GF does not differentiate it from crimes against humanity and includes war crimes among five of the seven principles reproduced from the 1950 International Law Commission on the conduct of war:

*... (1) an individual who commits an international criminal act can be punished for it; (2) heads of state are liable for punishment; (3) following orders is no defence in law; (4) crimes against peace include the planning and waging of war; (5) war crimes and crimes against humanity include: genocide, deportation, slave labor, plunder, killing of hostages, and devastation of cities. (p.129)*

GF reports that "24 Nazi leaders... and fifty thousand others, ...were brought to trial for crimes against humanity" (p.130). Some were "sentenced to death," others to "life in prison" or "10-20 year" prison terms, while others were "acquitted" (p.130). The crime that produced convictions was "planning and waging of war," but the international court did not rule on genocide because it was then considered an internal matter and it did not rule on bombings of civilian populations "because it was not asked to" (p.130). Teachers using GF today will be able to alert students to the advances in prosecuting human rights violators for crimes against humanity, especially the International War Crimes Tribunals on Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, and the recent development to establish a permanent International Criminal Court.

GF discusses the world distribution of power after WWII, stating that the US emerged as the premiere military, industrial and economic superpower, with only the Soviets as competition in a then bipolar world that had moved the balance of power to North America and Asia from Europe (p.131), although the USSR is partly in Asia and partly in Europe. In the topics for discussion and critical analysis for students provided by GF at the end of the section on the Second World War (p. 131-133), there is no question asked about the root causes of this global war, which would have been a main concern from the perspective of human rights education.

With respect to the rights of equality under civil rights, GF provides a number of learning opportunities for students. The Holocaust of course, as well as ethnic cleansing in Rwanda and Bosnia constitute gross violation on ethnic/cultural grounds. The issue of sexual equality however, is hardly discussed. For example, in discussing the Pacific War, GF enumerated again the atrocities committed by the Japanese Imperial Army including: bayoneting civilians without provocation, pillaging hospitals, murdering babies, brutalizing prisoners of war, ...clubbing people to death, ...[describing the march of 7000 Filipinos and many Americans to death on the way to the Bataan concentration camp]" (p.140). However, it is important to question why GF does not mention the sexual slavery of more than 200,000 "comfort women and girls" the Japanese used to "service" their troops' sexual desires during WWII (Sajor, 2000).

Likewise, in the recent Balkan wars, GF should have raised the use of rape of women as a weapon of war. In human rights education, additional violations suffered by women in armed conflicts need to be discussed.

GF gives a further example of violations of women's rights due to China's one-child policy which was not only coercive in terms of civil rights of the parents but has led to female infanticide (p. 256-257).

Finally, although GF seeks to help students understand some of the major global forces of the twentieth century, GF misses an excellent opportunity to remind students

that the efforts to attain gender equality rights constitutes one of those powerful global forces. The women's movement and feminism gained momentum worldwide during this century and resulted in significant advances in promoting the human rights of half the world's population (Walters-Manicom, eds. 1996). The approach to interpreting history in GF can be criticized for not highlighting the role of women in the making of history of peoples and nations, except for a few references to individual women leaders such as Tsarina Alexandria in Russia (p. 71), Madame Mao or Jiang Qing in China (p. 103)

### **Educating for Political Rights**

GF begins by admitting that the book is "an interpretation of the political and military history of the industrial powers of the twentieth century in their quest for global supremacy and national security" (p. 2). These powers have "routinely exercised the political, military and economic power to shape the world in their own self-interest" (p. 2). The book therefore provides students with a particular paradigm of understanding international relations based on concepts of the nation state and realpolitik. As GF states:

*In the final analysis, all international relationships, whether through conflict or cooperation, are governed by the existing power structure of the world's nation states. The reality of power [realpolitik] and the knowledge that nations always act in their own self interest are the concepts basic to an understanding of international relations. (p. 2)*

From a human rights education perspective, GF appropriately notes that global competition among powerful states has led to imperialism, colonialism, and wars masked as a "Crusade Against Evil," "Manifest Destiny," "White Man's Burden," "Crusade in Europe" and "Containment" (p. 2). However, GF's assumption that the state necessarily acts to improve its peoples' quality of life can be questioned, since governments' decisions to wage war or conquer may not benefit all of its own citizens. Finally, GF argues that:



*... It was not until war in 1945 when the development of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threatened the very existence of human life that a measure of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the industrial powers emerged. This cooperation is crucial for the solution of present problems like global and environmental degradation, human rights violations, international terrorism, and a decaying standard of living for most of the world's burgeoning population. (p.3)*

In contrast, human rights and peace educators would argue that it is the growth of competitive militarism that perpetuates human rights violations, unsustainability and global injustice (Adams, 1989). The so-called “peaceful co-existence” based on the principle of deterrence cannot build a culture of peace and human rights.

In the area of freedom of activity, GF provides several useful case studies for students. Thus the Russian revolution and ensuing repressive policies of collectivization (p. 77), authoritarian repression in Eastern European states (p. 186, 196), the anti-communist Chinese regime of Chiang Kai Shek (p. 98), Maoist communist rule including the cultural revolution of 1966-76 (p. 252-258), and the post-Mao Tianamen massacre of pro-democracy students (p. 261-265) all provide examples of violations of political rights of participation, association and peaceful assembly. However, teachers would need to remind students that repression of freedoms of activities also take place in western democratic societies. For example, GF describes McCarthyism in the 1950s as the US witch hunt to reveal “communists” within the US and to prevent them from attaining positions of influence, or from working and having the ability to earn a living (p. 183). As a result, rights of many innocent citizens were grossly violated. GF however does not refer to other examples like the suppression of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements in the US and the disarmament campaigns in Western Europe and North America (Barnaby, 1988).

With respect to freedoms of affiliation under political rights, GF includes topics through which students can understand more specific rights like the rights to self-determination, freedom of movement and rights of refugees. GF considered the Helsinki

Accord of 1975 to be the introduction of human rights in the Eastern bloc (especially mobility rights of political dissidents and the emigration of Jews) and security as key global issues, taking over from arms control. But GF also notes that the Soviet Brezhnev Doctrine was incompatible with the principle of nonintervention in the internal, domestic affairs of independent nations (p.271). Likewise, the U.S. hemispheric Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and the concepts of spheres of influence, economic zones, colonial empires and imperialism are equally at odds with the same principle. The idea of a principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other nations has never been respected and it has certainly been violated constantly during the last 500 years of colonial empire building.

GF also provides a substantive section on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East (p. 211-217). GF shows how the political struggles for self-determination of both Israelis and Palestinians have led to violence, wars, and violations of human rights suffered by both conflicting parties. GF also discusses tactics of terrorism used in the Middle East, such as taking hostages, hijacking and sabotaging aircraft, bombings and in general the killing of innocent people for no apparent reason (pp.224-225). Some issues however, deserve elaboration such as the mass killings in the Palestinian refugee camps by Israeli-backed Lebanese militia, the Israeli militarized control of the occupied territories, and the role of fundamentalist Muslim groups in acts of terrorism.

In the case of China, GF does explain the return of Hong Kong to Chinese control and the on-going question of Taiwan's claim to independence (p. 262-264). However, the situation of Tibet and the ongoing struggle of the Tibetan people for political freedoms and self-determination is not covered. Tibet would have been a good case study for students to examine questions of political rights, especially drawing on the nonviolent campaign for change led by the Dalai Lama (World Guide, 1997-1998).

Another useful example in GF on the right to self-determination and to freely determine one's political status concerns the aspirations of various ethnic nationalities within the former Soviet Union for independence (p. 294-295). Related to this right are

exemplars of militarized intervention on the part of powerful western countries (e.g., US) in South countries to support counter revolutionary movements (e.g., Nicaragua) (p. 284).

The issue of refugees and their rights is raised by GF as a specific topic. As it states:

*Since 1990, millions of people have been forced to leave their homes to seek safety elsewhere as a result of political terror and armed conflict. Refugee populations in excess of 10,000 can now be identified in 70 of the world's states. No part of the world is untouched by the mass migration. The UNHCR places the number at over 30 million, not counting the estimated more than 5 million displaced within their own nation (p. 160)*

GF briefly discusses the exodus of boat people from Vietnam after the end of the Vietnam war (p. 243). Many of the refugees died but 750,000 were accepted as refugees among Canada, U.S., Australia, France, Great Britain and Germany, while another 90,000 were placed in camps in various ASEAN countries and in Hong Kong which later forcibly sent its refugees back to Vietnam (p. 243). Given the relevance of this issue to countries like Canada, US and other Western countries in accepting the boat people, GF could have elaborated on whether and how the rights of these refugees were adequately protected in refugee camps and after settlement. In a more general discussion, GF notes the increasing unwillingness of Western countries to accept refugees.

*... Heavy influxes of displaced peoples have placed such demands on the infrastructure of the industrialized nations that it was increasingly difficult to provide food and shelter to the newcomers. Although the right to asylum continues to be recognized, those who were in no danger would be repatriated. (p. 219)*

This is likewise illustrated by recent Canadian episodes (e.g. Chinese ship arrivals on the West Coast) and criticisms by human rights advocates of the refugee process.

Finally, with respect to the right to democracy, GF has a chapter (pp.287-303) that describes the post cold-war Gorbachev era when the USSR was breaking down. GF gives examples of political freedom movements among the countries that were in the Soviet

sphere of influence and among the Soviet republics. GF includes reports of people protesting and fleeing nations for recognition of their political rights of free elections, participation in government, and freedoms of association and assembly. Even though their basic economic rights, their civil rights of individual freedoms from state abuse, and their social and cultural rights were intricately linked to their political rights, it was their political rights that they sought and achieved first. It was their restrictive freedom of movement and mobility rights that they exercised by violating, in order to escape to democratic countries. Or it was their prohibited freedom of expression (civil) and assembly (political) rights that they violated, to stage mass protests that overthrew repressive communist regimes, in order to create democratic countries.

On the political right of democracy, GF tends to assume that a democratic society is modeled by the Western industrialized world whose standards should be emulated by less democratic or undemocratic nations in other parts of the world. From a human rights education perspective, students should be encouraged to think critically about alternative meanings and practices of democracy. Here a useful lesson can be drawn from the conduct of Western democracies in the Gulf war launched to punish Saddam Hussein for human rights violations. But as GF notes, Saddam Hussein was supported by the US in the Iran-Iraq war (p. 217) and also received military support from the Soviet Union and the West (p.218).

Finally, GF helps students to be empowered by the stories of human rights advocates and activists like Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, who were jailed for speaking against internal Soviet repression and wars in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan (p.292); and Vaclav Havel, a poet and playwright, jailed for denouncing censorship of artists, for laying a wreath at the grave of a youth who publicly burned himself to death when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 (p.298).

## **Educating for Economic Rights**

GF presents several opportunities for students to appreciate the economic right to minimum living standards. Exemplars include Russia under the Tsar, marked by food shortages and other economic deprivations (p. 70), the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933 (p. 78), the Great Depression in the US (p. 85), the rural poor in Central America (p. 279) and even in Yeltsin's democratic Russia facing social problems of crime, poverty, ill health, male alcoholism, diseases and inadequate food for about 55 million people (p.311).

GF however, provides inadequate analysis of the root causes of the violation of this right to minimum living standards, except in the Central American case where GF identifies the key role of wealthy powerful elites monopolizing resources and land and backed by US military and economic support (p. 279). Instead of economically diversified economies, the emphasis on export crops led to insufficient production of food for domestic consumption causing malnutrition and starvation (p.279).

In regard to work rights, GF raises a compelling example of gross violation during Stalin's era in the Soviet Union.

*From 1928 to 1941, numerous large projects were completed [by the Soviet State]. These included the Dneiper Dam, the Stalingrad tractor factory, the Magnitogorsk Steel plant in the Urals, the Kuznetsk Basin mines of Siberia, and Baltic-White Sea Canal. Many projects were dependent on slave labor. It is estimated that 10 million political prisoners were held in concentration camps and were used in gold mining, forestry, coal mining, and the building of roads, canals, railways and airports. About 10 percent of these prisoners died each year. The camps were continually replenished with non-party workers and other political opponents of the Soviet regime. (p. 79)*

Furthermore, in GF's concluding chapter in contemporary global interaction (p. 318-322), the whole area of the rights of workers in the global economy could have been mentioned. In the human rights field, there is now a growing movement of advocates who

monitor violations of work rights in the factories and farms dominated by transnational corporations (Brecher-Costello 1994, Barnett-Cavanagh 1994, New Internationalist 1995). A good example for students' empowerment is the ongoing campaign against Nike's use of sweat shop labor in its production sites in the South (Canadian Federation of Students). Teachers can also mention the campaign of the Ontario youth Craig Kielburger against exploited child labor engaged in producing carpets, soccer balls, clothing and many consumer items used in North societies (Lee-Wright, 1990).

In the area of right to development, GF provides inadequate analysis for helping students to link the violation or promotion of economic rights to paradigms of development. Under the topic of international economic cooperation, GF merely describes the powerful aid agencies like the IMF and the World bank as providers of funds for development (p. 162-163). GF does not critically discuss the well-known critiques of these agencies' policies in perpetuating inequalities (Jackson 1990, Bello 1990, Brecher-Costello 1994). Likewise in discussing the earlier mentioned GATT and succeeding WTO trading structures (p. 163-164), GF fails to alert students to arguments that GATT and WTO helped to entrench the global power of North states and transnational corporations.

Finally, on trade blocs, GF merely cites NAFTA (p. 321) without pointing out the ongoing violations of economic rights of cheap Mexican labor in the investment zones near the US border (Brecher-Costello 1994).

### **Educating for Social Rights**

Within the category of social rights, GF provides very little opportunity to raise issues of the right to education, right to housing or the right to health, except in the example of the flu epidemic in 1918-1920 resulting in millions of deaths world wide because people were vulnerable as a result of the reduced health caused by the war (p. 20).

It is with respect to sustainable environment where some exemplars are found in GF. The clearest example is the case of the Chernobyl nuclear accident disaster which exposed some 1.7 million people to dangerous radiation and “850,000 still live in contaminated areas and another 280,000 .... have nowhere to go, [while] birth defects have risen by 20 percent and ... thousands of people will develop some form of cancer” (p. 290). Another exemplar highlights the serious industrial pollution in the former Eastern Europe which has caused widespread environmental damage (p. 314-315). Another exemplar links the environment to warfare when Saddam Hussein sabotaged oil terminals and wells during the Gulf war with resulting massive pollution (p. 221). Likewise, the use of “napalm” and “defoliants” by the US in the Vietnam war (p. 243) has caused long-term environmental damage and ill-health which was not mentioned by GF.

Human rights educators will question however, GF’s conclusion that environmental damage is largely a problem of the South:

*One of the greatest challenges humans face is in managing the Earth’s resources. This is a global problem and concerns us all. The limited success in the industrial world in controlling pollution resource exploitation and in recycling resources is matched by minimal efforts in the non-industrialized world. When priorities are to house and feed a hungry population, environmental concerns are easily ignored.* (p. 322)

This analysis fails to help students see that North countries participate in environmental destruction worldwide through the activities of transnational corporations and also by maintaining a consumerist lifestyle that rapidly depletes global resources (Brecher-Costello 1994).

## **Educating for Cultural Rights**

As earlier noted, GF provides a good exemplar of the right to self-determination through the nationality issue in the former Soviet Union. However, this is also a valuable case for exploring the right to cultural development. As GF elaborates,

*Despite the Communists' attempt to erase nationalism and focus on an international proletariat, the old ethnic loyalties remain and national aspirations lay smoldering. Potential conflict arose not only from the Russian domination of minority groups but also from the co-mingling of nationalities ... Russification programs in non-Russian republics like Ukraine provided advantages for those individuals who learned the Russian language and became familiar with Russian culture. This policy, in combination with the practice of filling bureaucratic posts with Russian administrators, fueled resentment in the non-Russian republics and led to civil uprisings once a free press and freedom of assembly was made possible by Glasnost. (p. 294)*

This example shows well that the right to cultural identity and development can remain strong despite years of political domination. A more recent example occurred during the break up of Yugoslavia. After Tito's death, various ethnic, religious and historic groups began to seek independence leading to the violence of "ethnic cleansing" that GF defined as "slaughter and systematic rape of civilian populations" (p. 313).

Unfortunately, GF does not explain the difference between "settlement" (as in settling the West, meaning European settlement of North America or Western North America), and "ethnic cleansing", whether creating laws to chase Anglophones from Quebec for a future Secession referendum qualifies or whether "ethnic cleansing" means physical genocide or extermination of groups of people but not "ethnic cleansing" based on language as practiced by the Parti Quebecois in Quebec. GF needs to identify whose perspective is operating the camera lens and how rational people should view it.

GF also discusses the ongoing conflict over Chechnya's independence struggle which led to Russian military intervention and widespread atrocities, especially on civilians (p. 306). In this regard, GF should have reminded students of the right to cultural



development and identity among the millions of indigenous peoples in China and as earlier mentioned, the Tibetan peoples (World Guide, 1997-1998).

However, GF does mention the religious persecution between Muslims and Hindus in India which developed prior to independence. In an effort to curtail the atrocities of inter-ethnic conflict, Britain expedited independence day for India and Pakistan to August 15, 1947 (p. 234-235). Unfortunately, in the resultant process of relocation of about 12 million people, 250,000 were killed during the trek, as they passed one another (p. 235).

The Holocaust is another clear example of a violation of a right to cultural identity. GF rightly describes the persecution of an identifiable group and the planned execution and/or enslavement of millions of people considered inferior as a “crime” resulting from the idea of the “purity of the German race” translated into the racial purification plan of Heinrich Himmler and Adolf Eichman (p.51-53). GF explains Germany’s pre-WWII plan to expand its territory and in the process “inferior people” would have to be moved by force, denied education, political, social and civil rights. Some would be allowed to live if they worked for the state economy as degraded sub-humans; while others, if they were Jewish, Gypsy or Slav, would ultimately be subjected to and administered the “Final Solution,” which was a methodical genocide, made possible by the careful records of identification and processing (p.51-53).

On the specific right to language development, GF refers to the preference of Ukrainians to abandon the use of Russian, imposed under the earlier Russification era, as a state language and to use only Ukrainian (p.311).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **Summary and Reflections**

This study has provided a qualitative content analysis of two textbooks used in the Alberta High School Social Studies Curriculum, namely *Twentieth Century Canada* and *Global Forces of the Twentieth Century*.

Guided by conceptual issues of human rights education and a critical evaluative framework of human rights theory and practice, this study sought to analyze the content of two senior high Social Studies textbooks in Alberta from the perspective of human rights education. Based on such a content analysis, the study drew implications for the role of Social Studies textbooks in promoting the understanding and practice of human rights among senior high school students.

More specifically, the study asked what key concepts do Alberta's human rights education framework offer to students? Does it provide students with a set of values to identify violations of human dignity (awareness) and what to do about them (advocacy)? What human rights education materials do the textbooks contain that are pertinent as tools for awareness and advocacy? The realization of universal respect for human dignity and adherence to human rights requires enforcement, no matter how good the human rights instruments or legislation. Do Alberta textbooks address such difficult issues for student contemplation? Do Alberta textbooks detail how good intentions have unexpected consequences? Do Alberta texts recognize that rights provide restraints and obligations on the relationship between and among states and citizens?

When confronted with a violation of their rights, do the Alberta textbooks provide high school students with sufficient values, skills, and knowledge to recognize, verbalize and actualize a remedy for themselves and for others? Do the textbooks help to empower students to consider taking action to build a culture of human rights?

This study, if textbooks lack information that national and local human rights organizations provide, suggests that Canadian federal and provincial governments, and human rights organizations should be asked to contribute chapters to Social Studies textbooks in order to provide a human rights education to all students in the province. At present, if the information in specialized packages is not in textbooks, then unless the students' teacher gathers the appropriate packages for students, a human rights education is unavailable to students. In the long term, if a human rights education is to be a life long experience and practice, it will be textbooks that must provide students with a universal starting point.

As detailed in Chapter 4, both textbooks are characterized by strengths as well as weaknesses in raising implications for human rights understanding and education. The books present numerous opportunities for students to think critically about the range of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights as they relate to Canadian and international affairs. The Grade 10 book, *Twentieth Century Canada*, provides more content and opportunities to raise awareness on civil, political and cultural rights than on economic and social rights. The Grade 12 book, *Global Forces of the Twentieth Century*, likewise has an emphasis on civil and political rights. Economic rights issues are more visible, but social and cultural rights are less analyzed.

An interesting unexpected finding is that although *Twentieth Century Canada* is a textbook focusing on Canadian history and societal issues, there are numerous exemplars for also examining human rights and human rights education in a global context. This reflects a strength of the book in locating the Canadian nation within the world community, and in its interactions with social, economic, political and cultural forces in all other regions.

*Global Forces in the Twentieth Century* is clearly detailed in documenting the major historical events of the last century that saw so many bloody conflicts and in describing the complexities of nation states and their multiple interactions. Such detail is, on

occasion, too descriptive and lacks analysis of the events in a way that would be more helpful to human rights education. However, the book does contain information and analyses which can be directly or indirectly related to violations of human rights and the challenges to build a culture of human rights.

In addition to the specific findings found in Chapter Four under each of the categories of educating for human rights, the following reflections provide further thought on the quality and relevance of the two textbooks for human rights education.

From the philosophical viewpoint that what you think happens, the goal of human rights education is to change what we think so that our values and choices result in more dignified local and global communities. Do the two textbooks achieve such a goal?

The two textbooks need to bring more personal stories into the texts to introduce human elements and problems at a local level much more than they have. The textbooks analyzed tend to hover at the international or global level, making problems appear to be insurmountable and leaving a cold feeling of endless wars, dictatorship and exploitation of the masses, who lack options. The need to promote a sense of empowerment that is vital in human rights education can be better fulfilled if the textbooks provide more exemplars and lessons of people struggling to attain their human rights.

Do the two textbooks provide either awareness or knowledge of applicability to students? Alberta's textbooks need to explain the difference between political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights so that when students read about issues and events, they know how those issues and events may affect rights of various people, including themselves. Students should be enabled to understand the debate and arguments from conflicting perspectives, if they are to know how issues and events connect with certain rights or multiple categories of rights.

Do the two textbooks address criteria used by governments to justify the violation of rights and provide a means for students to assess the criteria as either impartial or prejudicial? In practice, rights are not always what they appear theoretically to be and

how they are interpreted defines what they mean to Canadians. In TCC, there is inadequate explanation of the notwithstanding clause (section 33) and of section 1 in Canada's Charter that should tell students rights are not absolute, that there are times when a government may justify violating them. The War Measures Act is the most controversial example and students need to recognize the many forms it takes around the world, when governments justify suspending civil rights in actual or contrived situations deemed to be public emergencies.

The difficult issue of the enforcement of rights may require the violation of rights. Neither textbook discussed how to enforce rights when they are violated, except that peace keepers go in to keep order. But how do they keep order? Do they kill, should they be aggressive and offensively seek out the violators or should they take a defensive stand and only respond with force if threatened and should that be deadly or non-lethal? I searched for that kind of debate but I did not find one. The United States and China use the death penalty. Should a state execute its citizens? No discussion on the issue was found.

There was no explanation or contemplation that good intentions can have unintended and unfavorable consequences that injure many people. Neither did any of the textbooks discuss the rights and obligations of states and citizens. What kind of treatment should a person expect from the state? What type of conduct should a state expect from a citizen? Why do we pay taxes and how do we know when they are too high and affect our social and economic rights?

There is a huge gap in the textbooks analyzed when it comes to explanations of social rights to education and to health care in particular. What kind of education do students have a right to receive and from what age until what age? Should everyone have universal health care whatever their age?

The textbooks contain no measure of whether today's world violates rights more or less than previous years. Students will have the feeling that wars are prevalent and rights

are violated during wars and how does the textbook handle the problem of murder being a crime in all civil societies but murder is expected in times of war? There is no discussion of the problem in either of the textbooks.

Do students look to see who has ratified and implemented international rights conventions into national laws or do they look to see who has ratified and broken the rights they promise to uphold? No criteria were presented to students.

The textbooks mention a few NGOs active in human rights promotion and advocacy worldwide, such as Amnesty International and Doctors without Borders. A wider reference to such awareness and advocacy organizations would be helpful for the empowerment process for students. The textbooks offer little for transformative action in the content but they do contain questions that send students to investigate issues that may allow them to derive solutions.

Social wrongs are not necessarily identified but students will discover that they have recognized them if they developed an understanding of the issues and events. Otherwise, they may read the events without necessarily seeing the social wrongs and alternative perspectives possible. The textbooks generally do not attempt to directly apply values of human rights to the issues and events unless the events themselves addressed the problem by some means. If the event does not contain a solution, alternatives are not discussed. Histories tend to be presented as factual representations without much speculation on alternative scenarios.

In using these two textbooks, teachers concerned with human rights education will need to look at the ripple effects of violated rights, so that students understand many other rights may also be affected, besides the right they have noticed at first glance. All rights, whatever category, are deeply interconnected. TCC, in contrast to GF, is more amenable to human rights education because of its thematic approach to Canadian history and society rather than the focus on wars, time periods, and nation states. Human rights is relegated as a by-product of the other purposes for organizing school texts, mainly

historical and factual events, structural in describing political systems and functional in seeing how government is supposed to work. The two textbooks reflect this tendency.

Are the students empowered with the knowledge of human rights to enable them to defend their rights, the rights of others and to prevent themselves from going into situations where they risk violations of their rights? Respect for the dignity of all people may be found in the text books but it is not highlighted so that the students know they should be respectful of the dignity of all people, rather than only their friends and people like them. Tolerance of differences is not emphasized enough in the textbooks to allow students to realize that differences provide a diversity and richness that makes all lives better, meaning differences should not be ridiculed.

Women attaining voting rights are detailed but not the value of their education for food production or population control, equal pay for equal work, amount of unpaid work, or percentage holding high level positions in society. As detailed in Chapter 4, the area of women's human rights is much neglected, as well as the powerful contributions of women's movements worldwide to build a culture of human rights and peace.

Likewise, the rights of indigenous peoples deserve more prominence in the textbooks. While TCC does provide opportunities for students to understand human rights violations and promotions for Canada's Aboriginal people, the analysis needs to be more critical. Disclosures of abuse of Aboriginal children by government and church operated schools is nowhere to be found in either text. GF, although it raises the issue of human rights in a context of self-determination and ethnic nationalism, also needs a more systematic presentation.

In the area of economic rights, the textbooks studied do not contain sufficient material for a critical understanding of the realities of under development and development that cause so much human suffering. The tendency to favor the modernization paradigm of development in both texts means that students will not be able to fully understand the role of economic power of states and elites in the globalized economy. Hence, they will be

less empowered to work for global justice that is required for the fulfillment of economic and social rights of all peoples.

The distinction between individual and collective rights did not surface in the textbooks, although as earlier noted, TCC does provide a whole chapter on human rights and citizenship. Constitutions appear and disappear with revolutions and new governments, allegedly improving societies, but their relationship with rights is not well explained. Students would not connect the legislators' constitutional limits to infringe rights as a reason why constitutions always follow revolutions, coupes and ideological changes. Nor would students recognize that constitutions alone, as mere pieces of paper, are insufficient to protect rights of individuals against governments that choose to violate them. Forms of civil protest are not detailed in any comprehensive way and students are likely to equate protesting with television images of being beaten by police or thrown in jail. Letter writing, passive resistance and active involvement are means that need to be explained and advocated in the texts, detailing what they have accomplished in the past and what they can achieve.

In sum, if these textbooks are to be used by teachers with a vision to integrate human rights education into Social Studies, there will be a need to provide supplementary information and critical analyses to help students interpret the various historical and societal events and forces through a human rights lens. The findings of this study may hopefully be considered in the writing of future editions of the textbooks so as to strengthen the human rights education dimension.

However, there will be a need for the Alberta Social Studies curriculum to be examined and revised from a human rights education perspective. Textbook authors and publishers are guided by curriculum guidelines. Hence, changes in the curriculum will send signals to authors to revise their content and interpretations of the topic. Hopefully, the current design of a new Social Studies curriculum under the Western Protocol will provide students with more human rights education perspectives. Alberta Learning has a



responsibility to emphasize and facilitate the reading of Social Studies in order to promote human rights education in Alberta schools. As a nation claiming to be a leader in human rights in the world, Canadian educational authorities should demonstrate it by its school curriculum.

### **Implications for Further Research**

This study has been limited by time and resources to only two social studies textbooks. Clearly, a more systematic content analysis of some of the other recommended textbooks will be a useful extension of this study. The results of this study demonstrate that the coding framework employed, as well as the strategy for thematic content analysis, is feasible and effective for examining the human rights implications of the textbooks.

There is no claim of course that a content analysis of textbooks reflect the full curriculum and pedagogical processes in actual Social Studies classrooms. Alberta teachers may already be taking opportunities to complement the textbook content and analysis with alternative ideas that expose human rights concepts and empowerment to students, as has been happening in for example, the ATA Global Education Project during the '90s. Thus, further research could involve a sample of Social Studies teachers who have been using the textbooks examined in this study. Such a study would examine the teachers' awareness of limits and possibilities in using those textbooks as tools for human rights education.

A corollary research investigation should look into existing and forthcoming new curriculum in Social Studies. How do these curricula help promote learning and empowerment opportunities for Alberta Students in human rights?

In a recent email statement to the worldwide network of human rights educators, Shula Koenig (August 7, 2000), Founding Director of the Peoples Decade for Human Rights Education, commented:

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*Perhaps the greatest difficulty is that people do not know what human rights is all about, and [among] those who [do] know, their knowledge is very compartmentalized. Most think of it as a legal paradigm or merely a declaration called the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, a nice aspiration which means nothing to people's daily [lives]. This indeed is the purpose of human rights education, to overcome this lack of understanding, which cannot be achieved even through a thousand courses in schools alone – and if human rights is not seen as a holistic guideline in the learner's life, but appears as a subject matter on issues – rather than a framework for life in dignity! .... Finally, there is a lack of critical or political analysis about human rights education by the educators and teachers themselves and a lack of even trying to promote systematic analysis of the place of human rights and human rights education in social and economic transformation in the life of the learner, such as the causes of inequality and discrimination, instead of quoting articles and declarations.*

Hopefully this study on Alberta Social Studies textbooks will provide some lessons in the spirit of Koenig's observations.

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