THE APPLICATION OF THE KOHLBERGIAN MODEL TO THE SELECTION AND PRESENTATION OF HISTORICAL CONTENT MORAL DILEMMAS

by

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Abstract

It is the proposition of this thesis that the type of dilemma used by Lawrence Kohlberg may be appropriate for the presentation of historical content. This thesis examines the structure of the Kohlbergian moral dilemma story and concludes that history is an appropriate source of such moral dilemmas. It further concludes that such an approach to the teaching of history may be an effective teaching methodology inasmuch as it requires the student to respond to specific historical events in the context of the moral character of that event. Such a methodology stresses individual decision-making, social forces which determine actions, responses to questions of right and wrong, and the rights of the individual.

Chapter One of this thesis is an analysis of Kohlberg's work. Particular attention is paid to what Kohlberg has concluded concerning the nature of the 'New Social Studies' and the relationship between his Theory of Moral Development and the effective presentation of content in the social studies classroom.

Chapter Two examines the Kohlbergian Moral Dilemma Story. Certain common characteristics of the dilemma story are identified. These characteristics are used to establish the model dilemma story which is then used in the writing of curriculum materials.

Chapter Three demonstrates how the content of history can be used as a source of moral dilemmas. Historical content is seen to afford the teacher an opportunity to examine the moral character of the event being considered. By using real rather than hypothetical

events or incidents, the student can examine how 'real' people responded to moral dilemmas and how their responses determined subsequent events. The emphasis is on selecting and presenting material which allows for insight into how individuals perceived events around them, how and why they arrived at the position they adopted, and the consequences of those positions to them as individuals. This thesis suggests, through the use of examples, materials and methods appropriate to selecting and presenting historical content to facilitate such objectives. Such a methodology also allows the student to role-play in terms of the historical incident and to respond as an individual to the moral dilemma inherent in the historical incident.

Chapter Four suggests the teaching methodology to be used for the presentation of moral dilemmas drawn from the content of history. Specific teaching instructions, based on the methodology detailed in Chapter Four, are to be found in Chapter Five of this thesis. These instructions are meant to accompany the curriculum materials also contained in Chapter Five. Six distinct historical incidents are presented in terms of the suggested methodology. Profile Cards, Background Papers, Dilemma Stories, Follow-Up Questions, and Selected Readings are given for each incident.

It is the conclusion of this thesis that the Kohlbergian Model is an appropriate vehicle for the presentation of historical content. Such a model allows for the presentation of historical content in a way which demands student involvement in the material

being considered. It is also suggested that the moral dilemma drawn from the content of history may encourage moral development in the student. However, the primary purpose of this thesis is to illustrate a teaching methodology which will enhance the student's understanding of history.

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

To Barbara and Maude

Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with using history as a source of moral dilemmas. To some extent it is based on the concepts developed by Lawrence Kohlberg of Harvard University who has proposed a theory on the nature of individual moral development. Kohlberg's theory was first formulated on the basis of research into the way adolescents reason about certain specific moral questions.(1) These questions are 'moral' in character inasmuch as they ask the individual to select courses of action which are desirable in given situations, actions which may be evaluated in terms of the concept of 'rightness' or 'wrongness'. The questions are hypothetical and therefore are censure free. They also may be resolved in a number of different ways.

Kohlberg, in the process of constructing his theory of moral development, concluded that it is possible to qualitatively evaluate the actions of human beings according to the universal concepts of 'justice' or 'fairness', of the reciprocity of equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.(2)

Kohlberg may be seen, therefore, as believing that morality is not relative, that individuals may identify superior moral positions and act accordingly and, finally, that 'rightness' of behaviour is accessible to those who can perceive it.

This ability to perceive a superior moral position is an important characteristic of Kohlberg's approach for to speak of moral development is to appear to imply that such development is a progression towards a definable and attainable goal. Kohlberg accepts

such an implication and, for that matter, wholeheartedly endorses it. Also implicit in Kohlberg's approach to moral development is a belief in the moral character of man and the ability of man to adopt altruistic positions on important moral questions.

An acceptance of man's ability to adopt altruistic positions on important moral questions will allow the reader to better understand both Kohlberg's theory and the concerns of this thesis. It is the proposition of this thesis that the teaching of history may benefit from a consideration of Kohlberg's approach to moral development and, further, that the content of history may offer suitable material for the production of Kohlbergian-type moral dilemma situations.

Kohlberg's work in the area of moral development is an extension of the work of Jean Piaget, as detailed in Piaget's The Moral Judgment of the Child.[3] Kohlberg's initial research consisted of interviews with one hundred boys aged seven to seventeen. The subjects were confronted with ten hypothetical moral dilemma situations.[4] Kohlberg established from these and subsequent studies that an individual's adoption of moral principles and his transition from the pre-principled to the principled stages of moral reasoning is closely related to his cognitive development. It is here that one can perceive the extension of Piaget's work on cognitive development and moral judgment.

Following from his research, Kohlberg has concluded that cognitive growth in a child may occur through a discussion of moral dilemmas and through hearing arguments which are one stage higher than the level at which the child is functioning. This growth may result

in a qualitative improvement in the child's moral judgment, an improvement characterized by a progression towards the aforementioned principles of justice, the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.

Kohlberg's main concern is with moral reasoning and only with moral behaviour to the extent that it results from such reasoning. Moral reasoning occurs when an individual considers questions or dilemmas which are moral in character; in short, when he considers questions which necessitate the determination of what is 'right' and 'wrong' in a given situation. Moral behaviour is that behaviour which follows from a moral decision. The two are closely connected in Kohlberg's thinking as he holds that moral reasoning is a requirement for principled moral behaviour.

In order to appreciate the consequences of the Kohlbergian approach to moral development, it is necessary to understand the nature of Kohlberg's interpretation of a child's personality development. His interpretation identifies two general aspects of that development. The first he calls 'ego-strength'. This represents a set of interrelated ego abilities, " ... including the intelligent prediction of consequences, the tendency to choose the greater remote award over the lesser immediate reward, the ability to maintain stable focused attention, and a number of other traits."[5] The second is the development level of the child's moral judgment. These two aspects, according to Kohlberg, determine the moral character exhibited by the individual.

Kohlberg has taken the latter of these two traits and formulated a model of moral development -- one which attempts to categorize moral reasoning according to specific developmental characteristics. This model results from the research findings of his initial studies with hypothetical moral dilemmas -- the stages continually being refined in the light of current research on how children reason about moral issues.

The six stages formulated by Kohlberg are sequential and invariant in character. An individual may progress through the stages as cognitive development occurs. The emphasis in Kohlberg's work is on reasoning about moral principles, and growth is defined in terms of qualitatively better thinking about moral dilemmas, as previously mentioned. The sixth stage person would be one who would evaluate a moral dilemma situation in terms of certain universal principles. In short, awareness of those principles is a sixth-stage characteristic which would, in turn, compel one to take a position which would be in harmony with those principles.

The preceding may become clearer if we consider the six stages as they have been articulated by Kohlberg. The six stages are grouped according to three levels of moral development. These levels are as follows:

(1) the preconventional or premoral: where moral decisions are primarily egocentric, based on self-interest and material consideration.

(2) the conventional or moral: moral decisions are characterized by a conformity to social conventions (i.e. a strong desire to maintain, support and justify existing social structures).

(3) the postconventional or autonomous: moral decisions are dependent upon autonomous, universal principles of justice that have validity beyond existing laws and social conventions. (6)

Further to Kohlberg's schema: the six stages of moral development are as follows:

Level I	Stage 1:	Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility.
	Stage 2:	Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally other's. Awareness of relativism of value to each actors needs and perspective. Naive eglitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.
Level II	Stage 3:	Good-boy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behaviour and judgment on intentions.
	Stage 4:	Authority and social-order-maintaining orientation. Orientation to "doing duty" and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others.
Level III	Stage 5:	Contractual legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contracts, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare.
	Stage 6:	Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust. (6)

An important qualification which must be applied to the six stages is an awareness that Kohlberg has not attempted to directly correlate the six stages to specific age groups nor does he assert that

all individuals reach the same stage of moral development in their lifetime. It is possible, though not probable, that a person may never progress beyond level one. However, Kohlberg's studies have indicated that most adult persons operate at the third or fourth stage. (7)

A significant characteristic of Kohlberg's theory is that it is not culturally specific. Studies have indicated that the sequence of moral development is not affected by widely varying social, cultural or religious conditions. "The only thing that is affected is the rate at which individuals progress through this sequence." (8) Kohlberg uses the apparent universal validity of his theory as indicating that all individuals will, at any given point in their cognitive development, display moral reasoning which may be categorized according to one of his six stages. Kohlberg elaborates on the relationship between cognitive development and moral reasoning when he states as follows:

> At each stage, the same basic moral concept is defined, but at each higher stage this definition is more differentiated, more integrated and more general or universal. ...Each step of development then is a better cognitive organization than the one before it, one which takes account of everything present in the previous stage, but making new distinctions and organizing them into a more equilibriated structure. (9)

He concludes that: "Moral thought then seems to behave like all other kinds of thought. Progress through the moral levels and stages is characterized by increasing differentation and increasing integration, and hence is the same kind of progress that scientific theory represents." (10)

Before continuing, it is probably worthwhile to comment upon the relationship between Kohlberg's theory and conventional methods of moral education. Kohlberg rejects didactic moral instruction as having little or no influence upon moral character. He attributes this, in part, to the fact that such ethical instruction has been essentially an attempt to indoctrinate students with various state or culturally defined values or it has functioned as a means of enhancing administrative goals. Kohlberg rejects both approaches on the basis that neither effectively challenges the value assumptions of the individual. He suggests, instead, that the goal of moral education should be the " ... stimulation of the development of the individual child's moral judgment and character."(11)

> A definition of the aims of moral education as the stimulation of natural development is most clear-cut in the area of moral judgment, where there appears to be considerable regularity of sequence and direction in development in various cultures. Because of the regularity, it is possible to define maturity of a child's moral judgment without considering its content (the particular action judged) and without considering whether it agrees with our own particular moral judgments or values or those of the American middle-class culture as a whole. In fact, the sign of the child's moral maturity is his ability to make moral judgments and formulate moral principles of his own, rather than his ability to conform to moral judgments of the adults around him. (12)

The central premise of Kohlberg's theory is an individual's independent progression through the six stages. Should that progression be forced, then the individual will not have adopted a changed perspective on moral issues as a result of free will. The Kohlbergian

approach asks the student to examine his own thinking about moral issues. It does not propose a series of morally correct positions which the student must learn.

A distinction should be made at this point between the Kohlbergian approach and Values Clarification Procedures as advocated by Louis E. Raths and Sidney Simon.[13] Value Clarification has as its main goal the student's recognition of his or her own personal values. This recognition usually occurs when the student is confronted with dilemma-type situations and is asked to suggest those actions which they feel are appropriate to the situation. The emphasis is on self-knowledge and awareness and the procedure therefore does not seek to challenge those values which the student articulates.

Kohlberg's approach, on the other hand, seeks to find the 'best' answer to a moral dilemma -- 'best' being defined in terms of Kohlberg's previously ennunciated concepts of justice, reciprocity, and respect for others. While Values Clarification may encourage the student to see the possible consequences of his values position, it does not presuppose a preferred values position, other than than which accurately reflects the true feelings of the individual. The Kohlbergian approach desires something more than simply an honest expression of belief. The emphasis on development and progression in Kohlberg's theory is what tends to distinguish it most clearly from Values Clarification. It is a distinction which must be recognized if one is to fully appreciate the consequences of the Kohlbergian approach to moral development.

The adaption of the Kohlbergian approach to the teaching of history is the primary concern of this thesis. Such an adaption has been suggested by Kohlberg in a lecture entitled "Moral Development and the New Social Studies."[14]

Kohlberg began his analysis of the new social studies by stating six basic postulates of the new social studies; all of which he sees as being derived from the work of John Dewey. "The first postulate is the replacement of rote-learned facts by an emphasis upon active thought and reasoning."[15] Active thought and reasoning is defined as that which employs inquiry learning, the application of scientific methods to social material, and the use of critical or reflective thinking. The second concerns the distinction being made in the discipline between the content of thinking and the form or process of thinking. It follows from such distinction that the process of thinking " ... can be stimulated regardless of content areas."[16] The third therefore suggests that the new social studies is, by necessity, inter-disciplinary in nature.[17]

The fourth postulate is of central importance to this thesis as it emphasizes the " ... centrality of the problematic case, the use of relevant concrete cases representing social problems."[18] An acceptance of Kohlberg's analysis of the nature of the new social studies compels one to perceive the importance of the fourth postulate and the necessity of incorporating into the curriculum that material which will facilitate the accomplishment of the central goals of the new social studies.

However, such an analysis does not tell the complete story for it fails to detail the relationship between the new social studies and the process of valuing so central to the work of Kohlberg and John Dewey. Dewey's pioneering work in the field of moral development has as a central concern an avoidance of the transmission of consensual values. Kohlberg's desire to avoid methodology which attempts such a transmission has led him to articulate the fifth postulate. Noting that, "... according to Dewey, factual scientific judgment and value judgments have important common characteristics and both represent partial aspect of a process of solution of problematic social situations,"[19] Kohlberg states that, "The fifth postulate of the new social studies, then, was the need for clarification of values, for critical thinking about our own value-assumptions in the content of situations of value-conflict."[20] A sixth and final postulate stems from such an observation, namely "... the need to focus upon situations and issues which are not only problemistic but controversial."[21]

In his paper Kohlberg attempted to relate the preceeding six postulates of the new social studies to his work on moral development. The basis for the relationship can be found in Kohlberg's analysis of "... two central assumptions of the Deweyite canon."

> The first is the psychological assumption of cognitive and moral stages and the parallel assumption that education is supplying the conditions for development through the stages. The second is the philosophic recognition of ethical principles as defining the aims of social education.(22)

These two assumptions are basically those which underlie

the work Kohlberg has done in the field of moral education. Given the above two assumptions, one may begin to perceive how the concerns of the new social studies may complement the work of Kohlberg and how that work may facilitate development of those goals which are so important to the social studies classroom. The first assumption relies on the work done by Piaget and the verification of "Piaget's description of adolescence as the period of development of formal operational thought, of abstract, reflective thought."[23] Such development is characterized by a demonstration by the child that he can "classify classification, that he can combine combination, that he can relate relationships."[24] Such cognitive development is characterized by Kohlberg in the following way:

> It implies that he can think about thoughts, and create thought systems of "hypothetico-deductive" theories. This involves the logical construction of all possibilities -- that is, the awareness of the observed as only a subset of what may be logically possible. In related fashion, it implies the hypothetico-deductive attitude, the notion that a belief or proposition is not an immediate truth but a hypothesis whose truth value consists in the truth of the concrete propositions derivable from it."(25)

Kohlberg make a significant observation about the nature of cognitive development when he states that "... social inquiry cannot be taught, although its development can be stimulated and intended."[26] The observation is significant because it suggests that inquiry teaching may be unsuitable for students who have not yet reached the stage of formal operational thought, as that stage is defined by Piaget and Kohlberg. Furthermore, it would seem to imply that formal operational

thought is a necessary prerequisite for inquiry learning, rather than a product of such learning. The significance of this is underscored by Kohlberg when he states as follows:

> Our research findings indicate that only 53% of middle-class sixteen to eighteen year olds are fully capable of formal operational thought. If sizeable portions of adolescents are incapable of hypothetical inquiry, they are unlikely to find the new training appealing or stimulating.(27

In so stating Kohlberg calls into question the validity of using the inquiry model as a method of teaching the 'new social studies' to students at all stages of development. He goes on to conclude that:

> Social science and legal disciplines, as patterns of thought are extensions of a natural mode of thought, that of formal operations. They are not really relevant models of thought for children at an earlier stage of thought.(28)

In so concluding, Kohlberg questions the validity of teaching abstract societal problems to students who are not yet capable of formal operational thought.

One might legitimately question, therefore, where the preceding leaves the teacher who is sincerely concerned with presenting 'abstract societal problems' to his or her class in a way which will enhance the student's ability to make rational moral judgments about such problems. By way of an answer to that question one might consider what Kohlberg has to say about the relationship between moral stages and a student's response to specific abstract societal problems. According to Kohlberg:

> The stages ... represent an increasing awareness of justice and a disentangling of justice from

> the particular accepted rules of culture. A concern about justice is, however, present at every stage of development. (29)

In short, Kohlberg sees the student as progressing towards a definition of justice which is progressively less culturally specific. The ultimate goal of such a progression must be seen as being a concept of justice which is universal in application and relevance. In so stating, one only reaffirms the conclusion drawn by Kohlberg as to the cultural universality of his theory, a conclusion which is based on his research studies.

Justice then becomes, in Kohlberg's words, " ... the core of moral development."[30] However, Kohlberg also observes that justice is only one of four possible decision-making orientations, each of which is available at every stage.

> These orientations are the rules-orientation, the pragmatic or utilitarian consequences orientation, the justice orientation and the conscience or ideal-self orientation. Each stage has a different concept of rules, of utility, of fairness and of a good or ideal personality.(31)

It is possible to conclude from this that moral progression may be indicated by the particular orientation which a student articulates at a given moment. One might also conclude that 'progression' entails the adoption of a new orientation which is qualitatively better than the orientation previously articulated. Kohlberg's concept of justice is the ideal orientation. If it were not, then it would be pointless to talk of moral development in the Kohlbergian sense. Should the student fail to move towards the articulation of the justice orientation then it is not possible for moral development to have occurred. This does

not mean that one should censure the student for failing to adopt the preferred position. To do so would be moral indoctrination, not an encouraging of moral development. What one may do, however, is construct exercises for the student which encourage cognitive growth and, hence, moral growth: to cause the student to rigorously examine the nature of his moral position and to see the consequences of that position beyond the immediate circumstance in which it is articulated.

Hand in hand with a mastery of certain cognitive skills comes an ability to increase one's awareness of the nature of one's own moral position and the motives which underly that position. Moral development to the principled level, as seen by Kohlberg, is a rational process: it is the product of clear thinking and, as such, it is dependent upon a mastery of formal operational thought.

If one wishes to adapt Kohlberg's theory to the classroom, then it would seem necessary for one to be able to enhance the student's ability to acquire the skills of formal operational thought. Any curricula materials which are used in conjunction with Kohlberg's theory must have, as their primary focus then, the development of such skills through a consideration of certain moral problems. Such a conclusion is based on Kohlberg's analysis of the process of moral development and what that process entails from a teaching perspective.

Kohlberg has drawn certain conclusions about the nature of the task facing the teacher who wishes to integrate an awareness of moral stages into his teaching methodology. Those same conclusions are also very important to the teacher who wishes to design material

which encourages moral development in the context of the Kohlbergian model.

Kohlberg states most unequivocally the need to go beyond simple values-clarification or, at least, values-clarification which assumes that all values are relative.

> ...we do not agree that all values are relative nor do we teach children value-relativity, which in its strong sense is an unsound doctrine, both philosophically and in terms of social science fact.(32)

If one accepts, as Kohlberg states, that, "... relativism is an incorrect philosophical view,"[33] then one may accept his conclusion that: "... the educational objective of stimulation of moral stage development cannot be called indoctrinative."[34] Such a conclusion is based on the following rationale, a rationale which seems to be consistent not only with Kohlberg's definition of indoctrination but with the overall purpose of moral education as articulated by him.

> First, it is non-indoctrinative because it is not addressed to transmitting specific value-content but stimulating a new way of thinking and judging. Second, it is non-indoctrinative because it is not imposing something alien on the student. Movement to the next stage is movement in a direction natural to him, it is movement in the only direction he can go. Finally, it is non-indoctrinative because the core of moral stages is a sense of rights and justice. Our whole objection to indoctrination presupposes a sense of rights, but such a sense of human rights can only occur throught the process of moral development.(35)

Given that movement through Kohlberg's moral stages is a valid educational objective, one must then ask how such development can occur in a classroom situation. The second chapter of this thesis

will attempt to answer that question through an analysis of the methodology employed by Kohlberg in facilitating the moral stage development of his students.

Footnotes

Chapter One

(1) Lawrence Kohlberg and Elliot Turiel, "Moral Development and Moral Education," in G. Lesser, ed., Psychology and Educational Practice, Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1971, pp. 410 - 465.

(2) Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan, "The Adolescent as a Philosopher: The Discovery of Self in a Post Conventional World." Daedalus, 100, 4 (Fall 1971), p. 1068.

(3) Jean Piaget, Moral Judgment of the Child. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965.

(5) Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral Education in the Schools: A Developmental View." The School Review. Vol. 74 (Spring 1966), p.5.

(6) Lawrence Kohlberg, "Cognitive Developmental Theory and Practice of Collective Moral Education," in Lawrence Kohlberg, Collected Papers on Moral Development and Moral Education, Cambridge, 1973, pp.342 - 371.

(7) Ibid., p. 348.

(8) Kohlberg, "Moral Education in the Schools," p. 13.

(9) Ibid., p. 17.

(10) Ibid., p. 17.

(11) Ibid., p. 21.

(12) Ibid., p. 21.

(13) Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmin and Sidney B. Simon, Values and Teaching: Working with Values in the Classroom, Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1966.

(14) Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral Development and the New Social Studies Lecture," Collected Papers on Moral Development and Moral Education, Cambridge: 1973, pp. 1 - 20.

(15) Ibid., p. 4.

(16) Ibid., p. 5.

(17) Ibid., p. 5.

(18) Ibid., p. 5.

(19) Ibid., p. 7.

(20) Ibid., p. 7.

(21) Ibid., p. 7.

(22) Ibid., p. 8.

(23) Ibid., p. 9.

(24) Ibid., p. 9.

(25) Ibid., p. 9.

(26) Ibid., p. 10.

(27) Ibid., p. 10.

(28) Ibid., p. 11.

(29) Ibid., p. 14.

(30) Ibid., p. 15.

(31) Ibid., p. 15.

(32) Ibid., p. 16.

(33) Ibid., p. 16.

(34) Ibid., p. 16.

(35) Ibid., p. 16 - 17.

Chapter Two

The Kohlbergian Moral Dilemma Story

Having detailed Lawrence Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development, it is necessary now to consider how that theory is put into practice. The primary vehicle for the application of Kohlberg's theory in a teaching situation is the moral dilemma story. It is the story which elicits moral responses which, in turn, allow for the categorization of the student's moral development according to Kohlberg's theory. This chapter will discuss the general characteristics of moral dilemma stories and their place in his Theory of Moral Development.

In order to accomplish the preceding, it is necessary to first consider a sample Kohlbergian moral dilemma story. The following story is quite simple in its form and content, yet useful in enabling one to see the structure of a moral dilemma.

> Heinz's Dilemma
> In Europe, a woman was near death from a rare form of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her, a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The druggist was charging $2,000.00, ten times what the drug cost him to make. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get about half what the drug cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.(1)

The preceding is a dilemma because it can only be resolved through one of two ways -- either of which will result in the violation of an individual's rights. The student is faced with two

choices. He may condone Heinz's action and, indirectly, the violation of the druggist's property rights, or he may condemn Heinz's action and, in so doing, place the value of property over that of life. The conflict is between the right of an individual to control his own property and the right of an individual to live. The essential ingredient of the dilemma is the forced nature of the choice. The student cannot have it both ways. He must either side with Heinz or the druggist. He must determine the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of Heinz's and the druggist's behaviour. The dilemma is a 'moral' one because Heinz's actions must be evaluated according to principles of conduct which are moral in character. He must 'steal' in order to save the life of his wife. He must take another man's property without paying for it.

Since Heinz's dilemma is a moral one, the student who states an opinion on the situation must reason in moral terms. He must determine which has more value, private property or human life. The response which the dilemma elicits may then be placed in one of Kohlberg's six stages; the appropriate stage being determined by the nature of the reasoning underlying the response given. The following categorization is by Kohlberg and suggests the type of reasoning which is indicative of each of the six stages. Two questions were asked about Heinz's Dilemma. They were: "What is life's value in the situation?"[(2)] and "Why is life valuable?"[(3)]. At present we will consider only the reasoning associated with the first of the two questions.

What is Life's Value in the Situation?

Stage 1

Wife's life has no clear value here to husband or others when it conflicts with law and property. Does not see that husband would value his wife's life over stealing.

Stage 2

It is its immediate value to the husband and to the wife herself. Assumes the husband would think his wife's life is worth stealing for, but he isn't obliged to if he doesn't like her enough. Life's value to a person other than its possessor depends on relationship; you wouldn't steal to save the life of a mere friend or acquaintance.

Stage 3

Life's value is its value to any good, caring person like the husband. The husband should care enough to risk stealing (even if he does not steal), and a friend should care enough to save the life of a friend or another person.

Stage 4

Even though he may think it wrong to steal, he understands the general value or sacredness of human life or the rule to preserve life. Sacredness means all other values can't be compared with the value of life. The value of life is general; human life is valuable no matter what your relationship to the person is, though this doesn't obligate you to steal.

Stage 5

He recognizes that in this situation the wife's right to life comes before the druggist's right to property. There is some obligation to steal for anyone dying; everyone has a right to live and be saved.(4)

Each stage represents a different way of viewing the dilemma -- of defining the central issues and perceiving the relative value of property and human life. No one perception is wrong. However, the higher stages do represent a progression towards a statement of Kohlberg's concept of justice and the value of human life. The progression is a progression, in the Kohlbergian sense, because the final stage represents a way of thinking which perceives life as having a greater value than property, a value which is absolute and independent

of circumstances.

A close examination of the 'Heinz Dilemma' allows one to generalize about Kohlbergian-type dilemmas. Firstly, the dilemma is limited inasmuch as it introduces only a limited number of characters and deals with only one conflict. Secondly, the dilemma deals with a potentially genuine situation. The area of concern is real inasmuch as it is in the realm of the possible. The relationship between economics and health care is a real problem in some countries, albeit not so pronounced perhaps in Canada. The student, however, would probably recognize that one's ability to pay for assistance can have a bearing on the type of assistance one receives. Heinz's problem, therefore, is not unique to a specific time or place. It is a matter of conscience; which brings us to the third characteristic -- namely that the central character has to make a choice about how he should behave in a certain situation. The focus is on Heinz and how he is going to resolve the moral dilemma with which he is faced. Should he steal the drug and save his wife or should he respect the druggist's right to property and let his wife die? The choice is Heinz's and, indirectly, the student's. One can legitimately ask the student what Heinz should do and the response will reflect how the student feels about the conflicting values in the dilemma.

In summary we can characterize a Kohlbergian-type dilemma in the following way:

1) The dilemma is limited. It entails basically only one value conflict.

2) The dilemma is genuine. It is believable.
3) The dilemma focuses on one character and the choices open to that one character. The student makes a moral choice about what the central character should do.
4) The student can see the conflict as being an 'either' 'or' situation in which neither of the two choices is culturally or socially predetermined. Either action alternative should be possible. In short, the student should have a 'choice' of alternatives.
5) The dilemma is serious inasmuch as it focuses upon an important social or cultural issue which, because of its very nature, demands serious consideration. (5)

Given that the five characteristics are contained within the story, the dilemma will encourage the student to think seriously about what he or she should do in the given situation.

Having established five characteristics of a Kohlbergian-type dilemma, it is now necessary to consider more closely Kohlberg's system for scoring responses to a dilemma. In order to do that we should consider the second and more general question Kohlberg asks of students concerning Heinz's dilemma. That question is: "Why is life more valuable?"[6] Kohlberg's comments on the responses allow us to see the rationale behind the placement of a given response at a certain stage in Kohlberg's model.

Stage 1 Response:

"Does not give a reason and does not indicate understanding that life is worth more than property."
Such a response is Stage 1 because it indicates an "orientation to punishment and reward, and to physical and material power." The student appears unable to see why life (or property) has value other than that which is ascribed to it in the given situation.

Stage 2 Response:

"Each person wants to live more than anything else. You can replace property, not life."
Such a response is Stage 2 because it articulates a hedonistic view of life. Life has value in the situation because the woman in question is the man's wife. The student: " ... assumes the husband would think his wife's life is worth stealing for, but he isn't obliged to if he doesn't like her enough. Life's value to a person other than its possessor depends on relationship; you wouldn't steal to save the life of a mere friend or acquaintance."

Stage 3 Response:

"People should care for other people and their lives. You're not good or human if you don't. People have much more feeling for life than for anything material."
A stage 3 response is based on what a "good" person would do. Morality, at Stage 3, is determined by the expectations of the group inasmuch as a Stage 3 person is concerned with receiving group-approval of his or her behaviour.

Stage 4 Response:

"Life is valuable because God created it and made it sacred. Or life is valuable because it is basic to society; it is a basic right of people."
The Stage 4 response is one which makes reference to an established order (i.e. religion or society) and the correctness of behaviour is judged by its orientation to law, duty or authority. Kohlberg summarizes the Stage 4 response as one " ... maintaining a fixed order; whether social or religious, which is assumed as a primary value."

Stage 5 Response:

"Everyone or society logically and morally must place each person's individual right to life before other rights such as the right to property."
The Stage 5 person has a "social-contract orientation." The Stage 5 response emphasizes, " ... equality and mutual obligation within a democratically established order." Kohlberg cites the morality of the American Constitution as an example of a determinant of a Stage 5 response. The morality of the American Constitution would allow Heinz to steal the drug for it holds the value of human life above that of private property.

Stage 6

> The Stage 6 response is one which makes no recourse to outside considerations when determining the correct behaviour in the situation. Heinz must steal the drug because that is the only way to maintain the sanctity of human life. As Kohlberg notes: "Only at Stage 6 is each life seen as inherently worthwhile, aside from all other considerations." The person operating at Stage 6 articulates a belief in the absolute value of human life -- a value which is not dependent upon, or determined by, circumstance.(7)

While categorization is an important part of Kohlberg's Theory, it is only an initial task in the application of his theory to the teaching situation. The second step concerns the 'developmental' character of Kohlberg's model and the question of how the dilemma functions as a spur to moral development. The answer to that question can be found in the role Kohlberg assigns to the teacher. An ability to recognize the moral character of the student's response is an important task for the teacher. More significant, however, is an ability to assist the student to, as Kohlberg states, " ... perceive social reality or to organize and integrate social experience."(8) The latter is important because it is through such perception and organization and integration that moral development occurs. Kohlberg summarizes this aspect of moral development when he states as follows:

> The main experimental determinants of moral development seem to be amount and variety of social experience, the opportunity to take a number of roles and to encounter other perspectives. ... Being able, through wide practice, to take another viewpoint, to "put yourself in his place" is the source of the principled sense of equality and reciprocity. Perhaps the best summary of the situation in everyday language comes from E.M. Forster, who thought

> that most of the trouble in the world is due to "the inability to imagine the innerness of other lives."(9)

The moral dilemma, therefore, must be seen as being primarily a vehicle for facilitating such 'moral role-taking'. The student experiences the dilemma; he is forced to see himself in the situation; to become, for a short time, an active participant in 'the innerness of other lives'.

The involvement of the student in a moral dilemma is therefore of central importance to Kohlberg's model for moral development. However, certain other things are required in order for that model to come to life. Having engaged the student in the dilemma, the teacher must then go one step further.

That 'one step further' brings us to the question mentioned earlier in this paper; namely, how does the dilemma spur moral development. The answer to that question lies in the nature of the development which we seek to encourage. Kohlberg states that: "Moral judgment is primarily a function of rational operations."(10) Once the student has become involved in the dilemma, he then proceeds to make a judgment about the type of behaviour which he favours. Then, according to Kohlberg: " ... moral situations are defined cognitively by the judging individual."(11) Moral development, in such a schema, becomes a function of the student's ability to reason logically about what he is experiencing. The teacher's task is to assist the student to do just that: to take the situation and to weigh alterntives, see the consequences of all options, and to assist the student at arriving at a morally and intellectually cohesive conclusion. It is a task

which Kohlberg defines in the following terms:

> ... the teacher must help the child to consider genuine moral conflicts, think about the reasoning he uses in solving such conflicts, see inconsistencies and inadequacies in his way of thinking, and find ways of resolving them. To do this, the teacher must know the child's level of thought, match his level by communicating at the level directly above, focusing on reasoning, and help the child experience the type of conflict that leads to an awareness of the greater adequacy of the next stage.(12)

In summary then, the purpose of the dilemma is threefold. Firstly, it is the vehicle which engages the student in a moral conflict. Secondly, it is the means by which the teacher determines the student's level or stage of moral reasoning. Thirdly, it is the impetus towards progression from one stage of moral development to the next.

This chapter has briefly examined the nature of Kohlberg's moral dilemma stories, the types of responses which dilemmas can elecit and the role of the teacher in presenting such dilemmas to the student. Subsequent chapters will attempt to demonstrate, primarily through example, the suitability of historical content as a source of Kohlbergian-type dilemma stories.

Footnotes

Chapter Two

(1) Thomas Lickona, ed., Moral Development and Behaviour, Toronto: Holt Rinehard and Winston, 1976, p. 42.

(2) Ibid., p. 42.

(3) Ibid., p. 42.

(4) Ronald E. Galbraith and Thomas M. Jones, Moral Reasoning, Ancka, Minnesota: Greenhaven Press, 1976, pps. 38 - 40.

(5) Ibid., p. 42.

(6) Ibid., p. 42.

(7) Ibid., p. 42.

(8) Lawrence Kohlberg, "A Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education," in Collected Papers on Moral Development and Moral Education, Harvard University, Spring 1973, p. 15.

(9) Ibid., p. 15.

(10) Ibid., p. 15.

(11) Ibid., p. 15.

(12) Ibid., p. 16.

Chapter Three

The Moral Dilemma and the Content of History

It is the central proposition of this thesis that the content of history may be appropriate for the writing of Kohlbergian-type moral dilemma stories. History, as a subject, seeks to involve the student in the events of the past in order to encourage understanding and to develop the skills of the historian. The student seeks to comprehend the dynamics of a particular period in history through an analysis of beliefs and actions which are indicative of that period in history. The teacher assists the student in this task through the use of various types of teaching methodology. Following from the central proposition of this thesis is a belief that the presentation of historical content in the form of dilemmas will enhance the student's understanding of particular incidents in history.

The critical aspect of the moral dilemma is its ability to involve the student in the moral conflict as it is presented. The same might also be said about the presentation of historical content. The history teacher seeks to involve the student in what he is learning. 'Empathy' is a much over-worked word today but it seems to describe well the involvement necessary for an understanding of history. One dictionary definition is " ... the quality or process of entering fully, through imagination, into another's feelings or motives ...." (1)

The moral dilemma story seeks to accomplish just that. It is Kohlberg's vehicle for developing an appreciation of "the innerness

of other peoples's lives." Once the student has developed such an appreciation, he then makes a moral decision based on criteria determined by the conflict. He must confront the same value conflict as the central character in the dilemma. In short, he must become, through the process of imagination, the central character. An ability to empathize is central to involvement in Kohlbergian-type dilemmas; it is also central to an understanding of how and why individuals act the way they do in history.

The application of Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development and the teaching of history are not the same. However, both encourage thinking about specific events in a clear and rationale manner and both emphasize the role that motivation plays in the actions of men. The dilemma asks the student to decide the course of action which should be adopted. Yet, to make such a decision, the student must fully appreciate the consequences of a given act and the possible options open to the central character. In that sense a dilemma is 'open'; that is, it may be resolved in a number of ways. History, on the other hand, is a closed discipline inasmuch as we know what happened, even though we may realize the multiple causation for such an outcome. History, by definition, is a record of accomplished facts. The historian may be selective about motive and significance but he does not presume to alter the course of history to suit a particular interpretation.

The divergence of the intentions of the history teacher and Lawrence Kohlberg does not, however, jeopardize the value of historical

content for the writing of dilemmas. Both the historian and the user of Kohlberg's model seek to involve the student in the material being considered. The historian does so to increase understanding; the user of Kohlberg's model to encourage moral development.

A Kohlbergian-type moral dilemma is a story. It relates an incident in which an individual is faced with a moral dilemma. The conflict will have its roots in the day to day events of human existence. It pits the individual against the complex and intricate rules, social norms and established order of society and it will usually be resolved by the character making a decision about which of those rules he will obey. The criteria by which we decide the appropriateness of a dilemma have already been discussed. The structure of the dilemma is determined by Kohlberg's model. Its form is therefore relatively unchangeable. However, it is possible that the content of a dilemma may be altered without jeopardizing its usefulness to Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development inasmuch as moral conflicts may be found in any number of historical situations.

The five essential characteristics of a Kohlbergian-type moral dilemma have already been stated in Chapter Two. It is those characteristics which will be used to determine the suitability of historical content and the manner in which it can most effectively be presented.

The application of the five characteristics will result in historical dilemmas of the following type.

a) The historical incident will be limited. It will entail only one value conflict.

b) The dilemma will be genuine and believable. The fact that the incident is drawn from history will greatly enhance the believability of the conflict inasmuch as the dynamics of the conflict will be readily verifiable.

c) The historical incident revolves around one character, who may be either real or imaginary, and examines how that character deals with a factual set of circumstances. The student makes a decision about how the character should behave.

d) The student can see the conflict as being resolvable in more than one way. Because the incident is drawn from history, the dilemma may be constructed in one of two ways:

i) imaginary character and real incident or

ii) real character and real incident.

If the character is imaginary, then the resolution of the conflict is unverifiable, save in a general sense, in terms of subsequent historical events. If both the character and the incident are real, then it is possible for the student to compare his moral decision with the actual historical consequences of the conflict. In both cases it is suggested that the student approach the dilemma with little or no knowledge of events subsequent to the incident in question. It may even be possible that, in some cases, the actual identity of the central figure be disguised. However, whichever approach is used, the student will make his decision free from any notion that one course of action is culturally or socially predetermined.

e) The dilemma will be drawn from the general body of historical content. It will be a serious dilemma, however, only if it focuses on moral conflicts which transcend the particular situation in which they occur. It is the task of the teacher, therefore, to select content with that purpose in mind -- content whose relevence is not solely dependent upon the historical situation which it describes.

It is not the intention of this thesis to suggest all of the historical incidents which may be appropriate for Kohlbergian-type dilemmas. Needless to say, such a list would be of a considerable length. However, the following suggestions should make clearer the type of material which may prove suitable.

a) revolutionary movements (American, Chinese, Russian)

b) wars, conflicts, rebellions (World Wars, The Rebellion of 1837, The Vietnam War, The Riel Rebellions)

c) social and political movements (The Suffragette Movement, The Industrial Revolution, The Rise of Organized Labour)

d) minorities and interest or pressure groups (Indian-White relations, Immigration and the Opening of the West, Japanese-Canadians and World War II, French-Canadians)

e) the individual versus the state (The War Measures Act, The Conscription Crisis of 1917, Potlatch Laws, The Winnipeg General Strike)

Each of the above themes would seem to offer ample material from which dilemmas could be constructed.

The teacher who wishes to discuss, for example, the Winnipeg General Strike, might create an imaginary character who is faced with a dilemma in which he has to choose between obeying the law or joining in an illegal strike for better working and living conditions. The dilemma would relate, in detail, the social and political climate of Winnipeg and Canada at the time of the strike. It would attempt to recreate for the student, through the use of historical detail, the conditions facing the central character in the dilemma. The dilemma should be specific about the realities of the situation. In other words, it would be as 'real' as possible. The central character may be either an employer or an employee. Ideally, two dilemmas would be presented and the student would have the opportunity of seeing the conflict from two perspectives. The content of the dilemma would encourage role playing to a degree yet the central purpose would still be to have the student make a decision about what the central character should do in the situation. The student is certainly encouraged to empathize with the central character but only inasmuch as it allows him to appreciate the dynamics of the conflict.

An alternate approach in selecting historical content is to examine, in terms of a conflict, an actual historical character at an important instance in his life -- an instance in which the character is faced with a moral dilemma. An appropriate figure would be Louis Riel. The identity of the character may be either known or unknown

to the student. In either case, the student would see Riel (or Mr. X) in terms of the conditions in which the Rebellions occurred. The dilemma would describe the actions of the government in Ottawa and the nature of the Metis existence in Manitoba. It would supply biographical background on Riel -- his life prior to the Rebellions and his thinking during the time of the Rebellions. The student would then be asked to decide how Riel should act in the situation. A complementary dilemma might concern the actions of Macdonald and how he should respond to Riel's behaviour.

In summary, the use of historical content for the writing of a Kohlbergian-type dilemma should entail a relatively detailed presentation of an actual historical incident in which a central character, either real or imaginary, must make a decision about how he is going to respond to a particular set of circumstances. The writer of such dilemmas should select those historical incidents which are presentable in terms of how an individual might perceive them. The most important task facing the teacher, therefore, is to focus on those events in history which meet the above requirements. It is a task which is made easier when one reflects that history is very often the record of how one individual, or group of individuals, acted out a particular moment in time.

Chapter Three

Footnotes

(1) H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler, eds., The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 397.

Chapter Four

Presenting the Moral Dilemma in the Classroom

Methodology is of primary importance to the effective presentation of historical content in the form of Kohlbergian-type dilemmas. It has been stated that the basic format of the dilemma is a brief story followed by a series of questions. Without altering that format, it is possible to suggest various ways that the teacher can present the student with moral dilemmas drawn from history. It is the belief of this writer that moral dilemma stories drawn from history can be utilized as an integral part of a history course. It is also hoped that they will entail a methodology which will complement more traditional techniques for teaching history.

Having selected the content which is to be covered, the teacher must then formulate a series of stories which present the essential components of the material in conjunction with a central character who is, in a sense, experiencing the events being considered. The story, therefore, must contain the essential historical facts and it should give the student a broad view of the historical period in which the conflict occurs. The dilemma, of course, is not expected to give all sides of a particular question. It is an attempt to have the student step inside the mind of only one historical character. The student must make a decision about the preferred behaviour for that character only. He is not expected to determine 'proper' behaviour for all of the historical figures he may encounter. The dilemma focuses on only one central character at a time; other individuals are mentioned

only if they are essential to the moral conflict. Stating this suggests an important aspect of the methodology to be adopted.

The dilemma presented should, where possible, be only one of a set which, together, give the student a sense of all of the aspects of the issue being considered. Hence, a dilemma which focuses on Louis Riel should be accompanied by a dilemma which focuses on Sir John A. Macdonald. A dilemma which describes a native Indian's experience with Potlatch Laws should be accompanied by a dilemma in which the central character is an Indian agent responsible for administering those laws. In both cases, the student would be asked to decide what the central figure should do in the situation.

Because of the nature of Kohlbergian-type dilemmas, it is essential that the student not seek to replicate the actual events of history when making his decision. He should decide only in terms of the information supplied to him, and his decision should reflect his stage of moral development.

It is therefore suggested that when the teacher presents the dilemma story, he does not, at the same time, relate the actual decision made by the central character nor should he disclose the historical consequences of the incident or incidents. To do so would jeopardize the value of the student's decision and the degree to which it actually does reflect his moral thinking.

Once the student has made his decision about what the central figure in the dilemma should do, he should record that decision so as to avoid confusion at a later date. He then should be given an

alternate dilemma to consider, one that presents another historical figure grappling with the same issue from a different perspective. It may not always be appropriate, however, to consider another dilemma. This should occur only if the historical incident involves two or more central characters who exist, to a degree, in opposition to each other or who represent opposing positions on the issue.

Having considered one or more dilemmas and having made decisions about how individuals should behave, the student would then benefit from exposure to the actual historical consequences of the incident. The student may then compare his responses to the actual decision made by the central character. In the process, he may draw certain conclusions about the morality of the individual's behaviour. He may also begin to see the connection between moral thought and moral behaviour. The student should be encouraged to speculate about the behaviour which might follow from the moral decision the student has made. These last activities go beyond the intention of Kohlberg inasmuch as they fall into the realm of moral behaviour rather than moral thought. They are suggested here only inasmuch as they are a natural follow-through to the initial decision-making done by the student.

If the central character in the dilemma is fictional then a slightly different methodology is recommended. With a fictional character it would not be possible, of course, to check the decision precisely with actual historical events. However, the student should examine the events subsequent to the incident in question and speculate

how the decision he has made, should it differ from actual events, might have altered the course of history.

In brief, the student makes a decision about how an individual should act in a particular moral dilemma. He then compares his decision to that actually made by the individual or, in a general sense, to that made by the people at that moment in history. By a process of questioning, the student is forced to examine his own moral position and to see the consequences of that position.

A four step teaching process has been suggested by Ronald E. Galbraith and Thomas M. Jones in their book Moral Reasoning. The four steps suggested by them would appear to form an appropriate methodology for the presentation of Kohlbergian dilemmas whose content is drawn from history. The four steps may be summarized as follows:

i) The student confronts the dilemma. The teacher ensures that the student understands the terminology used in the dilemma and the problem which faces the central character.

ii) The student states a tentative position on the dilemma after careful analysis and thought. Galbraith and Jones suggest that the teacher determine how the class as a whole feels on the issue. Selected student may also be asked to state their positions on the dilemma so as to demonstrate to the class that different opinions on the conflict are possible.

iii) The teacher should then, through questioning, examine the reasoning which has led to the stated positions on the dilemma. The evaluation should be open ended and not indicate the existence of a 'right answer', nor should they indicate intolerance of any one position. In short, they should seek to encourage student self-criticism, analysis and extrapolation. The class as a whole should be encouraged to participate in the questioning process. Such

questioning may be conducted with the entire class or in small groups in which the teacher's role is more one of facilitator than of leader.

iv) The final phase of the discussion should focus around the teacher assisting the students to once again reflect on their positions concerning the dilemma. Certain students may indicate that their thinking has altered during the course of the discussion. However, the objective is not to formulate a consensus opinion or draw any final conclusions. The process should remain open-ended and the students should be encouraged to continue thinking about the dilemma.(1)

The teacher adopting the above methodology has a number of options open to him in terms of when related or complementary material is presented to the student. He may introduce a second and related dilemma between steps iii and iv or he may wait till after completion of step iv to engage the student in a second moral conflict. It would appear that the first approach would be preferable for it would ensure a more balanced presentation of the incident from a variety of perspectives.

The primary purpose underlying the methodology should be the presentation of a moral conflict in a way which ensures the student's understanding of the problem in the dilemma. The teacher should therefore decide whether a second dilemma between steps iii and iv might cloud rather than clarify the issues being considered. It is suggested, however, that a second dilemma, if appropriate to the historical content, be presented at some point in the teaching process in order to ensure a balanced presentation of the issues involved in the historical incident. It would also be a valid way of following through on the moral reasoning demonstrated by the student and of encouraging an open-ended analysis of the moral issues involved.

Upon completion of step iv and the presentation of all of

the dilemmas, the student should then be exposed to the historical consequences of the moral conflict which has been considered. The student should gain an awareness of what really happened and he should be encouraged to speculate on the moral character of the subsequent events. Emphasis should be on comparing and contrasting the moral decision made by the student with those made by the actual historical figures. This would also be an appropriate time to have the student speculate on what action or sequence of events might have followed from the moral position he had advocated for resolving the dilemma.

In summary, the recommended methodology is as follows. The teacher adopts the role of clarifier and questionner. He first ensures student understanding of the moral conflict. He then encourages the student to make a decision about what the central character in the dilemma should do. That decision is then examined in an open and censure-free environment, one in which the student is encouraged to critically analyse both his own decision and those of his peers. The teacher then repeats the process with alternative dilemmas or proceeds to a general discussion of the historical material from which the dilemma has been drawn. The process becomes both a spur to moral involvement, in the Kohlbergian sense, and a valid and effective methodology for the teaching of history.

A brief mention should be made at this time of the type of materials which would be most appropriate for this approach to the teaching of history. Inasmuch as the emphasis is on individual responses to historical events, the best type of material would be that which

concentrates on the personality and character of historical figures. The details of a person's life would help contribute an important sense of what the individual was like as a human being. The dilemma seeks to have the student identify with the central character or, at the very least, have the student empathize with the character's dilemma. It is important therefore that the character be believable. Excessive detail may only confuse the issues in the conflict but a certain amount is necessary for the central character in the dilemma is, in many instances, an actual historical figure, one whom the student should come to recognize and understand.

The final chapter of this thesis presents a series of complete historical dilemmas drawn from the content of Canadian history. Also included is a set of 'Instructions to the Teacher' which are intended to assist the teacher in presenting historical dilemmas in the classroom.

Chapter Four

Footnotes

(1) The four steps have been adapted, with certain modifications, from E. Galbraith and Thomas M. Jones, Moral Reasoning. Anoka, Minnesota: Greenhaven Press, 1976, 61 - 64. For a more detailed discussion of the proposed teaching methodology, please see Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Chapter 5

Instructions to the Teacher and Sample Dilemmas

This chapter will present in detail a set of curriculum materials based on the method of teaching advocated by this thesis. An attempt will be made to approximate, as closely as possible, the form in which such materials would be most effectively presented in the classroom. The following components are included in this presentation:

(a) Instructions to the Teacher

(b) Background Briefing Papers (one per dilemma)

(c) Profile Cards

(d) Suggested Follow-Up Questions

(e) Bibliography for each Dilemma

Instructions to the Teacher

The following curriculum materials are designed to deepen student understanding of particular historical incidents. Each incident focuses on a moral dilemma and the dynamics of that dilemma are drawn from history. The student is asked to make a decision about what the central character in the dilemma 'should do'. The format of the dilemma is drawn from the work of Lawrence Kohlberg. The emphasis, however, is on effective methodology in teaching history.

The Role of the Teacher

The role of the teacher in the presentation of the history dilemma is essentially that of facilitator and questionner. The central and primary purpose underlying this approach to teaching history is to allow the student to freely arrive at moral decisions based on his own interpretation of the appropriate behaviour called for by the dilemma. The teacher should therefore not appear as the proponent of any one 'right' answer, nor should he attempt to influence the student in favour of one particular pattern of reasoning. What he should do, however, is assist the student in considering all of the possible consequences of his moral decision and insure that the student has a clear and logical set of reasons for the moral position he has adopted. In brief, the role of the teacher is essentially a non-directive one, the purpose being not to instruct the student but rather to ensure that the student's decision making process is free from irrelevent or unrelated considerations.

The Teaching Process

Step 1 - The Introduction

The teacher should discuss, in general terms, the period in history from which the dilemma is drawn. The student should be made aware of the events leading up to the dilemma. It is important that the student have an understanding of how the particular conflict being considered happened to have arisen.

i) The purpose of an introduction to a dilemma is to place that dilemma in the broader context of history.

ii) The introduction should explore certain basic historical themes. (i.e. a discussion of the Winnipeg General Strike Dilemma should be preceded by a general discussion of changing labour-management relations and employer rights in 19th and 20th century Canada.)

iii) The introduction sets the scene for the dilemma. It encourages the student to see the dilemma as being real, in the historical sense, rather than simply a teacher fabricated intellectual exercise.

iv) The exact form of the dilemma introduction is left to the discretion of the teacher. The teacher may use a number of methods to set the scene. A combination of lectures, primary readings and discussions is recommended (suggested materials accompany each dilemma). There are, however, certain

important considerations which must be followed if the process is to be successful.

1) First and foremost, no introduction should include a consideration of events subsequent to the time of the dilemma. Only historical content drawn from the time preceding the dilemma should be considered. The student should be ignorant of how the conflict was resolved in history.

2) Of course, if the central character of the dilemma is imaginary, the problem becomes less acute. Yet even a decision about an imaginary character may be influenced by a knowledge of how the conflict was, in a general way, resolved. It is therefore essential that the student confront the dilemma with as little foreknowledge of events subsequent to the dilemma in question as possible. Only this will ensure that the student's response to the conflict is honest and unprejudiced.

Step II- Background Papers and Profile Cards

Background Papers and Profile Cards accompany each dilemma. It is suggested that each student receive a copy of the paper and a card prior to reading the actual dilemma.

Every teacher has a unique approach to the teaching of history. As such, the Background Papers and Profile Cards are not intended to be exhaustive treatments of the period in history being considered. The Background Paper is intended only to give each student a brief introduction to the period in history from which the dilemma is drawn. It is designed so that each student has a summary of the period to which he may refer while he is considering the dilemma. The Profile Cards are intended to assist the student more effectively to identify with the central character of the dilemma. They are designed so that the student will be able to see the character as being a real person, with a past and a set of experiences which may or may not be related to his present predicament. The purpose is to encourage empathy on the part of the student with the central character in the dilemma. Each student receives the same Profile Card and Background Paper so that each confronts the dilemma from the same resource base.

It is presumed that individual teachers will supplement the information contained in the Background Papers and Profile Cards with personal observations about the material. However, it is imperative that the teacher introduce the topic in an unbiased and unprejudiced fashion. To favour any particular course of action will only invalidate the student's decision making process.

Step III- The Dilemma

The next step in the process involves student consideration of the actual dilemma.

i) Each student should receive a copy of the dilemma.

ii) The teacher should ensure that the students understand the vocabulary of the document and the nature of the dilemma.

iii) Potential confusion may be eliminated by having a sampling of students restate the conflict in their own words. This would allow the teacher to test for understanding, as well as to ensure that all members of the class have a clear understanding of what is required of them. The final sentence of the dilemma will be the statement of the question. It is the question that the student must answer. Time should be given for careful consideration of this question. It is important that the student not feel rushed, for that may reflect on the quality and sincerety of his response.

iv) The teacher should supply each student with a 'Response Paper' on which the student will record his resolution of the dilemma. This not only forces the student to articulate his feelings but it also may serve as a useful reminder to the student of his initial reaction to the conflict.

Step IV

The first part of the next step involves the class as a whole. The teacher now attempts to establish how the class feels about the dilemma. This step allows individual students to compare their responses to those of their classmates. It is imperative that this step of the process occur in an atmosphere free from potential censure. The student must feel that his opinion, regardless of what it may be, has value. The dilemmas themselves assure this to a degree inasmuch as they favour no clear and indisputable course of action. The teacher, however, should ensure that the students perceive the resolution of the dilemma as being a personal decision based on the student's own perception of what is right and wrong.

Two ways in which the feelings of the class as a whole may be measured are:

1) a vote by hands in favour of the variety of possible decisions which the central character might make or
2) a secret ballot in which the student is asked to vote for two or more possible courses of action.

In both cases, the teacher is given an indication of the degree of disagreement which exists in the class. If there is near unanimity about one particular course of action, then the teacher should have the students suggest rationales for adopting this preferred course of action. He should then proceed to the next dilemma and repeat the process. However, if there is significant disagreement in the class then the teacher should begin to explore the rationales underlying

the different moral positions. This can be done in the following manner:

> The teacher asks a cross-section of students to volunteer their reasons for selecting the position they have adopted. The teacher should assist the students in clarifying and expanding their position. The teacher should not criticize the reasoning in terms of the position stated.
>
> However, he should assist each student in perceiving inconsistencies in logic and the possible consequences of the position, should it be carried to its logical conclusion.

This should not be a teacher-centered discussion. Other members of the class should be encouraged to contribute, either by questionning or by stating their own positions.

The discussion of the topic may be enhanced by breaking the class into small groups composed of students holding varying view on the dilemma. The teacher is then free to circulate among the groups, assisting each in clarifying and expanding upon their initial reasoning.

Step V

The next step involves consideration of alternative dilemmas related to the initial dilemma but illustrating different perspectives of the situation. The process is repeated for each dilemma.

Step VI

Once all of the dilemmas have been considered the students should be asked to reconsider their response sheets and make any changes which they feel are appropriate.

Step VII

The final step in the process involves a consideration of the actual historical events subsequent to the historical incident covered by the dilemmas. This may be accomplished in a number of ways.

(a) The teacher could recount to the class as a whole the historical consequences of the dilemma.

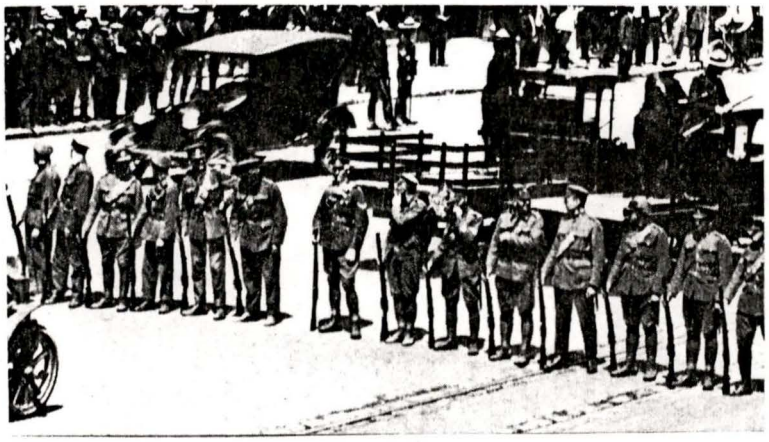
(b) The students could research the incident themselves and report their findings.

(c) Appropriate pages in an available resource book could be assigned.

(d) A few selected students representing opposing viewpoints on the dilemma could be asked to research the incident and report their findings to the class.

This final step should involve a general class discussion of the dilemmas and the historical consequences of the conflict. The students should be encouraged to speculate how the course of history might have been different if people had acted differently in the conflict situations which have been considered.

A CITY DIVIDED



1.

A City Divided
Background Paper

Winnipeg in 1919 is a city divided. On the one side are the businessmen and politicians who represent the established centres of power and influence in the community. On the other side are the workers who are employed in the plants and factories of Winnipeg.

Winnipeg has grown rapidly in the past forty years. In the process, political power in the community has come to rest with individuals who are, for the most part, successful businessmen. This combination of political and economic influence gives the leading citizens of the town a powerful base from which to oppose any force which might disrupt the peace and prosperity of the business community. One such force which is both feared and hated by businessmen is the union movement. Unions represent a serious challenge to the established order in Winnipeg. They also represent a serious threat to Winnipeg's ability to compete in national and international markets. The high shipping costs, both to and from Winnipeg, make it imperative that other costs, such as wages, remain as low as possible. Many individuals in Winnipeg also see unions as the refuge of persons who are too weak to make it on their own -- persons who are incapable of succeeding without the assistance of combinations and organizations. This then is Winnipeg in 1919 -- a town run by businessmen for businessmen.

What then of the worker, for he too has come to Winnipeg seeking his fortune. However, he increasingly finds himself denied a share in the growing prosperity of the city. Low wages mean poor living conditions. They also result in feelings of bitterness and hatred towards the employers. Union organization seems to offer a real alternative to the feeling of powerlessness experienced by many of the workers. If the businessmen will not distribute the wealth of the city fairly, then the workers will have to force them to do so. Higher wages and improved working conditions are the desired end and the strike is the means to achieve it.

Since the turn of the century, workers in Winnipeg have turned with increasing frequency to the strike as a tool for getting what they want, and each time they have faced increasing resistance on the part of the employers to accede to their demands. Strikebreakers, court injunctions and, in one case, the armed militia have been used by the business community against the unions. Compounding the problem is a growing belief by many businessment that the union movement is tied to communism. It is a belief which has been strengthened by recent events in Russia. Labour-management relations in Winnipeg are marked by bitterness, hatred and mistrust on both sides. A short-lived general strike in 1918 has proved successful and, from that time on, the general strike is seen by many workers as the major weapon in the union arsenal -- to be used when all else fails.

Background Paper

Profile Card

A City Divided
Profile Card #1
John Davidson

Age: 25
Occupation: Metal Worker
Home: Winnipeg, Manitoba
Family: Married -- three children; ages, 3, 2 and 6 months
Education: Left school in Grade 6

Davidson, like many of his fellow workers, learned his trade by apprenticing to a skilled worker when he was fifteen years old. He has been employed by the same Winnipeg metal shop for the past five years. He enjoys his job although he has found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet on the salary he earns. He does not own his own house but instead rents a three room apartment in Winnipeg's North End. The apartment is in poor condition -- it is cold in the winter and hot in the summer. There is no indoor plumbing or running water.

John agrees that his employer can afford to pay his employees more than he does. One of the main reasons he joined his union in the first place was to work for higher wages and better working conditions. He has supported the strike at his plant since the beginning although it has caused he and his family a great deal of hardship. However, the prospect of a general strike is something new to consider. While he believes in workers' rights, he is also very respectful of the law. He realizes that a general strike may be the only means left to the workers to pressure the employers into acceding to their demands. However, a general strike may be against the law. It may also result in increased hardship for his family should he be arrested.

A City Divided
Dilemma #1

Time: May, 1919
Place: Winnipeg, Manitoba

John Davidson, a member of the Metal Trades Union, has been on strike for a number of weeks, protesting the refusal of his employer to allow his union to bargain collectively. The strikers have been able to gain the support of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council which has just called for a general strike to support the demands of Davidson's union. A general strike will result in the virtual shutting down of the city. Davidson strongly supports the demands of his union but is uneasy that a general strike may cause hardships for the citizens of Winnipeg.

Certain friends of Davidson argue that a general strike is illegal and that Davidson and other union members should not support one if it is called. On the other hand, union leaders argue that a general strike is the only means left to force the employers to meet their demands. In this case, they argue, the law must be broken. Davidson is not sure whether to support a general strike.

What Should Davidson Do?

Dilemma 1.

A City Divided
Dilemma #1
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Davidson should support the General Strike.

i) Why?
ii) Should Davidson be liable for arrest?
iii) Should a general strike include all areas of employment? Hospital workers? Police? Firemen?
iv) Does Davidson have a responsibility to see that his family is cared for?
v) Is he fulfilling that responsibility by supporting the strike?

Response: Davidson should not support the strike.

i) Why?
ii) If the strike succeeds, is Davidson entitled to the benefits which it may win for the workers?
iii) Should Davidson go back to work if a general strike is called?

General Questions

i) Are there differences between a strike and a 'general strike'? Is so, what are they?
ii) Should a worker have to belong to a union?
iii) Should a worker have to obey the orders of a union?
iv) If a general strike furthers certain political beliefs, is the government justified in opposing the strike on the basis of those beliefs? Why or why not?

A City Divided
Profile Card #2
Peter McFadden

Age: 55
Occupation: Manufacturer
Home: Winnipeg, Manitoba
Family: Wife; 2 sons, one a lawyer in Ottawa, the other a doctor in Vancouver
Education: Left School in Grade 9

Peter McFadden is a self-made man. He came west when he was nineteen years old. Manitoba in those days had been a rugged and brutal country in which a man had to work hard for what he wanted. McFadden had worked hard and success had been his reward. He had built his firm, Winnipeg General Metal Works, up from nothing. Today that firm employs 150 men. It is the second largest metal firm west of the Great Lakes. McFadden has prospered and he has been able to give his sons the education he missed.

McFadden believes strongly in free enterprise and his rights as a businessman to run his business the way he wants. Unions want to limit those rights or, at the very least, inhibit his ability to make money. He believes that unions are communist-inspired and a threat, not only to his business, but to the economic prosperity of Winnipeg as a whole.

Profile Card

A City Divided
Dilemma #2

Peter McFadden, the owner of the Winnipeg General Metal Works, has refused his workers' demands for collective bargaining rights. He is opposed to the idea of unions and see them as a threat to the Canadian economic system. He feels that strikes are a serious attempt to overturn British institutions in this western country and to supplant them with the Russian Bolshevik system of Soviet rule. He has therefore dismissed the striking workers from his plant and recruited non-union workers from outside the city. However, when the non-union workers attempt to enter his factory, they are turned away by his striking former employees. McFadden is angered and frustrated by this new turn of events. Other manufacturers urge McFadden to use force if necessary to re-open his business. McFadden hesitates for he realizes that force may result in injuries. However, he is determined to see his plant operating again.

What Should McFadden Do?

Dilemma 2.

A City Divided
Dilemma #2
Follow-Up Questions

Response: McFadden should use force if necessary to re-open his plant.

i) Why?
ii) Is McFadden responsible if someone is injured?
iii) Is it McFadden's right to employ non-union workers? Why?
iv) Are there any limitations on who McFadden may employ to operate his plant?
v) Does he have any responsibility to his striking former employees?

Response: McFadden should not use force to re-open his plant.

i) Why?
ii) Should he therefore give in to the union's demands?
iii) Should he be allowed to use force if the union really is communist inspired or controlled? Why?
iv) Should the police assist McFadden in re-opening his plant?

General Questions

i) Should a businessman be allowed to run his business any way he wants with whomever he wants to employ?
ii) When the rights of an employer conflict with those of an employee, whose rights should prevail? What criteria should be used to answer that question?
iii) Do unions automatically have political motives? If so, what are they?

A City Divided
Profile Card #3
John Brownly

Age: 18
Occupation: No special skill or trade; unemployed at present
Home: Brandon, Manitoba
Family: Mother and Father, 4 brothers and 2 sisters
Education: Left school after grade four

John Brownly's life so far has been a series of disappointments. Unsuccessful in school, he has drifted from job to job, never staying long in any one position. Having so special skill or training, John finds it difficult to locate work, especially in a small town like Brandon.

He comes from a large and poor family. There are six children still at home so his parents have their hands full just making ends meet.

John has come to Winnipeg to try to get a job since he no longer wants to be a burden to his parents. Winnipeg look like a last chance to John. If he fails there, he is not sure what he will do.

Profile Card

A City Divided
Dilemma #3

Time: May, 1919
Place: Winnipeg, Manitoba

John Brownly, a young man from Brandon, Manitoba, has recently moved to Winnipeg in search of work. He finds, to his misfortune, that Winnipeg is a city torn by union-management strife.

Workers all over the city are responding to the call for a general strike in support of the already striking metal workers.

Brownly, being new to the city, is unfamiliar with the underlying causes of the dispute and he is not overly anxious to become involved for he feels that he has enough problems of his own. He is down to his last dollar and, unless he finds work soon, he will have to return to Brandon. While having a cup of coffee one morning, he overhears some workers say that a metal shop is hiring unskilled labourers on a first come, first hired basis. Brownly quickly locates the plant since this seems to be the chance he has been waiting for. However, when he arrives at the plant, he realizes that the workers are on strike. A picket line stands in his way and, in order to be hired, he must cross it.

Brownly must make a decision. He must either cross the picket line and get the job he needs or honour the line and thereby lose this chance for work.

What Should Brownly Do?

Dilemma 3.

A City Divided
Dilemma #3
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Brownly should cross the picket line.

i) Why?
ii) Is it an employee's right to work for whatever wage he wishes?
iii) Should Brownly receive police assistance in crossing the picket line?
iv) Is Brownly taking a job away from someone else by crossing the picket line?
v) Is Brownly's need for a job more important than the union's strike?
vi) Does crossing the picket line imply that Brownly does not support the demands of the union -- even though he doesn't know what they are?

Response: Brownly should not cross the picket line

i) Why?
ii) Should Brownly join the union?
iii) Does Brownly indicate support for the union's demands by not crossing the picket line -- even though he does not know what they are?
iv) Does Brownly suffer more than the workers in this incident?

General Questions

i) Should a person have the right to work?
ii) Should a person have the right to set his own conditions of employment?
iii) If he crosses the picket line is Brownly, and others like him, therefore on the side of the employer in the conflict? Why or why not?

A City Divided

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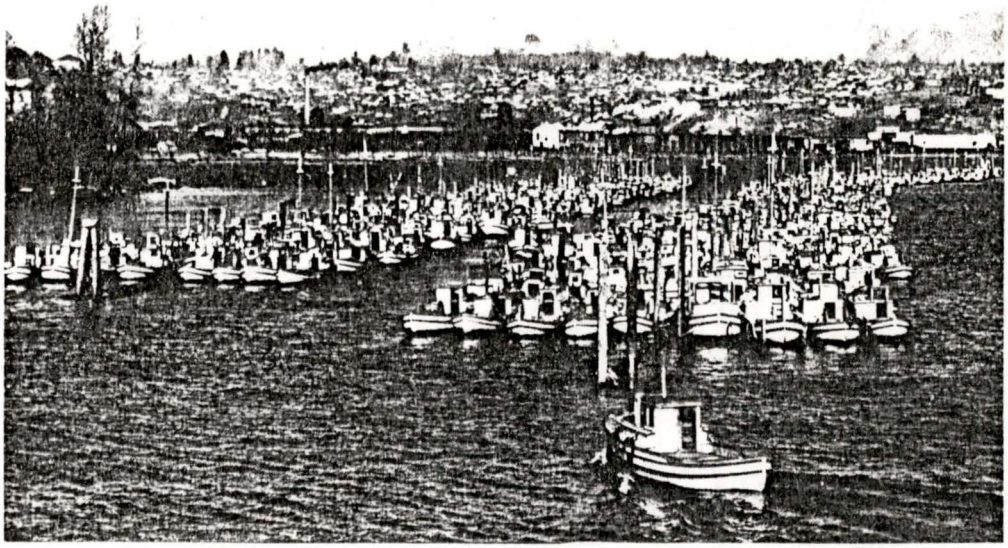
A QUESTION OF LOYALTY



2.

Background Paper

A Question of Loyalty
Background Paper

On December 7, 1941, the armed forces of Imperial Japan attacked and destroyed the American naval base of Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands. The immediate consequence of this action was America's entry into World War II. However, the Americans were not the only ones who reacted quickly and violently to the Japanese attack.

Relations between the Japanese and whites in British Columbia had never been friendly. To many whites, the Japanese willingness to work long hours for low wages threatened the general welfare of the working man in B.C. Their determination to avoid assimilation was also a source of resentment for many whites. At the outset, these characteristics had only reflected a desire on the part of many Japanese to work hard, save as much money as possible, and return to Japan. At least this had been the case in the early part of this century.

As time passed, many Japanese changed their minds and made a decision to settle permanently in British Columbia. They continued, however, to be extremely industrious and self-sufficient. This only tended to add to the animosity felt by many whites towards them.

Government measures had been introduced as far back as 1908 to discourage large-scale Japanese immigration to Canada. A 'gentlemen's agreement' effectively limited the number of Japanese allowed to enter Canada. Other measures had been introduced to limit Japanese participation in the mining, fishing and construction industries. The Japanese-Canadian was also denied the vote in federal and provincial elections.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour is the spark which ignites an already volatile racial situation. Many white Canadians look on the attack as an example of Japanese treachery and deceit and they soon find a target for their anger and fears in the Japanese-Canadians of British Columbia.

A Question of Loyalty
Profile Card #1
William Lyon Mackenzie King

Occupation: Prime Minister of Canada and Leader of the Liberal Party
Home: Born in Kitchener, Ontario on December 17, 1874; King is a resident of Ottawa in 1941
Family: King is unmarried

Mackenzie King is a man of many contrasts and contradictions. While he is proud of his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, and his role in the Rebellion of 1837, King's approach to politics is cautious and careful in the extreme. A staunch supporter of the British connection, King is also extremely sensitive when it comes to issues affecting Canadian independence.

King, like many others, believed in a policy of appeasement towards Hitler in the years before the war. He has met once with Hitler and concluded that he was not someone that Canada need worry about.

King is a lawyer by training and he brings a lawyer's cautious weighing of evidence to the process of political decision-making.

Profile Card

Dilemma 1.

A Question of Loyalty
Dilemma #1

The bombing of Pearl Harbour has caused a rapid growth in anti-Japanese feelings in British Columbia. Prejudice towards the Japanese-Canadian is not a new phenomena in Canada. However, this attack seems to typify, for many Canadians, characteristics which they have always attributed to Japanese-Canadians. The bombing of Pearl Harbour provides anti-Japanese interests in the province with savory propaganda items which far exceed their most optimistic hopes. The very nature of the attacks -- its 'treacherous' and 'sneak' method of execution -- seems to underscore indelibly all the principal charges and insinuations which have been carefully nurtured on the west coast for decades. If ever there was an opportunity to achieve the ultimate objective of ridding the province -- and Canada -- entirely of its Japanese minority, this is certainly it. Here is an incident which seems to prove all of the racial propaganda which has been directed against the Japanese-Canadians. Most Canadians cannot or will not distinguish between the Japanese and persons in British Columbia of Japanese origin. They are one in the same -- the enemy which is both feared and hated. Politicians, newspapermen and private citizens quickly begin to call for government action to remove the Japanese from their midst.

Government inaction on the matter seems to encourage minor individual acts of violence and vandalism towards the Japanese in British Columbia. Prime Minister Mackenzie King is faced with a difficult situation. He has to make a decision and quickly. On the one hand, some persons are calling for the immediate and total evacuation of all persons of Japanese origin from the coast of British Columbia. On the other hands, officers of the Canadian army assure King that there is no direct threat of a Japanese invasion and, even if there is, can King assume that the Japanese-Canadians pose a threat to Canada simply because they share a common racial background with the potential invaders. Canada is at war with Germany and Italy, yet the only precaution taken against German and Italian nationals in Canada is to require them to report regularly to the Registrar of Enemy Aliens. No action has been taken to remove them from sensitive areas of the country.

Yet King has to act and act quickly if the situation is to be controlled by the government. He can either accede to the demands for evacuation or he can refuse those demands.

What Should King Do?

A Question of Loyalty
Dilemma #1
Follow-Up Questions

Response: King should order the evacuation.

i) Why?
ii) Should the evacuation apply to all persons of Japanese extraction?
iii) Should he also order the evacuation of Italian and German Canadians?
iv) Is the evacuation for the safety of the Japanese-Canadians or the whites? Does it make a difference?
v) To where should the Japanese-Canadians be evacuated?
vi) What action should King take if the Japanese-Canadians resist?

Response: King should not order the evacuation.

i) Why?
ii) Is King responsible if certain Japanese-Canadians in B.C. do assist the Japanese war effort?
iii) Should King do anything to protect the Japanese-Canadians from acts of violence? If so, what?
iv) Should this decision change if a Japanese invasion proves to be imminent? Why?

General Questions

i) In times of war, is it sometimes necessary to suspend individual freedoms? If so, why?
ii) Does King have a duty to protect the Canadian people from a potential threat to their security?
iii) Does the evacuation of the Japanese fulfill this duty? Why or why not?
iv) Would the deportation of the Japanese-Canadians be legal? How is the legality of an action determined?

A Question of Loyalty
Profile Card #2
John Martin

Age: 30
Occupation: Fisherman
Home: Steveston, B. C.
Family: Married with two children; ages 3 and 5

John Martin has been fishing on the Fraser River all of his life. When he was very young he used to help his father who was also a fisherman.

Getting his own boat when he was only seventeen, John soon proved himself adept at finding and catching salmon. He is a successful fisherman and he makes a good living.

John is exempt from military service because fishing is classified as being essential to Canada's war effort.

The other fishermen respect John, not only for his success as a fisherman, but also because he is a thoughtful and reflective person who is both evenhanded and fair. When John speaks, others listen.

John neither likes nor dislikes the Japanese fishermen. He numbers none among his close friends although he does respect their ability as fishermen and their willingness to work hard.

Profile Card

A Question of Loyalty
Dilemma #2

One day in January of 1942 John Martin is approached by a group of his fellow fishermen. They have started a petition demanding the immediate expulsion of all Japanese Canadians from the coast of B.C. They have come to ask John to sign the petition. John is hesitant about signing for he is not certain what government action, if any, is required. Certain of his friends argue that the Japanese are not to be trusted; that an attack from Japan is imminent and that the government should take the steps necessary to protect B.C. from potential collaborators and traitors operating within the province.

Others stress the seperateness of the Japanese; their reluctance to become like other Canadians; their determination to keep their Japanese customs and traditions. Surely such people can't be loyal Canadians? One friend suggests that deportation of the Japanese will rightly improve the economic conditions of the white fishermen on the coast. John listens carefully to these arguments but he is still unsure of whether to sign the petition or not.

What Should John Do?

Dilemma 2.

A Question of Loyalty
Dilemma #2
Follow-Up Questions

Response: John should sign the petition.

i) Why?
ii) Does this mean that John favours the evacuation of all Japanese-Canadians?
iii) Should John sign the petition if he stands to benefit financially from the evacuation?
iv) Should John sign if this will influence others to sign?
v) Is John responsible if the Japanese-Canadians are put in prison?

Response: John should not sign the petition.

i) Why?
ii) Does this mean that John disagrees with the proposed evacuation?
iii) Does this mean that he believes that all Japanese-Canadians can be trusted?
iv) Is John partly responsible if certain Japanese-Canadians do support or assist Japan in the war?
v) Should John start a counter petition opposing the evacuation?

General Questions

i) Is signing a petition a political act? Why or why not?
ii) Is the person who signs a petition responsible for any and all actions which may be initiated by that petition?
iii) Should people who will benefit materially from a political decision be barred from the decision-making process?

A Question of Loyalty
Profile Card #3
William Nishi

Age: 34
Occupation: Fisherman
Home: Steveston, B. C.
Family: Wife and three children: ages 2, 6 and 8

Bill and his family have lived in B. C. all their lives. Bill is a Canadian by birth and citizenship, as is his wife. He is also a Japanese-Canadian, as are most of his friends. He is a successful fisherman and he enjoys living and working in B. C.

Bill has kept many of the traditions of his parents. He and his wife are fluently bilingual, as are his children. Their style of living is a combination of Japanese and Canadian habits and customs. Bill likes to think that he and his family have adopted the best from each culture.

Bill is not overly political although he is aware of injustices which do exist towards Japanese-Canadians in B.C. He has not ignored them but he has learned to live with them, hoping that, in time, they will be eliminated from Canadian society.

Profile Card

A Question of Loyalty
Dilemma #3

Bill Nishi has returned from mending his net to find his home filled with neighbours and relatives. He knows why they have come. They too have heard of the government's decision to evacuate all Canadians of Japanese descent away from the coast of B.C.

Bill, when he first heard the news, had been shocked and angered. He had been born in Canada. He has always worked hard and he considers himself to be a good citizen. Now the government is saying that he and other Japanese-Canadians are a threat to Canada -- something to be feared and hated. Bill listens to his neighbours talk about the matter. Some are for going along peacefully with the government's orders. Others are for resisting the evacuation. One man argues that resistance will only confirm the suspicions of the whites -- that the Japanese are sympathetic to the enemy. The only way to prove the loyalty of the Japanese-Canadian is to go along peacefully with whatever the government orders. To Bill, this will mean the loss of everything for which he has worked all his life. Bill doesn't know what to do. Should he resist the deportation or should he obey the law?

What Should Bill Do?

Dilemma 3.

A Question of Loyalty
Dilemma #3
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Bill should obey the law.

i) Why?
ii) Is Bill a potential threat to national security?
iii) Is Bill's family a potential threat to national security?
iv) Is it Bill's duty as a Canadian to obey the law?
v) Is Bill a Canadian or is he different than other Canadians? If so, in what way?
vi) Will Bill prove that he is a 'good' Canadian by obeying the law?
vii) Does Bill have to prove that he is a good Canadian?

Response: Bill should not obey the law.

i) Why?
ii) Does Bill therefore support the Japanese war effort?
iii) Should Bill be prepared to go to jail?
iv) Should Bill attempt to organize resistance to the law?

General Questions

i) Does Bill have an obligation to resist the law if he disagrees with it?
ii) Does a government have the right to legislate against groups rather than individuals?
iii) If the majority of the Japanese-Canadians actively supported the Japanese war effort, would the government be justified in evacuating them? Why or why not?
iv) Should Bill emmigrate to Japan after the war? Why or why not?

A Question of Loyalty

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A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE

3.

A Matter of Conscience
Background Paper

In August of 1914 war broke out in Europe. The assasination of an obscure Austrian aristocrat in a small town in Serbia sparks the confrontation. The massive armies of the Triple Entente: England, France and Russia and the Dual Alliance: Germany and Austro-Hungary are soon facing each other along a battle line which reaches from Holland to the Mediterranean. Canada, being a member of the British Empire, finds herself automatically involved in the war, and Canadians, at first, welcome this opportunity to join in the fighting. When the war starts, Canada's military forces are very small in number and poorly equipped, and Canada has to make an enormous effort to make a meaningful contribution to the war effort. However, the effort is forthcoming and, by October of 1914, over 30,000 Canadian soldiers have landed in Britain for training. This is a significant number for a country with a population of only eight million people. Canadians initially see the war as a struggle against the forces of oppression and despotism. They feel that it is, in a way, Canada's as well as England's war.

However, as the war drags on into 1915 and 1916, public support begins to wane. High casualities and the fact that victory seems no closer at hand both begin to affect public morale. The most serious consequence of this is a decline in enlistment in the armed forces. In January of 1917, over 29,000 men enlisted. By August of the same year, the number has dropped to 3000. With victory still not assured, the government looks with growing alarm at this new turn of events.

Background Paper

A Matter of Conscience
Profile Card #1
Robert Borden

Age: 63
Occupation: Prime Minister of Canada since 1911.
Leader of the Conservative Party since 1901.
Home: Ottawa. Native of Grand Pre, Nova Scotia.
Family: Wife: Laura Bond Borden. Robert Borden and his wife have no children.
Time: May 3, 1917

Robert Borden's early life was spent in the small Nova Scotia town of Grand Pre. He became a lawyer when he was 23 and he practiced law until he was elected to Parliament in 1896. Proving himself to be an effective parliamentarian, he quickly gained the respect and support of his fellow Conservatives. In a short five years after entering Parliament, he was elected leader of the Conservative Party. He immediately set about to reorganize and restructure the party. His efforts paid off in the election of 1911 when the Conservatives emerged victorious over Laurier's Liberals.

Borden is Prime Minister in 1914 when war breaks out in Europe. He proves to be an ardent supporter of Canada's involvement in the war. He introduces measures which give the government unprecedented emergency powers which he feels are necessary if Canada's war effort is to be a success. He believes strongly in Canada's ties to Great Britain, although he also envisions an independent role for Canada in the affairs of the Empire.

Profile Card

A Matter of Conscience
Dilemma #1
Time: May 2, 1917
Place: The Prime Minister's Office, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

In 1916 and early 1917, it has become obvious to Robert Borden that Canadian enthusiasm for the war is beginning to diminish. Falling enlistment figures reflect a growing dissatisfaction with a war which has dragged on for three long years. Borden feels, however, that if the war is to be brought to a successful conclusion, then it is imperative that Canada's effort not slacken. It is also imperative, therefore, that the strength of the Canadian army in Europe be maintained. But how is this to be accomplished? If Canadians refuse to join the army, then little can be done to coax them. Something has to be done to remedy the situation and quickly. Advisors to Borden suggest compulsory military service -- conscription -- as the only answer. Borden realizes, however, that conscription is a hated word in Quebec, as well as in other parts of the country. The war has never been popular in Quebec. It has been seen by many Quebecers as only another British Imperialist adventure, and few French-Canadians are sympathetic to such a cause. Their culture and history compel them to look on England as a conquerer; a source of oppression and intolerance, and conscription as only another instance of English Canada denying to French-Canadians their rights as equal partners in Confederation. Even France's involvement in the war has not lessened French-Canadian antagonism towards compulsory service in the armed forces. Borden realizes the unpopularity of conscription. Farmers on the Prairies are almost as strongly opposed to it as are the French-Canadians. However, something has to be done or very soon the Canadian army will cease to be an effective fighting force. The decision is Borden's. He can either introduce conscription or jeopardize Canada's war effort.

What Should Borden Do?

Dilemma 1.

A Matter of Conscience
Dilemma #1
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Borden should introduce conscription.

i) Why?
ii) Should the government have the right to force people to bear arms?
iii) Should a government continue to fight a war which the majority of the people in the country oppose?
iv) Should the majority have the right to force their beliefs onto a minority?

Response: Borden should not introduce conscription.

i) Why?
ii) Is Borden responsible if the allied war effort suffers?
iii) Does Canada have a responsibility to its allies?
iv) Is that responsibility less important than Borden's responsibility to the electorate?
v) Should Borden's decision change if Canada is in danger of being invaded?

General Questions

i) Should the government have the right to force people to participate in a war?
ii) Can a government always follow the wishes of the majority while still respecting the rights of the minority?
iii) If the majority of Canadians opposed conscription, should it still be introduced?

A Matter of Conscience
Profile Care #2
Paul-Emile Levesque

Age: 21
Occupation: Clerk in a general store
Home: Trois Rivières, Quebec
Family: Single; Mother and Father and two sisters

Paul-Emile's family has lived in Trois Rivières for as long as anyone can remember. The Levesques can trace their family roots back to 1713 when the first Levesque immigrated to New France from Bordeaux. After leaving school, Paul-Emile went north to work in the lumber camps. He stayed there for three years but now he has returned to live and work in Trois Rivières. He has a girl friend and is thinking about getting married in the near future. Paul-Emile enjoys his work in M. Borduas' general store although he hopes to one day own a store of his own.

Profile Card

Dilemma 2.

A Matter of Conscience
Dilemma #2

Time: May, 1917
Place: Trois Rivières, Quebec

News of recent events in Ottawa have been somewhat disturbing to Paul-Emile Levesque and other young men of the town of Trois Rivières, Quebec. The war in Europe has been going on now for three years, with little sign of it soon being over. However, life in Trois Rivieres has hardly been affected by the war. Paul-Emile, like many of his friends, has little sympathy for the war and government efforts at recruiting young men for the army have met with little success in Trois Rivières. English-Canadians can go and fight if they wish, but French-Canadians have no need for a war being fought for the benefit of the English. After all, it was the English who conquered and subjugated the French in North America. For French-Canadians to serve in the army, whether it be English or Canadian, would be to assist the very people who have systematically denied the French in Canada their constitutional rights and liberties. However, Paul-Emile also feels no particular urge to fight in defense of France.

Paul-Emile is working in the store one quiet Thursday morning in May when M. Borduas suddenly calls him over to look at something in the afternoon newspaper. The government in Ottawa has just passed a law establishing compulsory military service in Canada. Paul-Emile is both shocked and angered. The government has taken an action which will force him to participate in a war which neither interests nor concerns him. He is not against war in general nor does he consider himself a coward. However, he is opposed to participating in this conflict and he is opposed to a law which seems to be one more instance of English denial of his rights. Yet if he refuses to comply with conscription, then he may go to prison. Paul-Emile is caught in a dilemma. Should he obey the law and fight if he is called up or should he refuse and take the consequences.

What Should Paul-Emile Do?

A Matter of Conscience
Dilemma #2
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Paul-Emile should obey the law.

i) Why?
ii) Should he risk his life for something he does not believe in?
iii) Should a government have the power to force him to risk his life?
iv) Is the war in the interests of the French-Canadians? Why?
v) Is the government qualified or justified in determining if it is in the interests of French-Canadians?

Response: Paul-Emile should not obey the law.

i) Why?
ii) Should he resist the law with any means at his disposal?
iii) Should he be subject to punishment for disobeying the law?
iv) If the war is lost, is Paul-Emile partly responsible?
v) Should Paul-Emile still disobey the law if the enemy is preparing to invade Canada? Quebec? Trois Rivières?
vi) Is it right for people to assume that Paul-Emile is a coward? Why or why not?

General Questions

i) Should people have the right to choose whether they are going to participate in a war or not?
ii) What is the 'national interest'? Is World War I in Canada's national interest?
iii) Is Paul-Emile aiding the enemy by refusing to serve in the military?
iv) Should conscription apply to all persons or should there be exceptions? Should French-Canadians be excused from fighting in World War I?

A Matter of Conscience
Profile Card #3
Karl Anderson

Age: 22
Occupation: Farm Labourer
Home: High River, Alberta, Birthplace: Calgary, Alberta
Family: Single but engaged to be married
Time: May, 1917

Karl works on a large wheat farm about five miles outside of High River. Born in Calgary, Karl's parents immigrated to Canada in 1894. He enjoys living in High River and hopes one day to own a farm of his own.

Karl has very mixed feelings about the war. One of the reasons his father left Germany was to avoid serving in the army and like his father, Karl is also a pacifist. He does not believe in war for any reason. However, living in High River, he never thought he would have to act on his principles. Of course, he encountered a certain amount of unfriendliness on the part of some of his neighbours when the war began. Speaking with a heavy accent, Karl is unmistakeably of German descent. Karl's family also has many close relations living in Germany. However, most of the people in the town have accepted him as a fellow Canadian. Many, in fact, feel the same way about the war as Karl does, although not for the same reasons.

Profile Card

Dilemma 3.

A Matter of Conscience
Dilemma #3

Time: May 10, 1917

News in a small town spreads quickly and High River is no exception. The government has just introduced compulsory military service in Canada and everyone in town has taken a side on the issue.

When Karl hears the news he realizes that he too must take a side and that his life has suddenly become very complicated. The prospect of serving in an army -- any army -- is repugnant to him. However, his situation is very precarious. A refusal to join the army may be construed by many of his friends as being an indication of sympathy for the Germans for the fact that he has close family ties in Germany is well known. It may, in the long run, jeopardize his ability to live and prosper in High River. However, Karl has to make a decision. He can comply with this new law or he can refuse to comply and take the consequences.

What Should Karl Do?

A Matter of Conscience
Dilemma #3
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Karl should comply with the law.

i) Why?
ii) Which are more important, Karl's personal beliefs or the interests of the country?
iii) Should Karl be forced to participate in actual combat?
iv) Should Karl be allowed to serve as a non-combatant in the army?
v) Will compliance with the law prove Karl's loyalty to Canada?
vi) Should Karl be imprisoned if he refuses to serve?

Response: Karl should not comply with the law.

i) Why?
ii) Should Karl be imprisoned for refusing to serve?
iii) Is it right to assume that Karl is a coward if he refuses to serve?
iv) Is it fair for Karl to be excused if others are forced to go to war?
v) Should there be any exceptions to conscription?

General Questions

i) Can a government effectively distinguish between 'conscientious objectors' and people who simply don't want to fight? If so, how?
ii) Should 'conscientiours objectors' be excused from fighting in a war?
iii) Is Karl a 'good' Canadian if he refuses to fight? What is a 'good' Canadian?
iv) Is Karl's loyalty to Canada in question if he refuses to fight?

A Matter of Conscience

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A STRICT LAW BIDS US DANCE

4.

Background Paper

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Background Paper

The term 'potlatch' comes from the Chinook jargon, the trade language of the North Pacific coast. It is used by Europeans to describe any Indian ritual which involves feasting and the giving of gifts. However, the term more accurately describes a traditional aspect of the Indian way of life, rather than any one specific ritual or social function. An important social law of the tribes of the Pacific coast (the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Nootka and Coast Salish) is that all events of social or political interest must be publicly witnessed and that those who do the witnessing must be publicly recompensed. A potlatch, therefore, accompanys the significant events in a person's life: one's birth; the reaching of maturity; the building of a new home; marriage; and death. Each potlatch requires a large supply of food and gifts if it is to be successful, and one's ability to distribute large amounts of food and gifts is an indication of one's position in the tribe. The greater and more splendid the potlatch, the more enhanced is one's position in the social order. Each individual, therefore, strives to outdo the other in the lavishness of his potlatch.

The place of the potlatch in the Indian social system is well established when the first Europeans come to the Pacific coast. It is an integral part of the Indian culture yet it is also the part which many Europeans find most obnoxious.

As the white population of British Columbia grows in number and as the province is settled and civilized, contacts between Indians and whites grow in frequency. The establishment of a governmental structure in B.C. results in efforts to assimilate the Indians into white society. Indian children are taken from their parents and placed in residential schools where they are taught the language, religion, customs and habits of the white race. Most significantly, the Indians are taught the values of the whitemen. Punctuality, thrift, temperance -- the moral values of Victorian England are to be drilled into the minds of the young Indian children. Old ways are to be forgotten and old habits broken.

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Profile Card #1
James Wilson

Age: 42
Occupation: Federal Indian Agent, Port Simpson, British Columbia
Home: Permanent residence; Victoria, B.C.
Family: Single
Time: 1884

Wilson has been a Federal Indian Agent for five years. Before coming to Port Simpson, he had been posted in Alert Bay. In both places he has been shocked and dismayed at the Indians' living habits and customs. They have repeatedly resisted efforts to have them adopt European ways. They are undependable, lazy and spendthrift. They will work only as much as needed, never more.

Wilson has become convinced that the only way to solve the Indian problem in B.C. is to convince the Indians to comply with European customs and habits. Laws may be required to rid the Indian of his old ways for, while those 'old ways' may have once had value, today they only tend to keep the Indian backward and unprogressive. Wilson is not a cruel or vindictive man. On the contrary, he is sincerely concerned with helping the Indian to survive and compete in the B.C. of the 1880's. He still has, however, some doubts as how best to accomplish this.

Profile Card

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Dilemma #1

James Wilson is the federal government Indian Agent in the village of Port Simpson on the north coast of B.C. The year is 1884. The federal government in Ottawa is requiring a comprehensive report from Wilson on the social ritual called the potlatch. Wilson realizes that his recommendations, along with those of other Indian Agents on the coast, will be used by the government to formulate policies concerning the potlatch.

Wilson feels quite strongly that the potlatch undermines the Indian's ability to survive in the white man's world. He feels that it contradicts the European values of hard work and thrift. It also ignores the importance of accumlating and conserving personal wealth. He therefore opposes the potlatch as being a barbaric and uncivilized cultural tradition. Wilson also realizes, however, that the potlatch is an important and integral part of the Indian way of life. However much he may personally oppose it, the potlatch is an important reality to the people with whose welfare he is entrusted.

Wilson is caught in a dilemma. He can either recommend suppression of the potlatch or he can recommend non-interference by the government.

What Should Wilson Do?

Dilemma 1.

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Dilemma #1
Follow-Up Questions

Response: He should recommend suppression of the potlatch.

i) Why?
ii) Is Wilson partially responsible if the government suppresses the potlatch?
iii) Will the suppression of the potlatch be of benefit to the Indian? Why?
iv) Is the potlatch a destructive or demoralizing institution? Why?
v) Does the government have the right to pass laws which affect the Indians? Why or why not?
vi) Should the Indians be forced to obey Canadian laws?

Response: He should recommend non-interference in the potlatch.

i) Why?
ii) Should the potlatch still be allowed if it results in poverty and debt for the Indian?
iii) Should the potlatch be allowed if in involves killing or physical injury?
iv) Should Indians try to learn European values and customs? Why or why not?

General Questions

i) Is Wilson qualified to make judgments about the potlatch?
ii) If so, why? If not, who then is qualified?
iii) Does the government have the right to pass laws which affect a minority group's culture?

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Profile Card #2
John A. Macdonald

Occupation: Prime Minister of Canada
Home: Ottawa, Ontario

John A. Macdonald has been the Prime Minister of Canada (except for a brief interruption from 1874 - 1878) since 1867. He is no longer a young man in 1884 and the trials of office have been many.

As head of the government, he is ultimately responsible for policies and legislation which his government initiates.

British Columbia has been an area of interest and concern to Macdonald since Confederation, although it wasn't until 1871 that he was able to bring the colony into the Dominion.

Consideration for the problems of racial minorities in Canada, be they the Indians of the West Coast or the Metis in Manitoba, has never played a large part in the formulation of government policy under Macdonald. He is a realist and a pragmatist and his political career has been one in which practical considerations have tended to outweigh philosophical concerns.

Profile Card

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Dilemma #2

Place: Ottawa
Time: 1884

The federal government of Canada is a Conservative government headed by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Reports from various Indian Agents and missionaries in B.C. have recently been brought to Macdonald's attention. The reports have almost unanimously called for the outlawing of the potlatch. The potlatch is an aspect of the Indian's culture which many whites find obnoxious and subversive. It is obnoxious to European values and it tends to subvert efforts to assimilate the Indian into the white man's world.

The values which the potlatch represents are not recognized by certain government officials as being worthy of preservation. A governmental report of 1872 had talked of "elevating the condition" of the Indian because they were "depraved" and "potlatching" encourages idleness. Macdonald has read that report and a number of others, the majority of which seem to recommend the suppression of the potlatch. It is up to Macdonald to make a decision. He can either initiate government action to suppress the potlatch or he can allow the custom to continue without interference.

What Should Macdonald Do?

Dilemma 2.

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Dilemma #2
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Macdonald should act to suppress the potlatch.

i) Why?
ii) Is Macdonald qualified to make that decision?
iii) If so, why? If not, why not?
iv) Does the government have the right to suppress the potlatch? Why?
v) Is it important that the Indians adopt European habits and customs? Why?

Response: Macdonald should not act to suppress the potlatch.

i) Why?
ii) Is it not within Macdonald's jurisdiction to suppress the potlatch?
iii) Should this decision change if the potlatch resulted in deaths or injuries? Why?
iv) Should the potlatch be suppressed if the majority of the Indians demand such an action? Why?

General Questions

i) Who is qualified to say whether the potlatch is a social evil or not?
ii) Should governments make laws concerning cultural activities? Why or why not?
iii) Should the laws of Canada apply to the Indians of Canada? Why or why not?

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Profile Card #3
Simon Ganu

Age: 42
Occupation: Fisherman
Home: Albert Bay, B. C.
Family: Wife; Mary; 3 children: ages 20, 23 and 25
Time: June, 1924

Simon is a Kwakiutl Indian. He and his family have lived in the area around Alert Bay all of their lives. Simon is proud of his Indian heritage and he believes strongly in the maintenance of the customs and traditions of the Kwakiutl Indians; although he finds that everywhere the Indian way of life is under attack.

He first became aware of the European's attempts at assimilation when, as a boy of seven, he was taken from his family and placed in a Mission school. There he was taught to read and write and speak English, to believe in the Christian God, and forget the teachings of his forefathers. Being of especially strong character, Simon was and is able and prepared to resist efforts at turning him entirely into a white man.

Profile Card

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Dilemma #3

Place: Alert Bay, B. C.
Time: June, 1924

Simon Ganu is a Kwakiutl Indian. He is 42 years of age. His youngest son, Martin, is 20 years old and he is getting married in a month. The marriage ceremony is an important event in Simon's life for, of his three children, Martin is the first to get married. Simon wishes to celebrate the occasion by giving a potlatch. Simon realizes that potlatching is against the law and has been since 1884. He realizes that if he is caught giving a potlatch, he may go to jail and his family may also be imprisoned. However, he feels strongly that the first marriage in his family should be commemorated by a large and lavish ceremony -- one in which the giving of gifts to his fellow villagers will be the most important part. Simon is caught in a dilemma. He can either proceed with the potlatch, thereby breaking the law and risking imprisonment, or he can abandon the idea of giving a potlatch.

What Should Simon Do?

Dilemma 3.

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance
Dilemma #3
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Simon should give a potlatch.

i) Why?
ii) Would Simon be breaking the law?
iii) Should he be punished accordingly?
iv) Should he give a potlatch if it forces him into debt?

Response: Simon should not give a potlatch.

i) Why?
ii) Will giving a potlatch harm anyone? If so, who and why?
iii) Will his not giving a potlatch detract from the significance of his son's wedding?
iv) Will his not giving a potlatch weaken the Indian culture? Why?

General Questions

i) Are individuals entitled to select the laws which they will obey?
ii) Should a person be compelled to obey a law which they feel is unjust?

A Strict Law Bids Us Dance

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A QUESTION OF RIGHTS

5.

Background Paper

A Question of Rights
Background Paper

Two years after Confederation, the Hudson's Bay Company sold its possessions in the Northwest to the Canadian government. Not only did this purchase bring to Canada vast new territories, it also brought a number of new citizens under Canadian control. The Indians of the prairies, the white settlers of Red River, and the Métis all found themselves suddenly subject to the laws and regulations of the Canadian government.

The Metis in particular view this new turn of events with some apprehension. Part Indian and part European, the Métis consider themselves members of an independent nation. Their livelihood has been closely tied to the prairie buffalo but by 1869, with the near-extinction of the buffalo, many Métis are beginning to settle down to farming in the territory of the Red River colony.

The source of apprehension lies in the Métis' determination to retain their French language and Roman Catholic religion and to secure title to their lands. Ottawa is hesitant in calming the fears of the Métis concerning their cultural and property rights. These fears are aggravated by the arrival of government land surveyors in Red River and by the ever-increasing number of Canadians who are moving into the territory. The Métis respond to this lack of consultation and consideration on Ottawa's part by establishing a provisional government under the leadership of an intelligent and articulate Métis by the name of Louis Riel.

Riel has no apparent desire to make the colony an independent country. He seeks only to force Ottawa to consult with the Métis about actions or policies which may concern them. In short, the Métis want to have a say in determining their own fate.

The first step in convincing Ottawa of the seriousness of the Métis' intentions is Riel's prevention of the entry of William McDougall into the colony. This is an act of rebellion on the part of the Métis as it is McDougall who has been sent by Macdonald to assume authority in the colony.

A Question of Rights
Profile Card #1
Louis (David) Riel

Age: 26
Home: Born in St. Boniface, Assiniboia (Red River Colony)
Family: Son of Louis Riel and Julie Lagimodiere (daughter of the first white woman in the West; Marie Anne Gaboury)
Language: French
Religion: Roman Catholic

In 1870 Louis Riel is a young man with a mission. Educated at the Sulpician College in Montreal. Riel had originally intended to become a priest. However, it became evident that he was not suited to a religious vocation. Returning from the east, Riel has soon found himself involved in the political affairs of the Red River settlement.

He is an ardent believer in the rights of the Métis people. He looks at recent political developments with apprehension. The Canadian government appears to be intent upon ignoring the Métis people. In order to work for recognition of the rights of his people, Riel joined the Comite National des Métis. In 1869 he became secretary of that organization and he quickly assumed the role of strategist and spokesman for the Métis cause.

Profile Card

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #1

Place: Red River Colony, Manitoba
Time: March, 1870

Having established a provisional government in the Red River colony, Louis Riel is determined that Ottawa will listen to the demands of the Métis. However, certain Canadians in the Colony are just as determined to defeat the Métis and rid the colony of Riel and his followers. Two such Canadians are John Schultz and Thomas Scott who lead a revolt against Riel's government.

The revolt fails and Scott is captured. Scott is tried for his part in the revolt and is sentenced to death. Riel is faced with a difficult decision. He can either allow the execution to be carried out or he can commute Scott's sentence. If he allows the execution then he will have established the authority of his government once and for all. In the process, however, he risks antagonizing the Canadian government and establishing a precedent of violence which may create more problems than it solves. Riel is convinced of Scott's guilt. However, he is uncertain whether Scott should be executed.

What Should Riel Do?

Dilemma 1.

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #1
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Riel should allow the execution.

i) Why?
ii) Is Riel then responsible for Scott's death?
iii) Do Scott's crimes justify the death penalty?
iv) Is Riel right in using a man's life as an example to others?
v) If Scott is hung, is Riel then guilty of murder?
vi) Is the Canadian government justified in using violence against Riel if Scott is hung?

Response: Riel should not allow the execution.

i) Why?
ii) Is Scott therefore not guilty?
iii) Does this mean that Scott did not get a fair trial?
iv) Is a fair trial possible under the circumstances?
v) In times of war or rebellion, can one take actions against the enemy which might not be allowed in peace time? Is Scott Riel's enemy?
vi) Should this decision change if Scott was prepared to kill Riel? Why?

General Questions

i) Is capital punishment ever justified? If so, when and why?
ii) Should the decisions of a jury ever be interfered with? Would Riel be justified in interfering in Scott's trial?
iii) Are governments justified in using individual citizens as examples to others in order to discourage certain behaviour?

A Question of Rights
Profile Card #2
Jean-Paul Parre

Age: 23
Occupation: Farmer and hunter
Family: Mother and father; 3 sisters
Language: French
Religion: Roman Catholic
Time: March, 1870

Jean-Paul is a Métis. His heritage is a mixture of French and Indian. Like his father before him, Jean-Paul has wanted to be a hunter but the increasing scarcity of buffalo has forced him, like many other Métis, to take up farming as an occupation.

The Parre family has lived in the Red River colony for many years. It is the Métis homeland and Jean-Paul is determined that no one will take it away from them. However, recent political events have caused Jean-Paul some apprehension. There are Canadians everywhere one turns and government surveyors can be seen everyday on the lands belonging to the Métis. Jean-Paul is certain that the Métis must resist this growing Canadian intrusion into their lives. He is not certain, however, what form that resistance should take.

Profile Card

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #2

Place: Red River Colony, Manitoba
Time: March, 1870

Recent events in the colony have shown that the Canadian government in Ottawa is determined to open the territory to immigration and settlement from the east. The Red River Colony is the homeland of the Métis people, who see such settlement as being a threat to their traditional way of life.

Jean-Paul Parre is a young Métis. He is worried about the growing presence of many Canadian government officials in the colony. One day he is approached by a group of Métis supporters of Louis Riel who ask him to join them in using force to defend their rights. Jean-Paul strongly supports their cause but he is also aware that the use of force may result in many deaths.

What Should Jean-Paul Do?

Dilemma 2.

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #2
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Parre should join with Riel.

i) Why?
ii) Is Parre responsible if violence is used, even if he is not directly involved?
iii) Is Parre justified in fighting for the maintenance of his rights?
iv) Do the Canadians have a right to settle in the colony?
v) Does one group have a stronger claim to the territory? Why?
vi) Should Parre find out Riel's plans before he supports him?

Response: Parre should not join Riel.

i) Why?
ii) Should Parre be allowed to benefit from any concessions Riel's group may win from the government?
iii) Does Parre show his lack of support for Riel by not joining his movement?
iv) Are the followers of Riel justified in considering Parre a potential enemy?

General Questions

i) Are the followers of an individual responsible for all of the actions of that individual? Why or why not?
ii) Are the rights of the Métis worth fighting and killing for? Why or why not?

A Question of Rights
Profile Card #3
Louis (David) Riel

Age: 41
Home: Born in St. Boniface, Assiniboia
Residence of Sun River, Montana
Family: Wife: Marguerite Belhumeur
Language: French
Religion: Roman Catholic

Louis Riel's life, after the Rebellion of 1869, is, in many ways, an unhappy one.

In 1870, fearing that Ontario volunteers in the Manitoba militia may try to revenge the death of Thomas Scott, Riel leaves Fort Gary for the United States. While in exile, Riel is elected to Parliament, once in 1873 and again in 1874. However, his leadership of the 1869 Rebellion has not been forgotten in Ottawa and he is not allowed to take his seat. Riel's legal position is tenuous as his actions in 1869 are considered by many politicians and citizens to be treasonous.

In 1875, Riel is banished from the country for five years. However, his mental condition is beginning to deteriorate during this period. He spends time in asylums in Longue Pointe and Beauport, Quebec and it is not until 1878 that he takes up permanent residence in the United States. From 1878 to 1884 Riel lives a quiet and peaceful life in the town of Sun River, Montana, where he marries a Métis, Marguerite Belhumeur.

During this time he becomes an American citizen and earns a living as a teacher in a local Jesuit mission school. The religious hysteria which had resulted in his confinement in the mental institutions subsides. Riel is apparently content with his new life, and the government in Ottawa rests easy in the belief that Canadians have seen the last of the troublesome Louis Riel.

Profile Card

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #3

Place: Sun River, Montana
Time: July, 1884

Following the establishment of Manitoba as a province in 1870, many Indians and Métis moved westward into the Saskatchewan River area in the hope that government interference there would be limited. However, as the years pass, it becomes obvious to many Indians and Métis that history is repeating itself in the Saskatchewan district. The same government disregard for the rights and traditions of the Indians and Métis which had led to the trouble in Manitoba is evident again.

By the Spring of 1885, the demand for self-government is gaining widespread support -- not only from the Indians and Métis but also from many white settlers who are discontented with government policies in the district.

Indians, deprived of the buffalo as a food source, are often near starvation. Government surveyors once again fail to recognize the land claims of the Metis. The granting of responsible government to the district, along with representation in the Federal Parliament, is seen as the only way to solve the problems which plague the district.

Ottawa's reluctance to meet the district's demands seems to leave only rebellion as a way of securing the rights of the Indians, Métis and whites of the area. And the man the Metis feel is best suited to lead such a rebellion is Louis Riel. Louis Riel, in 1885, is considered by many Canadians to be an outlaw and a traitor. Riel is still devoted to the Metis cause. However, when he is asked to return to the Saskatchewan district to lead a new rebellion against Ottawa, he hesitates. He has an important decision to make. Should he lead a second rebellion against Ottawa and, in doing so, risk his own safety or should he stay in the United States and let others settle the problems in Saskatchewan.

What Should Riel Do?

Dilemma 3.

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #3
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Riel should lead the rebellion.

i) Why?
ii) Are his interests at stake in Saskatchewan?
iii) Should Riel risk his freedom, and possibly his life, for a political struggle?
iv) If Riel is mentally unbalanced, should the Métis still follow him?
v) Should Riel lead the rebellion if he is mentally unbalanced?
vi) Should Riel lead the rebellion if, as a result, the rebellion loses the support of the white settlers?
vii) Is there any relationship between the events of 1869 and what is happening in 1885? If so, does Riel have a duty to finish his work?

Response: Riel should not lead the rebellion.

i) Why?
ii) Should he no longer be involved with the Metis cause?
iii) Does he have a responsibility to those who ask him to lead them?
iv) If so, what is that responsibility? If not, why not?
v) Should Riel lead the rebellion if, by so doing, he increases the chances of armed conflict occuring?

General Questions

i) Should the followers of a person such as Riel concern themselves with his motives if he continues to be an effective leader?
ii) Does it matter that Riel believes he has been chosen by God to lead the Métis? Why or why not?
iii) Is the government justified in condemning the Métis struggle because Riel is the leader?
iv) Is the government justified in branding Riel a traitor?
v) Are the followers of Riel also traitors?

A Question of Rights
Profile Card #4
John A. Macdonald

Occupation: Prime Minister of Canada and leader of the Conservative party
Home: Ottawa, Ontario

Macdonald in 1885 presides over a country torn by racial differences. Ever the pragmitist, Macdonald has been a master of the politics of the possible. He has balanced French-Canadian demands against those of English-Canadians and has managed, in the process, to keep the country together. Since 1867, the Dominion of Canada has expanded greatly in size. Macdonald's National Policy of railway construction and immigration has begun to show signs of success. British Columbia is now safely in the union and the prairies are ripe for immigration and settlement. Macdonald feels strongly that such settlement is the only sure way to guarantee Canadian sovereignty in the West. It is one of the basic foundations of his political career and he is not likely to see it jeopardized. He settled the Riel problem once, back in 1870, and he is prepared to settle it again, this time, hopefully, for good.

He is aware, however, of Riel's popularity in Quebec. He realizes that any actions he might take towards the Métis may only exacerbate the racial strife which already exists in the country.

Profile Card

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #4

Place: Ottawa, Ontario
Time: May, 1885

On May 15, 1885, Louis Riel surrenders to Canadian troops and is taken to Regina to stand trial. His arrest signals the effective end of the Rebellion of 1885. It also confronts the Canadian government with a difficult and potentially volatile situation. Riel is a devisive character on the Canadian scene. To many Quebecers he is the defender of French-Canadian minority rights. Wilfred Laurier, the future prime minister, reflects the feelings of many French-Canadians when he states that: "Had I been born on the banks of the Saskatchewan I would myself have shouldered a musket to fight against the neglect of governments and the shameless greed of speculators." To many English-speaking Canadians in central Canada, however, Riel is a murderer and a rebel, not only for his actions in 1870 but also for his role in this latest rebellion.

John A. Macdonald, the Conservative Prime Minister, is faced with a difficult decision. Riel has been found guilty by an English-speaking jury of fomenting the Rebellion of 1885. He has been sentenced to be hanged. The jury has rejected the notion that Riel is insane, although they have found his English-speaking lieutenant, William Jackson, innocent for that very reason.

Macdonald can intercede in the trial and save Riel's life if he so wishes. To do so will please the French-Canadians but antagonize the English-Canadians. Macdonald has to make a choice. He can either grant Riel a reprieve or he can let him die.

What Should Macdonald Do?

Dilemma 4.

A Question of Rights
Dilemma #4
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Macdonald should let Riel die.

i) Why?
ii) Do Riel's crimes justify his punishment?
iii) Did Riel get a fair trial. Was a fair trial possible under the circumstances?
iv) Should Macdonald decide this issue on political or moral grounds?
v) Does Macdonald have a duty to obey the wishes of the majority of Canadians?
vi) Does Macdonald have the authority to allow Riel's execution? Should it be his responsibility? Why or why not?

Response: Macdonald should grant Riel a reprieve.

i) Why?
ii) Would this indicate that Riel is innocent?
iii) Is Riel responsible for anyone's death?
iv) Is Riel a traitor to Canada?
v) Should Macdonald's actions not reflect the wishes of the majority of Canadians?
vi) Should Riel suffer any punishment at all?

General Questions

i) Is capital punishment justified at any time?
ii) Should a politician carry out actions which he may disagree with, if the electorate demands it?
iii) Is Riel a hero or a villain? If Riel is a traitor, is Laurier also one?

A Question of Rights

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THE ACADIAN QUESTION

6.

Background Paper

The Acadian Question
Background Paper

Place: The British Colony of Acadia
Time: 1755

Acadian was founded in 1604 by the French as their first settlement in North America. Control of the colony had been transferred to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Acadia has long been a pawn in international politics and this final transfer of authority has had little or no effect upon the Acadians themselves for they had enjoyed little contact with the French garrisons on the St. Lawrence. The Court of Versailles had been a remote reality, far removed from the day-to-day existence of the Acadians. The colony of Acadia is centred around the old French garrison town of Port Royal and includes the marshes of the Minas Basin and the Fundy shore of the Chignecto Isthmus. Left to their own devices, the Acadians have constructed their own communities, secured their own food supplies and looked after their own defense.

The people of Acadia are mainly French in origin, the majority having immigrated to the colony from France in the 17th Century. However, population growth in the colony after 1671 has been primarily the result of natural increase rather than immigration. By 1775, the population of Acadia has reached nearly 7000.

The British government in 1755 is run by men with very definite ideas about the role that colonies should play in the maintenance of the Empire. It is a popular belief of the 18th Century that colonies exist solely for the benefit of the Mother Country. Acadia, although not an important source of raw materials or agricultural products, finds herself caught up in the great European quest for profitable colonial properties because of her position adjacent to the sea routes from New England to Europe. This quest, in the 1750's in the northern half of North America, has brought into conflict the two great Empires of France and England.

"Les francais neutres," as the Acadians are called, find themselves caught in the middle. Catholic Frenchmen under British authority, they are fast becoming victims of religious intolerance and strategic decisions. The British are beginning to doubt the wisdom of governing a group of people whose religion, language and culture exist in conflict with their own. The problem has grown more serious as a final confrontation with the French on the St. Lawrence becomes more and more an inevitability. The British are plagued with doubts about the loyalty of the Acadians. They cannot predict, with any assurance, that the Acadians will remain neutral should the fighting spread to Acadia itself. The British government is beginning to find the situation intolerable. What is to be done? That is one of many questions which faces the new governor of Nova Scotia, General Charles Lawrence, when he takes office on the 22nd of December, 1755.

The Acadian Question
Profile Card #1
Claude Oudy

Age: 40 years
Occupation: Fisherman and farmer
Home and Birthplace: Havre St. Pierre, Acadia
Family: Wife: Angelique Potier -- 29 years old
Children: eight -- 2 sons; 6 daughters
Religion: Roman Catholic
Mother Tongue: French

A poor farmer, Claude has difficulty making ends meet. He has only recently been able to begin harvesting a crop of wheat from his land. This year's harvest was only two bushels. With time and effort, the land may be made to produce twenty bushels, but no more. Oudy has had little schooling and his wife none. He can sign his name and read a little, but that is all. A short, stocky man, he enjoys good health, as does the rest of his family. He has never concerned himself with politics, finding the subject strange and remote. He is aware, of course, that Acadia is ruled by the English but, aside from a certain inherited distrust of Protestants, he is content to live and let live, asking only to be left along and in peace.

Profile Card

Dilemma 1.

The Acadian Question
Dilemma #1

Time: April 22, 1755
Place: Havre St. Pierre, Acadia

Claude Oudy, like all the Acadian inhabitants of Havre St. Pierre, has answered a request by the British to assemble in the local Catholic Church. It is a workday and Claude is somewhat reluctant to leave his chores but the British are not be to disobeyed.

A British major stands at the front of the church. He begins to speak. He explains, through an interpreter, that relations between England and France are worsening. He says that the spread of war to Acadia is almost inevitable. The major explains that such a turn of events places all Acadians in a difficult position. He assures them of his confidence in their loyalty. However, he also states that, as they are French and Catholic, they are held suspect by some Englishmen who have not met them or lived among them. As a result, the English government is going to ask them to swear an unconditional oath of allegiance to the English crown.

Claude is surprised and shocked by this new turn of events. He has always been neutral in the struggle between the French and the English. He has never given any sign of wishing to support one side against the other. This oath may force him to do just that. If it is 'unconditional', then what is to stop the British from forcing him to take arms against the French. They may even use it to force him to give up his language and religion. If he takes the oath, he may find himself facing fellow French Catholics in the field of battle. On the other hand, a refusal may place in jeopardy the peace and security of his settlement. It may also be construed as implying support of the French cause. Claude is in a dilemma -- to take the oath or not to take the oath.

What Should Claude Do?

The Acadian Question
Dilemma #1
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Claude should refuse to take the oath.

i) Why?
ii) Does Claude therefore support the French?
iii) Are the British justified in assuming this?
iv) Are the British justified in taking actions to protect themselves against Claude and other like-minded Acadians?

Response: Claude should take the oath.

i) Why?
ii) Is he any longer a neutral? Why?
iii) Can the British call on him to fight? Why?
iv) If Claude takes the oath only to please the British -- is he right or wrong?
v) Is it important that the oath taken by Claude not be broken? Why or why not?

General Questions

i) Do the Acadians have the right to remain neutrals? Why?
ii) What value is an oath of allegiance?
iii) Does Claude owe allegiance to the English? Why?
iv) Does Claude owe allegiance to the French because they speak the same language, have the same religion, and come from the same cultural base as he does?

The Acadian Question
Profile Card #2
General Charles Lawrence

Age: 46
Occupation: Officer in the British Army
As of 22nd of December, 1755: Governor of Nova Scotia and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the colony.
Home: Halifax: Born in Portsmouth, England
Religion: Protestant
Mother Tongue: English

General Charles Lawrence is descended, on both sides of his family, from a long line of aristocratic army officers. Lawrence believes strongly in the importance of British supremacy in North America. He is not fond of the French, having spent most of his professional career fighting them. Having been given responsibility for the Colony of Nova Scotia, he sees it as his duty to secure the defense of the colony. This will entail war with the French. Of this he has no doubt. And, in time of war, there can be no neutrals.

Lawrence has set about his task with a singleminded determination. It is his duty to see that the inhabitants of Nova Scotia are loyal to the Crown, regardless of their language or their religion. Such is Lawrence's duty; nothing more; nothing less.

Profile Card

The Acadian Question
Dilemma #2

Time: Summer, 1755
Place: Halifax, Nova Scotia

The early months of 1755 have not been satisfactory one for General Lawrence. He has given the Acadians an opportunity to prove their loyalty to the Crown by swearing an unconditional oath of allegiance and they have refused. He is now faced with a definite problem. In his eyes, the refusal is a conscious act of disloyalty to the English. He does not believe in neutrals, not in times of war anyway. He sees the Acadians as being a potential enemy within the very boundaries of the colony. Being a soldier, he finds such a situation intolerable.

On the other hand, the Acadians have never overtly opposed the English nor have they shown an overwhelming preference for the French. Quite possibly they are neutrals, but can he risk it? He can either accept them at their word or recommend the only other course of action open to him -- forcibly remove them from the colony. He has to make a choice.

What Should General Lawrence Do?

Dilemma 2.

The Acadian Question
Follow-Up Questions

Response: He should deport them.

i) Why?
ii) Is it right for the English to forcibly dispossess a people just because they speak a certain language or practice a certain religion?
iii) Should the British compensate them?
iv) In times of war, is one allowed to take any precaution to protect oneself from the enemy?
v) What should the English do if the Acadians resist the deportation?

Response: He should not deport them.

i) Do people's rights stay the same -- even in times of war?
ii) Should Lawrence risk the whole British colony for the sake of the rights of a minority?
iii) Is Lawrence responsible if the Acadians actively support the French in the war?

General Questions

i) Can a government suspend individual freedoms in times of war or civil crisis?
ii) Does the majority have the right to protect itself from the minority? With any means at its disposal?

The Acadian Question
Profile Card #3
Pierre Bonniere

Age: 43
Occupation: Tailor and Ploughman
Home and Birthplace: Grand Pré, Acadia
Family: Wife: Magdeline Forest: Age: 35
Children: three sons and three daughters
Religion: Roman Catholic
Mother Tongue: French

Pierre is a tailor by trade although he grows his own food on land granted to his father by the French government. He owns the following livestock: 1 bull, 2 cows, 1 calf, 1 sow, 1 ram, 4 ewes, 1 rooster and 11 fowl. He has lived in Acadia all his life. He knows no other home and is content with his existance.

He considers himself to be an Acadian first and a Frenchman second. Although he was born after Acadia has passed to English control, he has been able to retain both his language and religion and he is determined that his children will to the same.

Profile Card

The Acadian Question
Dilemma #3

Place: The Parish Church of Grand Pré, Acadia
Time: Friday, September 5, 1755

Pierre Bonniere, along with the rest of the men of the village of Grand Pré, 418 in number, have assembled in the Parish Church. A British Lieutenant-Colonel, John Winslow, addresses the gathering as follows:

> Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and livestock of all sorts are forfeited to the Crown, with all other effects saving your money and household goods, and you yourself to be removed from this province.

Pierre, like all the rest of the men in his village, has refused to take the unconditional oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Yet he had assumed that that would be the end of the matter. This new proclamation stuns Pierre. He does not know what to make of it. Surely the British do not mean to forcibly remove all of the Acadians from the Colony. Yet the proclamation is clear and the actions of the British leave little room for doubt. While the proclamation is being read, the British soldiers have surrounded the Church, turning it into a prison. Pierre and his fellow villagers are trapped. Certain individuals begin to voice their resistance. People begin shouting that this should not be allowed to happen. Anger and bitterness can be seen on many of the villagers' faces. Pierre does not know what to do. Should he go peacefully and meekly, taking what the British will allow him or should he resist. Maybe the men should run away the first chance they get or, at the very least, resist the British in any way that they can.

What Should Pierre Do?

Dilemma 3.

The Acadian Question
Dilemma #3
Follow-Up Questions

Response: Pierre should resist.

i) Why?
ii) Should Pierre use any means he can find to resist the deportation?
iii) Should he use violence?
iv) Should he try to escape?
v) Should he try to escape only if he can take his family with him?
vi) Should he try to join the French?

Response: Pierre should not resist.

i) Why?
ii) Should Pierre assist the British in the deportation?
iii) Should he try to encourage his neighbours to do the same?
iv) Should Pierre go peacefully and try to return at a later date?
v) Should Pierre encourage his family to accept the deportation peacefully?
vi) Should Pierre request to sign the oath, if this is still possible?

General Questions

i) Should persons in Pierre's position accept their fate without resistance if circumstances are against them?
ii) Is there any purpose in resisting an overwhelming force? If so, when and why?
iii) Should Pierre go now and return at a later date for revenge or for resettlement? Why?

The Acadian Question

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THE APPLICATION OF THE KOHLBERGIAN MODEL TO THE SELECTION AND PRESENTATION OF HISTORICAL CONTENT MORAL DILEMMAS

Auth[redacted]

(Signature)

OLSON, Stephen Carl

Name (in block letters)

January 30th, 1979

(Date)