

Chapter

KEY SKILLS

Demonstrating leadership by employing strategies to resolve issues and create a plan of action

KEY CONCEPTS

Exploring the relationship between worldviews and ideology and how ideologies shape understandings of citizenship Analyzing the rights, roles, and responsibilities of individuals in democratic societies or during times of conflict.

Key Terms

Citizen advocacy Citizenship Individual rights, roles, and responsibilities **Political Participation**

Reflecting on Worldview, Ideology, and Citizenship

Have you ever crossed an international border and been asked by an official what your citizenship is? Given the situation, likely you answered with your legal country of origin—the place where you were born—such as "Canadian." What exactly did the official mean when he or she asked about your citizenship? What did you mean by your response? Answering the question "What is your citizenship?" is complex, and your answer is shaped in several ways by worldviews and ideology. If you were a citizen of Israel or Burma, for example, you would likely have different ideas about citizenship.

Statements about citizenship, whether in historical or contemporary official government documents or in other public writing, provide an opportunity to analyze the range of beliefs about what it means to be a citizen in a particular time and place. Consider the quotations regarding some legal and personal understandings of citizenship in the next section. As you read each, look for evidence of a worldview and an ideology. What understanding of citizenship is reflected in each source? What worldview or ideology seems to underlie this understanding of citizenship? To what extent could this worldview and/or ideology inform a citizen's response to issues in their country and in the world?

Canadian Citizenship

Canada's Oath of Citizenship reads as follows:

I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen.

—Source: "The Citizenship Ceremony." Citizenship and Immigration Canada. http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/citizenship/cit-ceremony.asp#oath

According to a recent national survey of public attitudes conducted by EKOS, more than eight in ten Canadians feel that national volunteer service creates a culture of active citizenship and civic participation. Almost nine in ten feel that a term of full time national volunteer service improves the communities where youth volunteer. Moreover, three in four Canadians feel that volunteer service provides youth with clearer direction for post-secondary education.

> -Source: "Canadians Deem National Volunteer Service Indispensable in Engaging Youth", Katimavik Press Release, June 26, 2008.

http://www.katimavik.org/files/File/press%20release%20EKOS%20%20final.pdf

We are citizens, not just consumers. Our environment requires citizen preferences, not just consumer preferences. As citizens, we need to protect nature, not just buy, sell, and consume it. It has a dignity, not just a price.

—Source: Mark Sagoff, Director, Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland

http://www.cep.unt.edu/citizen.htm

National Definition of Métis

Métis means a person who self-identifies as Métis, is of historic Métis Nation Ancestry, is distinct from other Aboriginal Peoples, and is accepted by the Métis Nation...

"Historic Métis Nation" means the Aboriginal people then known as Métis or Half-Breeds who resided in Historic Métis Nation Homeland;

"Historic Métis Nation Homeland" means the area of land in west central North America used and occupied as the traditional territory of the Métis or Half-Breeds as they were then known;

"Métis Nation" means the Aboriginal people descended from the Historic Métis Nation, which is now comprised of all Métis Nation citizens and is one of the "aboriginal peoples of Canada" within [section] 35 of the Constitution Act of 1982;

"Distinct from other Aboriginal Peoples" means distinct for cultural and nationhood purposes.

—Source: "Who Are the Métis? National Definition of Métis." Métis National Council.

http://www.metisnation.ca/who/definition.html

Burma's Constitution

The 1982 constitution of Burma contains the following description of citizenship:

Nationals such as the Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine or Shan and ethnic groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the State as their permanent home from a period anterior to 1185 B.E., 1823 A.D. are Burma citizens.

The Council of State may decide whether any ethnic group is national or not.

Every national and every person born of parents, both of whom are nationals are citizens by birth.

A person who is already a citizen on the date this Law comes into force is a citizen. Action, however, shall be taken under section 18 for infringement of the provision of that section.

—Source: "Burma Citizenship Law of 1982."
Online Burma/Myanmar Library.

http://burmalibrary.org/docs/Citizenship%20Law.htm



Figure 13-1

In 2008, Aung San Suu Kyi started a hunger strike to protest her long detention under house arrest in Myanmar. Suu Kyi was elected the leader of the opposition in Myanmar and her party, the National League for Democracy, won the majority vote in the general election of 1990; however, the military government ignored the election result.

However, recently the military government of Myanmar (as Burma is now known), introduced a new constitution, as reported below:

[On] February 19, 2008, Burma's military government announced that work had been completed on writing the draft of the proposed new constitution...Aung Toe said the draft was drawn up with the objective of ensuring a leading role in politics for the military. The guidelines for a new constitution were adopted...after 14 years of on-and-off meetings, where the militarily hand-picked delegates have attended.

In fact, the draft constitution contains all the provisions to glorify the militarism in the governance in the guise of so-called "disciplined democracy." It is a blue-print for the army to legitimize its grip on power for an indefinite period and where the

head of the army will be the most powerful person in the country, with the ability to appoint key cabinet figures and suspend the constitution in the event of an emergency that he defines.

—Source: Ahmedur Rahman Farooq, "The Draft Constitution of Burma's Military Rulers."

Burma Digest March 20, 2008.

http://burmadigest.info/2008/03/20/ the-draft-constitution-of-burmas-military-rulers/

Israeli Citizenship

Israel grants its state membership based on Jewish identity or ancestry, but it also provides citizenship to Palestinian Arabs living in Israel...Jews in Israel participate in a citizenship model that expects them to contribute to the common good. Israeli Arabs, on the other hand, are excluded from the common good although they are formally entitled to equal rights under the law. One avenue of exclusion relates to the fact that military service is obligatory for Jews, is seen as a fundamental contribution to the common good, and entitles those who perform it to a range of social benefits. Arab citizens of Israel are barred from military service, from the social, cultural, political and economic benefits that accompany it, and hence from...full membership in the society.

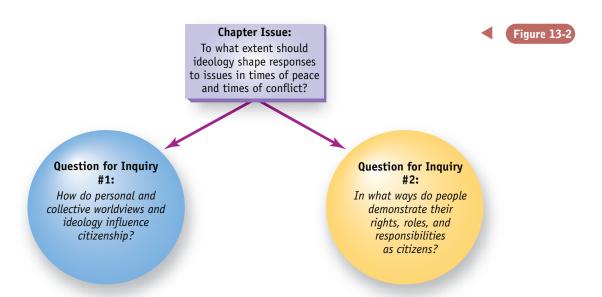
—Source: Sheila L. Croucher, Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), p. 50.

Chapter Issue

Part 1 of this text explored the relationship between identity and ideology; Part 2 assessed impacts of, and reactions to, principles of liberalism as they emerged and were applied in the world; and Part 3 considered the extent to which the principles of liberalism are viable in a contemporary world. In Part 4, you will respond to the following issue: To what extent should my actions as a citizen be shaped by an ideology?

The two chapters of Part 4 focus on relationships among worldview, ideology, citizenship, and action. Part 4 will assist you in furthering your understandings related to the Key Issue in the book and in formulating a response to this issue: *To what extent should we embrace an ideology?*

As we continue our exploration of ideology in this chapter, you will consider citizenship and the relationships between ideology and how societies and individuals respond to issues during times of peace and times of crisis. You will explore how citizenship may be defined and how individuals and societies act on their understanding of the term. You will also examine how people define their roles, rights, and responsibilities as citizens in particular circumstances. These considerations will be the focus of this chapter as you address the Chapter Issue: *To what extent should ideology shape responses to issues in times of peace and times of conflict?*



Influences of Worldview and Ideology on Citizenship

Question for Inquiry

 How do personal and collective worldviews and ideology influence citizenship?

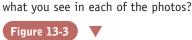
As you saw in Part 1 of this book, your worldview may lead you toward an ideology that influences the ways you think and act. As you will explore in this chapter, worldview and ideology shape your evolving role as a citizen. For example, when you react to an issue in your community or respond to an event that you see on the news, there are different factors that may influence your response:

- your worldview (your view of how the world is and how it should be, based on your experiences, beliefs, and values)
- your ideology (ideology is the application of your worldview to a current issue or crisis situation. Your ideology suggests to you what should be done next to bring about the kind of society you envision through your individual and collective worldviews.)

Your contributions to your community and society—which is one way in which you might demonstrate your understanding of citizenship rest in part on where you come from and what your worldview is, what ideologies have helped to shape your thoughts, and the kinds of events and issues to which you and your society have had to respond.

For example, consider these two photos.

Figure 13-3



Both photos are of Canadian soldiers

Afghanistan. How do you respond to

involved in the NATO mission in



Figure 13-4



In the Figure 13-3 and Figure 13-4 photo exercise, your worldview helps you understand and interpret what you see. Your personal ideology is shaped in part by the ideologies that surround you. Personal ideology suggests how you should respond to particular issues, based on your worldview. With this explanation in mind and with respect to the soldiers in Afghanistan, think about how you could describe your worldview and how you could describe your personal ideology.

Legal and Political Understandings of Citizenship

Your answer to the question asked on page 442, What is your citizenship?, may be quite simple and straightforward to you. In the most basic terms, *citizenship* is a form of identification or a label that you might use to describe yourself in relation to a country: Canadian, American, Chinese, French, or some other term. This label is based on where you were born, who your parents are, or some combination of these and additional factors. However, how a country and society define and identify its citizens suggests a collective worldview, and how you think of, feel about, and express your citizenship is influenced by your worldview and ideology. As you read through this section and consider the concept of citizenship, note the various ways in which it is viewed and expressed through action. Note the ideologies you see demonstrated.

From a legal perspective, citizenship is based on two key principles:

- *jus soli* (right of the soil)—a person's citizenship or nationality is determined by place of birth
- jus sanguinis (right of blood)—the citizenship and nationality
 of a child is the same as the natural parents, wherever the child
 is born

Most countries use a combination of jus soli and jus sanguinis as well as **naturalization**—the process of applying for citizenship—to determine who may (and may not) legally identify oneself as a citizen of the country.

Jus soli has been used as the basis for determining citizenship among many countries that want to increase their citizenship or that, like Canada and the United States, historically increased their population through settlement. Some countries base citizenship on jus sanguinis to maintain national and cultural identity, and for historical reasons (for example, past wars or complex cultural or ethnic issues). For example, Finland applies jus sanguinis in that it offers a "right of return" to ethnic Finns who live in the former Soviet Union and who pass a Finnish language examination. The modern state of Israel offers an automatic right to citizenship to any immigrant who is Jewish by birth or conversion, or who has a Jewish parent or grandparent. Israel also grants Israeli citizenship to all ethnic and religious groups based on

The modern state of Israel was formed in 1948 as a Jewish state in accordance with a United Nations decision. birth in Israel (but with the limitations regarding military service noted on page 444) and allows naturalization after living in the country for five years and acquiring a basic knowledge of Hebrew.

In comparison to other European countries, France was early to adopt the principle of jus soli. Germany and many other European countries used jus sanguinis; for example, until 2000, German citizenship was granted primarily on the basis of jus sanguinis, which seriously limited the naturalization of foreigners living in Germany and their children. This had a tremendous impact on *Gastarbeiter*, the "guest workers" recruited from places such as Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Portugal for industrial jobs in West Germany during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Significant revisions in 2000, however, included the following:

Children born in Germany to foreign parents may acquire German nationality if certain conditions are met. They must however decide between the ages of 18 and 23 whether to retain their German nationality or the nationality of their parents...

As a general rule, foreigners now have the right to become naturalized after eight years of habitual residence in Germany, provided they meet the relevant conditions, instead of the fifteen years previously required. The minimum period of residence for spouses of German nationals is usually shorter. For naturalization, it is necessary to prove adequate knowledge of German. A clean record and commitment to the tenets of the Basic Law (Constitution) are further criteria. The person to be naturalized must also be able to financially support him/herself.

The aim of avoiding multiple nationality remains a key feature of the German law on nationality. In general, those applying for naturalization must give up their foreign nationality.

—Source: "Law on Nationality."

Welcome to the Federal Foreign Office, September 16, 2005.

http://www.diplo.de/diplo/en/WillkommeninD/EinreiseUnd

Aufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht.html

The German example points to some critical issues about how citizenship is defined and what it entails: the situation of children born to foreigners, multiple citizenship, and the relationships between economic roles and political rights in a country.

For example, if you are born in Canada, you are most likely a Canadian citizen, regardless of your parents' nationality, because Canada applies the principle of jus soli. Children born outside Canada but to one Canadian citizen can be Canadian citizens also—thus jus sanguinis also applies to some extent. Canada also allows for citizenship by naturalization—granting citizenship to applicants who meet certain requirements (for example, permanent residency, basic ability in spoken English or French, and knowledge of Canada).

Even Canada's relatively unrestrictive citizenship policies can have potentially negative implications, however. Take the example of a Canadian child whose parent is being deported as an illegal immigrant. In the case of *Baker v. Canada* (Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration), 1999, Mavis Baker was to be deported because she immigrated to Canada from Jamaica illegally. Baker appealed her deportation on the basis of "humanitarian and compassionate" grounds because the deportation would affect her four children who were born in Canada during her 11 years of working and living in Canada. Mavis Baker's appeal was denied.

The United States applies the principle of jus soli; thus, generally, children born in the United States are American citizens. However, the United States has been concerned about the rising number of children of illegal immigrants attending public schools in the United States. Some authorities have argued that providing school, as well as health care and social services, for children of illegal immigrants is too costly and essentially rewards families for the parents' illegal immigration. Although a 1982 US Supreme Court ruling overturned a Texas law that denied public school education to undocumented children, and declared that children of illegal immigrants are entitled to free public education, California and other states have introduced propositions to restrict access to education and services. In 2004, it was estimated that the state of California spent US\$7.7 billion educating undocumented children. Critics, however, say that allowing states to refuse public education to children of illegal immigrants creates a second class of citizenship.

Australia formerly used jus soli as the basis for citizenship but modified its laws so that children born in Australia to foreign parents who are not permanent residents become Australian citizens at the age of 10 if they meet certain requirements. Again, this has been criticized as making the children of foreign parents second-class citizens, in this case, until the age of 10.

Ireland also considered modifying its laws that automatically granted citizenship to children born in Ireland. The goal of the change was to end what was described as "citizenship tourism": pregnant women travelling to Ireland to give birth so that their children would gain Irish citizenship, and thus a European Union passport.

Rather than modify its jus soli laws, India moved to abolish jus soli and use jus sanguinis instead. The change started in 1987 and meant that children born in the country are citizens only if one parent is also an Indian citizen. In 2004, India further modified the laws so that a child cannot become a citizen of India if one parent immigrated to India illegally. India also grants citizenship through naturalization. India does not, however, allow citizens to hold Indian citizenship as well as the citizenship of another country; it does allow for a person to be

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What worldview or ideology might lead a country to use jus sanguinis as the basis for its citizenship policy? What worldview or ideology might lead a country to apply jus soli as the basis for its citizenship policy? Why might a country change the basis on which it determines citizenship? Using an example of a specific country as the basis for discussion, determine what the criteria for citizenship suggest about the country's image of its citizenry and the ideal or model citizen.

recognized as a citizen of another country and an "Overseas Citizen of India," but this is not full Indian citizenship.

Why is multiple citizenship an issue for some countries? While some countries might view dual (or even triple) citizenship as a citizen's right to recognize his or her heritage as well as his or her present and future home—and might even see it as an advantage to a country's businesspeople—others view it as a potential source of conflicting loyalties or legal confusions. Germany, as already noted, allows dual nationality in only limited circumstances. Denmark does not allow dual nationality at all. The United States takes the following stance:

...The US Government recognizes that dual nationality exists but does not encourage it as a matter of policy because of the problems it may cause. Claims of other countries on dual national US citizens may conflict with US law, and dual nationality may limit US Government efforts to assist citizens abroad. The country where a dual national is located generally has a stronger claim to that person's allegiance.

—Source: "Dual Nationality." US Department of State. http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_1753.html

Broader Understandings of Citizenship

The question of multiple citizenship highlights diverse and sometimes conflicting worldviews of what being a citizen means. What does the term *citizenship* mean to you?

To some individuals, citizenship is a matter solely of where you are born, where your parents were born, your heritage, and your past. To others, it is a matter of where you live and work, your present loyalty, and where you see your future. Additionally, citizenship can reflect what kind of society you wish to support, what society offers the greatest benefits to you, and what obligations and duties society requires of you.

As noted in the Canadian Oath of Citizenship, being a citizen in Canada means, among other things, accepting the laws of the country. Canada's laws, like laws of all countries, reflect the ideals of the country. However, the requirement that citizens observe the country's laws is a minimal requirement of citizenship. In ancient Athens, citizenship involved a moral right and duty to actively participate in the politics of the city. This republican understanding of citizenship seeks to create a sense of belonging to a community. The citizen becomes a stakeholder in the well-being of the republic. Civic and political participation, in this context, is understood as the obligations that citizens have to the state and society as a result of being granted rights.



If you had citizenship in more than one country, which would claim your greatest allegiance? In what hypothetical situations might multiple citizenship create a conflict? What competing ideologies might give rise to conflict? According to a literature review conducted by Canadian Policy Research Networks,

Citizenship is composed of three dimensions: (1) rights and responsibilities, (2) access to these rights and responsibilities, and (3) feelings of belonging, that is, identity. Being a citizen, therefore, is more than possessing formal, theoretical rights to citizenship. It involves the capacity of the individual citizen to exercise actively the three dimensions of citizenship. Being a citizen is defined as having the resources, capacity and opportunity to participate in the different areas of adult life.

—Source: Canadian Policy Research Networks, "Youth and Citizenship: Overview" September 2004, p. 1.
http://www.cprn.org/documents/34016_en.pdf

Civic participation can be direct or indirect and there is a minimalist conception as well as an activist understanding of one's role as a citizen. People can get involved in their communities directly by attending town hall meetings, protesting or demonstrating, participating in non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and so on. They can also get involved indirectly by writing letters to the editors of newspapers or by contributing money to social organizations. Getting involved in these ways can be called **citizen advocacy**. Figures 13-5 and 13-6 show examples of people being involved in their communities through protest. Keep in mind that protest is just one way in which citizens can become involved in their communities.

In one study of citizenship, the following understandings of citizenship were presented:

- Liberal/Individualistic—Citizenship is a status. It is a function of the political realm to protect and maximise individual interests.
 Individuals are urged to take up their civic responsibilities rather than to rely on governments.
- Communitarian—Citizenship is a practice. It arises from a sense
 of belonging to a community, and wishing to work with others to
 achieve the common good. An individual's identity is produced
 through its relations with others—creating a sense of group identity.
- Civil republican—Citizenship is a practice. It is concerned with developing an overarching sense of civic identity. It is shaped by a common public culture and a sense of belonging to a particular nation state. In particular it desires to create a reciprocal relationship between the individual and the state. It is sometimes referred to as "civic morality."

—Julie Nelson and David Kerr, "Active Citizenship: Definitions, Goals, and Practices" (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority/National Foundation for Educational Research, background paper, September 2005). International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks Internet Archive.

http://www.inca.org.uk/pdf/Active_citizenship_background_paper.pdf

University of New Brunswick Social Studies Education professor Alan Sears, having studied various models of citizenship, notes that there are four elements that all of the models studied have in common:

- 1. A sense of membership or identity with some wider community, from the local to the global.
- 2. A set of rights and freedoms, such as freedom of thought or the right to vote.
- 3. A corresponding set of duties or responsibilities, such as an obligation to respect the rights of others or a duty to obey the law.
- 4. A set of virtues and capacities that enable a citizen to effectively engage in and reflect upon questions and concerns of civic interest.

—Source: Mark Evans and Cecilia Reynolds, "Introduction: Educating for Global Citizenship in a Changing World", pp. 4-5.

 $http:\!//cide.oise.utoronto.ca/projects/global citizenship/intro.pdf$

Which of the ideas above reflect your view of citizenship in Canada? What ideologies underlie each of the above understandings? Following your completion of the Voices activity that follows, identify which of these understandings would be most in agreement with the ideas of Alain Renaut cited in Voices.

Figure 13-5

In 2006, daycare operators protest the federal government's plan for daycare funding on the steps of the Alberta Legislature Building.





Figure 13-6

In March 2008, protesters in Montréal demonstrated against alleged police brutality.



In the following excerpts, three writers seek to describe and differentiate *citizenship*. What definition best matches your current understanding of your citizenship?

Does any definition expand on or challenge your own definition?

In writing about the French ideas of republicanism, Sophie Duchesne notes the following:

Citizenship and national identities are central elements of political systems. They account for the political link, i.e., for the relationship between the citizens as well as between citizens and rulers. Citizenship is often analyzed through the notions of rights and obligations... They also encompass a set of values or moral qualities as well as a series of social roles...

— Dr Sophie Duchesne, Coordinator of the European Research Group "European Democracies", Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford.

In a paper entitled "Is Citizenship Enough?" Antonio N. Álvarez Benavides of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid outlined the important link between civic participation and identity.

...civic participation (obtained through legal equality) creates civic identity...Participation gives rise to civic links between individuals, as well as between them and the community they are participating in. Therefore...we can claim that dynamics of participation generate a type of civic identity that is not based on belonging to any nationality or nation...Civic participation, understood as a basic element of citizenship, creates a sense of belonging (to feel like a member) of a community.

—Antonio N. Álvarez Benavides, "Is Citizenship Enough?"
(European Conference on Equal Opportunities, Antwerp,
Belgium, paper, September 13–15, 2006), p. 4.

www.equalisnotenough.org/followup/papers/AntonioAlvarezBenavides.pdf

Reviewing the works of Alain Renaut (a contemporary thinker from France), Peter Berkowitz (a philosopher from Harvard University) suggests that Renaut has solved the dilemma that seems to exist within modern liberalism—finding the right balance between individualism and rights (supporting the supremacy of the individual) and collectivism and responsibilities (providing for the needs of the community). Renaut, according to this article, has redefined liberal democratic citizenship:

- ...Renaut provides principled means for distinguishing autonomy from individualism.
- Individualism stands for the independence of the individual, in the sense of the right to be left alone, to be free from the will of the collectivity, to do one's own thing.

- Autonomy involves grasping the necessary limits of freedom and imposing them on oneself.
- Individualism is accidental, what an individual happens to be doing.
- Autonomy is an achievement, what an individual sets out, freely and with his powers, to do.
- Individualism is the flight from constraint.
- Autonomy is a discipline by which one freely accepts laws and norms, not because one has invented them but because they are reasonable and right...
- "Individualism," as Tocqueville argued, is a disease marked by slackness of soul.
- Autonomy, like the "individuality" of Mill, is a virtue based on the education of the heart and the mind. [bullets added]

—Peter Berkowitz, "Liberalism Strikes Back,"

The New Republic December, 15, 1997, p. 37.

http://www.peterberkowitz.com/liberalismstrikesback.htm

Active citizenship cannot be limited to its formal limits. It is as diverse as the persons who get involved and covers everything from loaning [a] neighbour milk to organizing an international sporting event. It depends on an individual's personal obligations.

—Source: Comment from "Taskforce on Active Citizenship consultation meeting, Sept. 24, 2006, Galway, Ireland.

http://www.activecitizen.ie/index.asp?locID=123&docID=-1

... Me to We has sparked a movement. It's a way of thinking and acting at every level, and a global network of social enterprises, options and ideas unlike any other.

Ask yourself: how does your lifestyle truly affect others? How do the ways you vote, shop and think leave a mark on your community, your society, your world? Can the T-shirt on your back reflect your role within this world?

Me to We is about a shift in our thinking. It's about spreading positive messages and letting your voice be heard. It's about stirring your soul from complacency. It's about embracing our shared humanity and thinking globally.

—Source: Me to We, Philosophy.

http://www.metowe.com/aboutus/philosophy/

- 1 What worldview or ideology might lead a person to view citizenship as involvement in the community?
- What worldview or ideology might lead a person to view citizenship as embracing a shared humanity?
- What worldview or ideology might lead a person to say of citizenship, "Our environment requires citizen preferences, not just consumer preferences" (page 441).
- 4 Using an example of a specific quotation from this Voices feature or from pages 448–451 as the basis for discussion, state what the quotation suggests about the ideal or model citizen.

Multiple Citizenship

Something to Think About: As transportation has advanced, people have become more and more mobile. In greater numbers and with greater frequency, people migrate in search of peace, prosperity, and freedom.

One result is a greater likelihood of multiple citizenship in a legal or political context. As noted earlier in the chapter, however, possessing citizenship in more than one country raises questions about the nature of citizenship:

- Can an individual be a citizen of more than one country?
- What should countries expect from citizens?
- What can citizens expect from countries?

An Example: As war raged in Lebanon during the summer of 2006, the Canadian government sent ships to remove people from the war zone. At a cost to Canadian taxpayers of \$85 million, around 15 000 Lebanese

citizens were hurried aboard Canadian ships and taken to safety. Why would the Canadian government go to such measures to rescue Lebanese citizens? It did so because the Lebanese citizens were also Canadian citizens.

Andrew Coyne wrote the following in the *National Post*:

Here's a statistic guaranteed to set your teeth on edge: Of the 15 000 Lebanese citizens evacuated from Beirut by Canadian Forces...some 7000 are reported to have returned home. Home, as in Lebanon.

... That is, they are dual citizens, beneficiaries of a 1977 change in immigration legislation, and as such, though many have not lived or paid taxes in this country for several years, are entitled to all the protections the Canadian state affords.

Despite the public outrage this aroused at the time, the Harper government wisely decided the middle of a war was not the time to revisit the principle of dual citizenship: They were Canadian citizens, and that was that. But the war being now ended, the government is said to be considering whether to abolish this strangely ambivalent status, to which at least four million foreign-born Canadians, plus an uncounted number of native-born, lay claim.

If so, this would be an event of enormous symbolic importance. Moreover, it would fit this Prime Minister's broader aim, which is nothing less than to recast the meaning of Canadian nationhood—as a moral project, in which we are collectively and individually engaged, rather than a simple dispenser of services; something that lays claims upon us, as much as it confers entitlements. And the very least claim it can make upon us is that we commit ourselves to it, to the exclusion of all others.

INVESTIGATION



Figure 13-7

Lebanese civilians who lost their homes in Israeli bombing raids share food at a shelter set up in Beirut University.

Hezbollah is an Islamic political and paramilitary organization based in Lebanon. In July 2006, Hezbollah forces fired rockets at Israeli targets and attacked an Israeli patrol of seven soldiers, killing three, wounding two, and capturing two. Israel responded with air, ground, and sea attacks.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- 1 Why would Canada allow multiple citizenship?
- 2 How might the idea of a "moral project" change the relationship between the citizen and the state?
- 3 What view do you hold of citizenship: is it a service relationship or a moral project?

This asks no more of us than that we make a choice. It does not bind us permanently, nor does it impose any barrier to entry. We can be citizens of Lebanon first and then of Canada, or of Canada and then Lebanon. The only thing we can't do is be a citizen of both countries at the same time.

What's wrong with that? Nothing, if your view of nationhood is essentially service-based—just as you can belong to two frequent-flier programs at the same time. But if you incline to a view of the nation as moral project, as a moral order we are in the process of constructing, then a higher degree of commitment is implied.

...But higher purpose is not achieved without reciprocal obligation. If a nation is something we do together, with and for each other, it requires us to make certain commitments to one another: to pay our taxes, to accept decisions that don't go our way, in extremis to lay down our lives for one another—in short, to put each other first. The associations that inspire our fiercest loyalties—our team, say, or our unit—are not those that give things to us, but those that ask things of us. What, if anything, have we asked of ourselves?

—Andrew Coyne, "What you can do for your country: Why dual citizens should be forced to choose." National Post September 23, 2006.

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http://andrewcoyne.com/columns/2006/09/what-you-can-do-for-your-country.php

Impacts of Worldview and Ideology on Citizenship

Now that you have a better understanding of citizenship, how do you think worldview can affect it? What about ideology? Consider the effect that worldview and ideology can have on

- conceptions of citizenship in a country
- conceptions of rights granted to people
- understandings of responsibilities people have to a country
- benefits a person can expect from a country
- the role a person can play within a society

In fact, worldview and ideology can have an impact on all of these. Let's take a look at some examples of citizens. In each example, how does (or might) the individual describe his or her citizenship? How would you describe each person's citizenship? What worldviews do you see informing their understandings of citizenship? What ideology informs their understanding?

Ngam Cham

My name is Ngam Cham. I am the President of the Cambodian Buddhist Association. I came to Calgary in April 1983. I was a rice

farmer back home in Battambang, Cambodia. During the civil war with the Khmer Rouge it was very dangerous in my region.

My wife, my two children, and I escaped overland across the border into Thailand in 1979.

When we arrived in Calgary, the Immigration people found us a house. We found it very cold and different. It took a long time to get comfortable here.

Now I work as a cleaner in downtown office buildings.

I am very proud of the Cambodian Buddhist temple that we have built in Calgary.

Now, we have three monks that we brought from Cambodia to give us spiritual advice and leadership. It is important that our young people have access to their culture, their faith, and their language.

In Canada, we have freedom and it is easier to find a job. We must work very hard, but there is no fighting and there are lots of opportunities for the next generation.

— Ngam Cham, Seven Stories, www.glenbow.org/sevenstories
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Thomas King's "Borders"

Thomas King was born to a Cherokee father and a mother of Greek and German descent. He grew up in northern California. He has spent much of his adult life in Canada, including Alberta and Ontario, and is both a professor and writer. In King's short story "Borders" the narrator says the following:

When I was twelve, maybe thirteen, my mother announced that we were going to go to Salt Lake City to visit my sister who had left the reserve, moved across the line, and found a job...I was seven or eight when Laetitia left home. She was seventeen. Our father was from Rocky Boy on the American side.

The short story describes attempting to cross "the line."

My mother got a coffee at the convenience store, and we stood around and watched the prairies move in the sunlight. Then we climbed back in the car. My mother straightened the dress across her thighs, leaned against the wheel, and drove all the way to the border in first gear, slowly, as if she were trying to see through a bad storm or riding high on black ice...

"Citizenship?"

"Blackfoot," my mother told him.

"Ma'am?"

"Blackfoot," my mother repeated.

"Canadian?"

"Blackfoot."

It would have been easier if my mother had just said "Canadian" and been done with it, but I could see she wasn't going to do that...

The narrator and mother bounce back and forth between the American border guards and the Canadian border guards, during which the mother identifies herself as "Blackfoot." Unless she identifies herself and her child as "Canadian" or "American," the border guards will not let them pass. Thus, the narrator and mother continue this for two days, sleeping two nights in their car between the border guard offices. On the third morning, after television vans roll up to interview the family and the mother has a talk with a "good-looking guy in a dark blue suit and an orange tie with little ducks on it," they are allowed to cross the line:

"Citizenship?" "Blackfoot."

The guard rocked back on his heels and jammed his thumbs into his gun belt. "Thank you," he said, his fingers patting the butt of the revolver. "Have a pleasant trip."

—Source: Thomas King, excerpts from "Borders," From One Good Story,

That One. (HarperCollins, 1993; New Edition, 1999). Copyright ©
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International Protective Accompaniment and Christian Peacemaker Teams

When political systems are unable to function on behalf of the entire populace, outsiders may be invited to step into the vacuum, performing the critical roles of observing and reporting on the conflict in general, and on human rights in particular. Some international observers take on the added role of attempting to deter human rights violations and thereby provide both symbolic and real protection to those whose rights are under threat...

In the last 20 years, some NGOs have refined a particular aspect of the observer role that is based on interposition principles and is known as "international protective accompaniment." The foremost practitioners of protective accompaniment have been small teams of international observers from Peace Brigades International, Christian Peacemaker Teams, Witness for Peace, and related groups. These largely non-partisan initiatives enter a conflict upon the invitation of a local nonviolent organization that is working to secure human rights and conflict transformation, but that is perceived to be under considerable threat for those activities.

—Source: Coy, Patrick G. "Protective Accompaniment",

Beyond Intractability, ed. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess
(Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder), June 2003.

http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/protect/

Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) is a group that arose from a call in 1984 for Christians to devote the same discipline and self-sacrifice to nonviolent peacemaking that armies devote to war...



Christian Peacemakers see themselves as "world citizens and citizens of the Kingdom of God," and therefore as citizens whose citizenship extends beyond national boundaries. How might their worldview and ideology broaden the concept of citizenship?

[CPT] emphasizes creative public witness, nonviolent direct action and protection of human rights.

—Source: "About CPT." Christian Peacemaker Teams.
http://www.cpt.org/about_cpt, 2007

CPT participates in actions that place violence-reduction teams—primarily from the United States and Canada—in crisis situations and militarized areas around the world. They do so when invited by local peace and human rights workers and knowingly risk injury and death "in bold attempts to transform lethal conflict through the nonviolent power of God's truth and love." (Source: http://www.cpt.org/about_cpt, 2007) CPT is part of a movement of third-party non-violent intervention groups, some of which are religious and some of which are not.

CPT is often asked why they are anti-United States. CPT's answer is as follows:

We aren't. In fact, most CPTers are from the United States, and wish that the US would consistently live up to the ideals of justice and freedom it proudly proclaims. Sadly, US actions at home and throughout the world have run counter to these ideals, and as responsible world citizens and citizens of the Kingdom of God, we need to confront those roots of violence that grow within the United States. CPTers who are US citizens are uniquely positioned, and have a responsibility, to speak to US decision-makers about the violence that results from US actions.

—Source: "Frequent Questions." Christian Peacemaker Teams.

http://www.cpt.org/about/faq, 2007

Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) have acted in Colombia, Palestine, Uganda, Congo, along the United States/Mexico border, and with Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States. In Iraq, one CPT effort in 2005 ended with a hostage-taking. Of the four-member team, the American CPT member (Tom Fox, shown here) was found shot dead, and the two Canadians and one Briton

were rescued in March 2006 by a

coalition force including American



Explore the Issues

Concept Review

- a) Identify and define three principles used as the basis for citizenship policies in various countries.
 - b) For each of the principles identified in 1a, name one country that uses the principle as the basis for its citizenship policy.
 - c) Identify three ways in which worldview and/or ideology can influence conceptions of citizenship.

Concept Application

- Consider your own citizenship and use the terminology and concepts you have explored so far in this chapter to examine and describe it. For example,
 - On what principles is your citizenship based?
 - What role, rights, and responsibilities are associated with your citizenship?
 - What understanding of citizenship (liberal/ individualistic, communitarian, civil republican) seems to best describe your citizenship?
 - What worldview is reflected in this understanding of citizenship?

What guestions does your citizenship raise?

and British troops.

 To what extent does your understanding of citizenship include the concept of global citizenship (being a citizen of the world)?

Using your answers to these questions about citizenship to help inform your response, answer the following question: How do personal and collective worldviews and ideology influence your citizenship?

In small groups, discuss the issue of multiple citizenship and try to reach a conclusion as to whether Canada should allow multiple citizenship. Why do you think it should or should not?

After the discussion, explore the ideological differences that were expressed in the Investigation. Try to develop a list and description of several different ideologies and how they impact the idea of citizenship. Following your small group discussion, conduct a horseshoe debate on the same topic to see if your ideas are similar to those of your classmates.

Understandings of Rights, Roles, and Responsibilities

Question for **I**nquiry

 In what ways do people demonstrate their rights, roles, and responsibilities as citizens?

History

The idea of human rights has a long history that extends back to 500 BCE in Persia. Some believe that a document called the Cyrus Cylinder outlined rights such as religious freedom and the abolition of slavery. If laws reflect rights, then you can go back even further to the Code of Hammurabi (1780 BCE), which outlined rules regarding the rights of women, children, and enslaved people. Religious documents such as the Bible (Christianity), the Quran (Islam), the Vedas (Hinduism), and the Analects (Confucianism) all address the idea of rights as well as duties and responsibilities. The Magna Carta, issued in England in 1215 CE, and the Manden Charter, issued in Mali, Africa, in 1222 CE, are also examples of documents that outlined rights.

As you discovered in earlier chapters, in more recent times, the European Enlightenment of the 1600s and 1700s spawned an exploration of justice and human rights. You will recall that such philosophers as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau explained their ideas about rights, but even these ideas varied greatly.

Inspired by these philosophies, two major revolutions occurred in the latter part of the 1700s—the American and French revolutions. Each revolution included in its philosophy an idea of individual rights. The American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen both outline a set of individual rights.

Continuing into the 20th century, documents outlining human rights have been created as a way to encourage their universal recognition. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is one of the most recent attempts to outline the rights to which all people are entitled.

In most documents, the two main types of rights include

 negative human rights—obliging inaction, including liberties that the government may not infringe upon, such as those freedoms found in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms



Figure 13-9



Cyrus the Great conquered large areas of the Middle East and is famous for his good government. The Cyrus Cylinder, pictured here, tells his story. positive human rights—obliging action, including entitlements that the government is required to provide, such as education or health care

Despite the long history of rights and their place in the political culture of countries and supranational organizations, a common understanding of rights remains contested. Critics point out that our understanding of rights in Canada is based on Western philosophies and values that are not necessarily applicable in other societies. This argument is supported when you look at the differences between more developed and less developed countries.

The Rights, Roles, and Responsibilities of Citizens

In Canada, legal citizenship is made up of several significant elements.

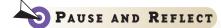
Rights and Responsibilities	
Rights and Freedoms Some rights and freedoms are:	Responsibilities Some responsibilities are:
 legal rights equality rights mobility rights Aboriginal peoples' rights freedom of thought freedom of speech freedom of religion the right to peaceful assembly 	 to obey Canada's laws to express opinions freely while respecting the rights and freedoms of others to help others in the community to care for and protect our heritage and environment to eliminate discrimination

—Source: "Rights and responsibilities in Canada." Citizenship and Immigration Canada, March 24, 2005. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/celebrate/rights-fs.asp.

Review the first two sections of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in Get to the Source on the next page. In some ways, section 1 seems to limit activism. To what extent are these limits reasonable? What criteria would you consider appropriate for limiting citizen participation?

Citizens of Canada are guaranteed all the rights outlined in the Charter.

Figure 13-10



What evidence is there that the principles of liberalism and collectivism underlie the rights and responsibilities listed in Figure 13-10? Get to the Source

The first two sections of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms read as follows:

- The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.
- 2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:
 - a) freedom of conscience and religion;
 - b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;
 - c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and
 - d) freedom of association.

—Source: "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

Department of Justice Canada.

http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/

Some Aboriginal peoples do not regard Canadian citizenship in the same way as other Canadians—as evidenced by the definition of Métis on page 443 and in Thomas King's short story "Borders" on pages 457–458. Indeed, a key right sought by many Aboriginal people is the right finally to define one's own citizenship. In the following, Anishinabek Nation Grand Council Chief John Beaucage challenges one definition of citizenship:

The right to determine our own citizenship is at the heart of our self-government negotiations...The government needs to move beyond limiting our rights and thwarting our Nationhood...We challenge Canada to work with us to achieve the inevitable—a prosperous and sovereign Anishinabek Nation within Canada.

—John Beaucage, quoted in Tehaliwaskenhas (Bob Kennedy), "No More Status Indians? Anishinabek Nation Grand Council Chief defines citizenship." Turtle Island Native Network, October 4, 2007.

http://www.turtleisland.org/discussion/viewtopic.php?p=8619

Similarly, in June 2007, Henri Chevillard of Winnipeg noted the following:

We were never given an opportunity to say whether we wanted to be Canadian citizens or not. We were never given the opportunity to enjoy the riches of our lands. We were never given the opportunity to be free! We are still under the Indian Act, without even having a say on our own self-determination.

— Henri Chevillard, quoted in "Phil Fontaine takes your questions." *The Globe and Mail*, June 28, 2007.

http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20070627.wlive fontaine0628/BNStory/specialComment/home/?pageRequested=3

An Aboriginal right to determine citizenship would be in sharp contrast to the past. As you read in Chapter 9, the Indian Act defined who could and could not be identified as a registered Indian, and thus defined who could benefit from the rights and freedoms extending from treaties with First Nations people. Status (as a registered Indian under the Indian Act) could be lost in ways that are now considered unfair. For example, before 1960, a status Indian had to give up status to gain the right of a Canadian citizen to vote in a federal election, and, before 1985, a status Indian woman would lose status if she married a non-status husband. The determination of Indian status has been challenged in cases such as the following:

- In the 1970s, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Jeannette Corbiere Lavell and Yvonne Bedard were not discriminated against when they lost their status by marrying non-status husbands; according to the ruling, they gained the rights of non-Aboriginal women by marrying, so their loss of Indian status was not discriminatory.
- In 1981, the case of Sandra Lovelace went to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Lovelace challenged the Canadian law that would have revoked her status as a registered Indian if she married a non-status man, and thus lose, among other benefits, her right to live on reserve lands. The success of that case resulted in the 1985 amendment to the Indian Act to partially address the discrimination.

In essence, the Lovelace case took the issue of rights and citizenship beyond Canada to the arena of global citizenship to determine the rights of First Nations citizenship and Canadian citizenship.

For many Canadians, the right and responsibility of Canadian citizenship that they exercise most often and overtly is the democratic right to vote. For example, voter turnout for the October 2008 federal election was about 59 per cent or 13 832 972 votes cast of the 23 401 064 registered electors.

Other rights that Canadian citizens exercise with regularity are their legal rights, including the right to a fair trial and due process. As you read earlier in the chapter, Canadian citizens are expected to obey the law and they have certain legal rights. Additionally, as you read earlier in this chapter and in other chapters, Canadian citizens sometimes challenge Canadian law and its interpretations.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why would Canada have required a status Indian to give up his or her legal status as a citizen of a First Nation to vote in Canada's federal elections? What worldview is reflected in that law? What ideology is evident?

Figure 13-11

Mitchell Chernovsky (left) and Faisal Mirza are defence lawyers. Here they talk to reporters outside Ontario Superior Court in Brampton, Ontario, in 2008. The two lawyers were representing a young man charged with taking part in a homegrown terrorist conspiracy. How do defence lawyers demonstrate the rights, roles, and responsibilities of the justice system?



Court challenges such as the Lovelace challenge are not everyday occurrences, but Canadian citizens do demonstrate their rights, roles, and responsibilities in the justice system every day. For example, in 1996–1997, youth courts alone heard 110 065 cases involving 208 594 federal offences. Almost 50 per cent of the cases involved property offences, and 21 per cent were violent offences. (Source: "A Graphical Overview of Crime and the Administration of Justice in Canada, 1997." Statistics Canada, http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/justic/5-1.pdf.) In a criminal court case, what rights, roles, and responsibilities of citizens can you imagine would be at play? How would these rights, roles, and responsibilities be evident in a minimalist understanding of citizenship? How does that compare with an understanding of citizenship as a "moral project"? What understandings of citizenship do you see evident in the following news story excerpt?

The BC Court of Appeal has backed BC Supreme Court Chief Justice Don Brenner's decision to kill the Canadian Bar Association's landmark attempt to force governments to provide adequate civil legal aid to poor people...

Susan McGrath, past president of the bar association, said she was saddened because the decision means access to justice will continue being denied to those least able to help themselves.

"We're disappointed we continue to confront procedural hurdles trying to bring this case," the Ontario lawyer said in an interview. "We're going to have to study the ruling and consider our options...We're not giving up the fight."...

"Although the action is intended to assist low-income members of the pubic and its spirit is commendable, I do not consider that the altruistic nature of the action should be afforded much weight until at least the [bar association] has established it can meet the minimal test of disclosing a reasonable claim," Justice Mary Saunders wrote.

Supported by Justice Peter Lowry, she quoted the Supreme Court of Canada saying there is no fundamental right to access to legal services:

"Access to legal services is fundamentally important in any free and democratic society. In some cases, it has been found essential to due process and a fair trial. But a review of the constitutional text, the jurisprudence and the history of the concept does not support the respondent's contention that there is a broad general right to legal counsel as an aspect of, or precondition to, the rule of law."...

—Source: Ian Mulgrew, "Legal aid not a right, court rules."

Vancouver Sun, March 4, 2008.

Material reprinted with the express permission of:

"Vancouver Sun", a CanWest Partnership.

http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/news/story.html?

id=455d6db3-5a42-459d-9173-2f86bf21d25d&k=93890

Another area in which some Canadian citizens manifest a particular understanding of citizenship in times of peace is through **philanthropy** (concern and effort to improve the state of humankind) and volunteerism. By giving money, time, or expertise, citizens act on their worldview and demonstrate an ideology. According to the 2004 Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating (CSGVP),

- Over 22 million Canadians—85% of the population aged 15 and over—made a financial donation to a charitable or other nonprofit organization in the 12-month period covered by the CSGVP.
- Almost 12 million Canadians or 45% of the population aged 15 and older volunteered during the one-year period preceding the survey.
- Their contributions totalled almost 2 billion hours, an amount equivalent to 1 million full-time jobs.
- Canadians donate money and volunteer time to support the arts, local sports clubs, medical research, food banks, shelters, international relief efforts, and their places of worship, among many other causes. They help their neighbours and friends in a variety of ways, by doing work around their homes, doing shopping or driving people to appointments, or providing health-related or personal care. Canadians also participate in community life by joining a host of organizations and groups. They are active in rural areas, in towns and cities and they reach beyond their communities to support regional, national and global causes.

—Statistics Canada, "Caring Canadians, Involved Canadians:
Highlights from the Canada Survey of Giving,
Volunteering and Participating", Catalogue 71-542-X, 2004.
http://www.statcan.gc.ca/bsolc/olc-cel/olc-cel?lang=eng&catno=71-542-X

In recent years, giving in Canada has changed with regards to the people who give and the context in which they give.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- Recalling the distinctions between individualism and autonomy described by Berkowitz earlier in the chapter, how can individuals' charitable giving be seen as an act of citizenship?
- Since 1999, Ontario high school students have been required to perform 40 hours of community service to graduate from high school. What understanding of citizenship does this demonstrate?

Philanthropy—once a responsibility reserved for the black-tie and ballroom set—is undergoing a significant transformation in Canada...With new techniques and ideas, charities are making their ways into the kitchens and consciousness of Canadians across the economic spectrum. According to Dr. Keith Seel, director of the Institute for Non Profit Studies at Mount Royal College, Canada is just beginning to move beyond a 400-year old philanthropic culture that put the responsibility of charitable spending on the shoulders of the wealthy merchant class.

Significant reductions in government funding starting in the '90s, the consequential proliferation of non-profits, plus society's growing financial and social sophistication have begun to change this traditional model, says Dr. Seel...

In its most familiar guise, philanthropy is represented by the large (sometimes literally and figuratively) cheque that suit- and stiletto-clad donors present a worthy charity at some fine reception. In its less obvious form, it's the sidewalk bake sale the 11-year-old down the street holds one Saturday morning. How and what people give is, in part, a function of the generation they belong to. According to those who have made it their business to understand differences in generational giving, almost anyone who believes in a cause will give to that cause. But where older donors may quietly write cheques made out to the same organization year after year, younger donors are proving to be more fickle, more demanding and more willing to get involved personally...Mary Beth Taylor, director of World Wildlife Fund's planned giving and living planet circle [says,] "We see lots of interest in engagement—more desire to make a commitment. There is an increased interest in having knowledge, they want access to the experts, and they want to see fiscal accountability."

—Source: This article originally appeared in "The Future of Philanthropy"—a special information supplement published in *The Globe and Mail* newspaper on June 26, 2008, produced by RandallAnthony Communications Inc. Reprinted with permission.

To view the full report, please visit: http://www.randallanthony.com/the-future-of-philanthropy

What kind of worldview or ideology is reflected in the actions of citizens who volunteer or contribute financially to various social causes?

Natural Disasters and World Responses

As the *Globe and Mail* article on philanthropy notes, sometimes community participation—in the form of charitable donations and volunteerism—steps in where government service provision leaves off, where a new need develops, or where personal worldviews and ideologies encourage such participation; however, sometimes individuals, organizations, and governments from around the world work together to respond to a global crisis. Such situations can be a challenge to individual and collective understandings of citizenship. A crisis might

not only expand the definition of citizen from, for example, "Canadian citizen" to "world citizen" or "global citizen", but may also ask global citizens about their roles and responsibilities to their fellow humans. As you read the following examples of global crises, consider what motivates citizens to choose to act or not to act.

When a powerful tsunami devastated countries along the coasts of the Indian Ocean in December 2004, citizens around the world were motivated to help.

The world response was unprecedented (over 9 billion dollars), yet even this overwhelming support created almost as many problems and issues as it solved. What would the money be spent on? How would goods and services get to the region? What did the victims need?

In Canada, the response was immediate. Over \$500 million was donated by the end of January 2005. This figure included money given by government, NGOs, and individual Canadians. It also included the use of

support services that were donated to assist in the recovery projects. Canada's DART (Disaster Assistance Response Team) was sent to Sri Lanka with four water purification units. After the disaster, basics such as drinking water were in high demand.

Canada's Doctors Without Borders (*Médecins Sans Frontières*, or MSF) received \$2.7 million for tsunami relief, and the worldwide organization collected almost \$150 million. MSF needed only \$25 million for tsunami relief, so it made the unprecedented announcement that it did not need any more donations for tsunami relief. Instead, MSF asked donors to give their money freely in support of other areas worldwide, which were in need for reasons unrelated to the tsunami. This approach was in sharp contrast to what was happening with other NGOs around the globe.

A UN News Centre reporter interviewed United Nations Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland in May 2005 and noted the following:

...donations for some other crises had slowed. [Egeland] pointed in particular to low responses to appeals for the Central African Republic, Djibouti and Somalia, which were suffering some of the highest child mortality rates in the world...

Concerned that 90 per cent of the world's attention was focused on 10 per cent of the world's disasters and wars, Egeland noted that five times more money than had been requested for all the forgotten emergencies combined was spent annually in Europe on ice cream, and that an amount equal to the UN's combined humanitarian appeals was spent each year in North America on chewing gum.

—Source: "New UN website to track pledge for tsunami relief." UN News Centre, May 24, 2005. © United Nations, 2005. Reproduced with permission.

http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=14371&Cr=tsunami&Cr1=

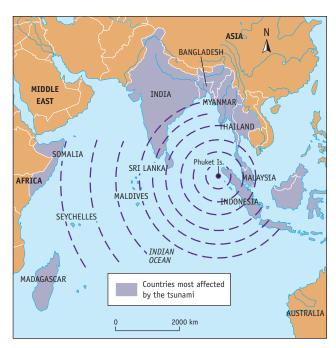


Figure 13-12



In late December 2004, an underwater earthquake measuring 9.0 on the Richter scale occurred about 160 kilometres west of the Indonesian island of Sumatra. The resulting tidal wave (tsunami) killed over 280 000 people and left over 3 million homeless and destitute.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- When a disaster of great magnitude occurs, why do you think that individuals, governments, and NGOs can put aside differences and focus on providing aid to those in distress? What can get in the way of such a co-operative response?
- How do you think Egeland, the UN's emergency relief coordinator, would define the roles and responsibilities of individual global citizens?
- How do you think Berthelsen (quoted in Josh Katz's article here) would define a citizen's rights in relation to government?

To explore further the Chapter Issue—To what extent should ideology shape responses to issues in times of peace and times of conflict?—let's look at some additional crises and responses.

As you read in the Investigation in Chapter 1, when Cyclone Nargis hit Myanmar (Burma) in May 2008, relief workers within Myanmar and foreign relief workers struggled to get information about and access to affected areas. However, internal and international responses were frustrated by the Myanmar government. The United Nations asked the International Charter on Space and Major Disasters for help mapping the crisis for disaster relief workers and the result was that maps created by ENVISAT (the European Space Agency's Earth-monitoring satellite) were used to aid relief workers.

In contrast, in that same month, China's Sichuan province suffered a devastating earthquake and the Chinese government responded with troops, frank communication, a welcome to international relief efforts, and a visit to the area by Chinese premier Wen Jiabao, who saw the impact and met with citizens.

John Berthelsen [writing for the Asia Sentinel] contrasts Myanmar's response to Cyclone Nargis with China's reaction to the earthquake. "Nothing underscores the criminal nature of the Burmese junta more than the contrast between its neglect of its people and China's immediate reaction to the massive earthquake that devastated large parts of Sichuan province on Monday, killing as many as 10 000 people," he writes. Even the Southeast Asian countries hit by the tsunami in 2006 handled their crises better than Myanmar has dealt with the cyclone, because they allowed the international community help.

—Source: Josh Katz, "Assessing China's Earthquake Response." Finding Dulcinea, May 14, 2008.

http://www.findingdulcinea.com/news/Asia-Pacific/May-June-08/ Assessing-China-s-Earthquake-Response.html



Figure 13-13

According to US Defense Secretary Robert Gates, the Burmese government contributed to thousands of deaths by delaying aid in May 2008. Gates said that "American ships and aircraft were ready to provide help, but Burma rejected it, 'at a cost of tens of thousands of lives." However, according to Burmese state radio, the aid from US warships would come with "strings attached" and this was "not acceptable to the people of Myanmar." What understanding of global citizenship does Gates's response reveal? What ideologies are evident? (Source: "Burmese government cost lives by delaying aid, U.S. defense secretary says." CBC News, May 30, 2008, http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/ 2008/05/30/burma-gates.html)

The Call to War

In this chapter's Investigation feature you read an understanding of citizenship that included the commitment "in extremis to lay down our lives for one another." By engaging in armed conflict, including war, governments go to just such an extreme. In such times of conflict, what are the citizen's rights, roles, and responsibilities? And does that change if he or she does not accept the government's decision or reasons for going to war?

Pacifism, the commitment to peace and opposition to war, is practised in a variety of ways, but one definition is outlined in the following article, which was written in July 2008.

It's become particularly popular to...proclaim non-pacifism: I'm not against all wars—just the dumb ones.

Well, let me step off the bandwagon and ask the question: What war is **not** dumb? When is it really intelligent to send off huge numbers of people to kill and destroy the homes of huge numbers of other people?

Every now and then, in rare circumstances, it's necessary to commit violent acts of self-defense. That doesn't make the violence something honorable or otherwise praiseworthy. It just makes it a terrible thing that sometimes has to be done. But when does that violence have to be committed? Almost never.

Yes, I'm a pacifist. That doesn't mean that if flesh-eating Martians invade the Earth and try to eat my children, I won't defend them. It means that even as I defend my kids from the flesh-eating Martians, I won't love the violence, and I won't celebrate it, and I won't continue the violence after it's necessary.

Besides, the flesh-eating Martians are just theoretical. They don't really exist.

A pacifist is someone with the kooky idea that hurting and killing people is a bad thing. ... Pacifism is not a popular idea these days, but popularity has been a poor indicator of what makes an idea worth considering.

—J. Clifford, "You Bet I'm a Pacifist." *Irregular Times*, July 27, 2008. http://irregulartimes.com/index.php/archives/2008/07/27/you-bet-im-a-pacifist/

Pacifists include members of many diverse non-religious peace groups and of religious groups that have traditions of opposing war, such as Mennonites; Amish; Brethren; Quakers; the Roman Catholic group *Pax Christi*; the Jewish "Voice for Peace"; the *Shministim* (Israeli high school student conscientious objectors); the Gulen Movement, a pacifist Islamic organization; the Bahai faith (a religion deriving from Islam, with strongly pacifist views); Hindus; Buddhists; and Jains. Pacifists vary in how they interpret and act on their pacifism. Some are pacifist in an absolute sense, rejecting violence of all sorts, while others are specifically anti-war or against a certain war but not all wars. For example, physicist Albert Einstein and philosopher Bertrand Russell both described

themselves as pacifists yet believed that the Second World War was necessary.

In times of conflict, a government might call on citizens to participate in the war effort. Citizens opposed to the government's action may declare themselves pacifist and be prepared to accept the consequences, which could include going to jail. As you read further about pacifism, consider what ideology would motivate someone to embrace pacifism.

Despite differences in interpretations of pacifism, as Dennis R. Hoover notes, media coverage in the wake of an event such as 9/11 is often simplistic, treating pacifists as undifferentiated.

Overall it was liberal activist Quakers—best known for their longstanding opposition to US war making—who got the most ink. On September 11 several Quaker organizations put out a "Joint Statement" press release saying, "The Religious Society of Friends, since its inception in the 1650s, has been led to eschew war and all forms of violence for any end whatsoever." Two days later, the 84-year-old American Friends Service Committee spearheaded a "No More Victims" campaign...An ad that ran in the New York Times and Washington Post October 7 read:

"Dear President Bush, We, the undersigned, join the American Friends Service Committee in urging you to look for diplomatic means to bring to justice the people who are responsible for this crime against humanity. Now is the time to break the cycle of violence and retaliation. Do not respond to these terrible acts by waging war. War will lead to additional deaths and the suffering of many people in the US and abroad."

Quakers were not without their internal debates, however. "We're a peace church," Tom Ryan, a Quaker from State College, Pennsylvania, told the AP's Tina Moore September 26. "But there are some people who are worried whether that's enough, or whether some sort of police action is consistent with our beliefs." Similarly, 24-year old Matt Reilly told the Philadelphia Inquirer's Lini Kadaba September 24 that he felt war might be justified in these unusual circumstances...

Kadaba was the only journalist to notice that, in contrast to the largely liberal strand of Quakerism that predominates in the Philadelphia area, the more conservative Evangelical Quakers (located mostly on the West Coast, and who represent something like 30 percent of all US Quakers) do not oppose all forms of violence in all cases. "There may be a need for violent action in order for there to be justice," said Jim LeShana, an Evangelical Quaker pastor from Yorba Linda, California.

The AP's Richard N. Ostling found other religious pacifists feeling similarly conflicted. In an excellent September 28 article on peace church traditions, Ostling quoted Albert Keim, an historian at Eastern Mennonite University in Harrisonburg, Virginia, who admitted, "We pacifists know

how to behave in war, but we're still learning how to react to terrorism. We're finding it very, very difficult."...

Arguing that "pacifism" equals appeasement and surrender, [Michael Kelly, in a Washington Post column] quoted George Orwell, who in the midst of World War II wrote, "Pacifism is objectively pro-Fascist. This is elementary common sense. If you hamper the war effort of one side you automatically help out that of the other." On October 3 Kelly...declared that if "the United States did as the pacifists wish—if it eschewed war even when attacked—it would, at some point, be conquered by a foreign regime."

Denunciations were delivered by a clutch of anti-pacifist opinion writers, among them Rocky Mountain News columnist Mike Rosen...Many seemed to have the secular left in mind rather than religious pacifists, but the distinction wasn't often kept clear. "We protect the right of pacifists and other anti-war militants to assemble and advance their cause," wrote Rosen. "But I don't respect such people and I don't shrink from exposing their ideas as destructive and suicidal. Pacifists are my enemy because wittingly or not, they serve the purposes of my enemy and jeopardize my freedom."...

On its web page, the Mennonite Central Committee posted this modest proposal for responses to September 11: "At a time when emotions are running high and there are no simple answers, perhaps the best role for advocates of nonviolence is to ask good questions."

Source: Dennis R. Hoover, "Religion after 9-11: Pacifism on the Record." *Religion in the News* (Fall 2001).

http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/csrpl/RINVol4No3/peace%20churches.htm

In contrast to its policies during the Vietnam War (which we will explore in the next chapter), the United States has not drafted young Americans into the military to serve in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, in case the American government decides it needs additional citizens for military service, it does maintain a registry of young men. Pacifists can apply to be classified as conscientious objectors.

Almost all male US citizens, and male aliens living in the US, who are 18 through 25, are required to register with Selective Service. It's important to know that even though he is registered, a man will not automatically be inducted into the military. In a crisis requiring a draft, men would be called in sequence determined by random lottery number and year of birth. Then, they would be examined for mental, physical and moral fitness by the military before being deferred or exempted from military service or inducted into the Armed Forces...

Men who would be classified as Conscientious Objectors if they were drafted must also register with Selective Service. If a draft begins and they are called, they would have the opportunity to file a claim for exemption from military service based upon their religious or moral objection to war.

—Source: "Who Must Register", United States Selective Service System.

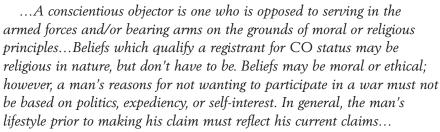
http://www.sss.gov/FSwho.htm, July 23, 2008



This section provides some perspectives on expressions of pacifism. In what ways do these perspectives demonstrate different understandings of the rights, roles, and responsibilities of citizens during times of conflict?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What understandings of citizenship are expressed by pacifists, those who object to pacifism, governments that require citizens to complete military service, conscientious objectors and war resisters? What rights and responsibilities are at play?



Two types of service are available to conscientious objectors, and the type assigned is determined by the individual's specific beliefs. The person who is opposed to any form of military service will be assigned to Alternative Service... The person whose beliefs allow him to serve in the military but in a noncombatant capacity will serve in the Armed Forces but will not be assigned training or duties that include using weapons.

...This [Alternative Service] program attempts to match COs with local employers. Many types of jobs are available, however the job must be deemed to make a meaningful contribution to the maintenance of the national health, safety, and interest. Examples of Alternative Service are jobs in:

- conservation
- caring for the very young or very old
- education
- health care

Length of service in the program will equal the amount of time a man would have served in the military, usually 24 months.

—Source: "Conscientious Objection and Alternative Service,"
United States Selective Service System.

http://www.sss.gov/FSconsobj.htm, April 30, 2002.

The United Nations supports the right to conscientious objection (the refusal on moral or religious grounds) to military service and monitors how conscientious objectors are treated. Some countries, such as Finland, Germany, and Israel, require military service but offer alternative service options.



Figure 13-14



Since the early days of the war in Iraq in 2003, about 40 "war resisters" have fled to Canada from the United States. American Corey Glass joined the US National Guard "hoping to carry out humanitarian and disaster relief work, but was deployed to Iraq in 2005 as a military intelligence officer north of Baghdad. He told his commanding officer that he couldn't continue fighting in a war he didn't believe in and was sent home for two weeks. But instead of rejoining his unit, Glass deserted." In Canada, he applied for refugee status. However, the Canadian government argued "that Glass and the others did not exhaust legal alternatives in the US and have not made a case that they face persecution should they return home...Those fleeing to Canada now are in a different situation to those who came during the Vietnam war. 'Those coming to Canada now volunteered for military service,' said the citizenship and immigration spokewoman."...

"'When I joined the National Guard, they told me the only way I would be in combat is if there were troops occupying the United States,' Corey said. 'I signed up to defend people and do humanitarian work filling sandbags if there was a hurricane; I should have been in New Orleans, not Iraq.'" (Sources: Dan Glaister, "US 'war resister' faces key asylum decision in Canada." The Guardian Weekly, June 20, 2008, p. 8, © Guardian News and Media 2008; and "Corey Glass." War Resisters Support Campaign, http://www.resisters.ca/resisters_stories.html#Corey.)

Creating an Action Plan

One way of looking at how ideology can affect your citizenship is to look at the options for action in a particular situation and then to decide what you would choose to do. When governments respond to crises, their responses are rarely supported by every citizen. Some citizens will feel that the government made a poor decision, that the rights of some segment of society have been violated, or that the decision addresses only a special-interest group or agenda. As you read in Chapter 11, in the aftermath of 9/11, the American government decided to limit citizens' freedoms in the interest of safety. The police and other agencies gained more powers to monitor communications and address the issues of terrorism. New restrictions were introduced in public places such as airports. Many people accepted these inconveniences as the price of safety in a free society. Others felt that government was using terrorism as a justification to crack down on segments of society and fulfill an agenda that had little to do with public security.

In a small group of five to six students, choose a crisis situation of global significance currently (or recently) in the news. For example, you could examine

- · an environmental disaster, such as an oil spill
- a natural disaster, such as a hurricane that caused flooding or widespread damage
- an escalating conflict between two or more countries
- a medical disaster, such as a famine or pandemic
- a terrorist action, such as a series of bombings

Research facts about the situation from a range of sources, and summarize the facts of the situation. Next, consider the impact of this situation and explore various possible perspectives on it.

Brainstorm with the group possible actions in response to the situation. Flesh out details by considering some basic questions such as What? How? When? Who? and Why? Then, individually, note your choice of action.

As a group, consider the pros and cons of each possible response, who would benefit and who might not, the short- and long-term impact, what worldview and ideology the response is consistent with, what understanding of citizenship the response implies, and possible objections to the response action. Choose an action by consensus. Next, plan the steps of the action.

Present your situation summary, action plan, and explanation to your class. Then, discuss the plans and your initial reactions to them.

Questions to Guide You

- 1. As Canadians and world citizens, what should be your informed response to the issue?
- 2. Who is involved? How are they affected? What perspectives and positions do they have (or might they have) on the situation?
- 3. What rights, responsibilities, and roles does the possible action address? What is the best option—or best possible combination of actions?
- 4. What worldviews and ideologies are evident in the action plan? What understandings of citizenship are evident?
- 5. Was your individual choice of action changed by considering and critically evaluating options in a group? Why or why not?
- 6. What is the impact of evaluating options from several different perspectives?

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

- a) List at least 10 of the rights, roles, or responsibilities of Canadian citizens that were discussed in this section.
 - For three of the rights, roles, and responsibilities you identified in 1a, outline two differing perspectives on each term.

Concept Application

- American president John F. Kennedy famously said, "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." What is less well known is that Kennedy followed that sentence with "My fellow citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man." What definitions of citizenship are implicit in the two statements? In what ways would a citizen, as Kennedy defined one, act?
- In a small group, contact an NGO in your community and investigate the organization's beliefs about democratic responsibilities. Contact your local Member of the Legislative Assembly or Member of Parliament to determine his or her beliefs.

 Develop a list of questions to ask both of your contacts. Present your research in a visual form to compare and contrast the results.

- In a small group, discuss the idea that citizens are made, not born. Consider the following topics:
 - What are understandings of citizenship in Canada?
 - To what extent should understandings of global citizenship inform your understanding of citizenship in Canada?
 - What institutions promote certain understandings of citizenship?
 - How do the institutions promote these understandings?
 - What ideology is most commonly reflected in their actions?
 - Do you agree or disagree with the ideology that is promoted?

Use this information to develop a policy statement expressing your conception of Canadian citizenship for a new political party. Present this statement to the class.

Research an understanding of citizenship from a citizen or group of citizens in a country or community in Africa, Latin America, or Asia. In what ways does this person demonstrate his or her rights, roles, and responsibilities as a citizen? To what extent does his or her understanding of citizenship appear to be influenced by ideology?



Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you have read about how citizenship is identified by nation-states, how it might be understood by individuals and groups, and various ways in which citizenship is demonstrated through rights, roles, and responsibilities—in times of peace and in times of conflict. Throughout, you have reflected on the worldviews and ideologies evident in various understandings or expressions of citizenship. These considerations have helped you address the Chapter Issue: To what extent should ideology shape responses to issues in times of peace and times of conflict? In so doing, these considerations have helped you focus on the relationships among worldview, ideology, citizenship, and action—relationships that you will continue to explore in the next chapter.

Respond to Ideas

1 Of the citizenship models presented in this chapter, which most closely resembles your own worldview, ideology, and understanding of citizenship? Which most challenges you? Why? Write a journal entry reflecting on this.

Respond to Issues

Consider the statement "almost anyone who believes in a cause will give to that cause" and list possible causes to which you could give time or money. Identify what issue or cause would (or does) motivate you to action. Finally, write a personal response to the Chapter Issue: To what extent should ideology shape responses to issues in times of peace and times of conflict?

Recognize Relationships among Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- In Canada, you are exposed to a range of ideologies. Political ideologies range from conservative to socialist within a democratic structure. Religions promote ideologies, and the laws of the land also express an ideology. The issue for Part 4 of this text is To what extent should my actions as a citizen be shaped by an ideology? Consider your role as a citizen of this country. Evaluate the extent to which ideology and worldview shape your responses to issues and influence your citizenship. Cite examples from the chapter, research, and your own experiences that relate to issues of citizenship and nationality and the rights, roles, and responsibilities of citizens. For example, you could use evidence from the "Borders" excerpt (pages 457-458) to help you support your position. During your analysis of the issue, address the question: "To what extent should liberalism and/or other ideologies shape your individual and collective citizenship?"
 - a) Create a graphic organizer that illustrates what you believe are the most important issues in Canada or the world today, and which ideology or ideologies you believe would best respond to these issues.
 - b) Consider if you embrace an ideology (or ideologies—you may have more than one). How does embracing or not embracing an ideology (or ideologies) help you respond to the world around you? Draw a picture that shows how your choice to embrace or not embrace an ideology responds to social issues in society.