

Teaching national values in an era of reconciliation: A critical examination of B.C.'s draft high school Social Studies curriculum, 2015-2018.

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 2004
M.A., University of Victoria, 2010

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Canadian public life is currently informed by what can be broadly considered an era of reconciliation. While definitions abound, reconciliation aims to achieve just relations between the Canadian nation state and Indigenous nations. Efforts on the parts of federal and provincial governments to apologize and atone for the discriminatory treatment of racialized immigrant groups have also been characterized under the broad banner of reconciliatory politics. While official positions indicate that there is to be a role for schooling in reconciliation efforts, what this means – both in terms of the nature of the problem they aim to address and the remedies they propose – remains unclear. At the same time, a new high school Social Studies curriculum in British Columbia (B.C.) is intended to contribute to reconciliation. This dissertation critically examines B.C.'s most recent high school Social Studies curriculum, 2015-2018, and asks how it is making space, or not, for robust and meaningful inclusions of previously marginalized and excluded histories and perspectives. Specifically, in this dissertation I probe how the production of national values and priorities in curricula both accommodates the goals of reconciliation and reveals its limits. This dissertation contributes to literature that examines the

condition of settler colonialism in educational settings in countries like Canada. Its analysis indicates that while progressive curricular inclusions like those in the B.C. curriculum, 2015-2018, contribute to increased plurality in educational spaces, there are limits to their efficacy. This is the case primarily because these inclusions are produced through and operate within liberal frameworks that re-center the Canadian nation state and thus reinforce dominant national values. Its conclusions suggest that the efficacy of curricular inclusions that pursue reconciliation will be limited unless teacher education – both pre- and in-service – includes a critical self-analysis of settler colonial privilege, conditionality, and the nation state.

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I acknowledge those who work to make schooling more inclusive for all young people. While this dissertation critically examines the most recent B.C. curriculum, it does so while respecting the work of those people and groups whose contributions increase educational equity.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my son, Alexander, and all the other bright hopes for tomorrow.

General Introduction

Introduction and Statement of Problem

In recent years there has been an increased interest in what can be broadly considered discourses of reconciliation in Canada. While definitions of reconciliation abound, the aim of reconciliation is a just relationship between federal and provincial governments and Indigenous¹ nations. Federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government have issued official statements and made formal apologies for discriminatory treatment of Indigenous peoples and racialized peoples dating from the time of British colonization. Such discourses are public, engaged by both media and academia interested in teasing out their politics and implications. These discourses are also engaged by some of those who have suffered Canada's discrimination and are advocating for remediation. One way it is suggested that reconciliation can be pursued is through the inclusion of a robust history of Canadian colonization and historical treatment of Indigenous peoples and racialized minorities in Canadian public schools. Through this inclusion, it is believed, national consciousness in Canada could expand to include what is referred to in these discourses as the truth of history, and help bring about more equitable futures. This dissertation is inspired by these public and political discourses, and by the claim that educational initiatives are contributing toward reconciliation efforts in Canada. Taking as an example the newest curriculum in British Columbia (2015-2018), this study examines how reconciliation is being imagined in public

¹ I recognize that the word Indigenous does not respect the diversity of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada. I acknowledge that the phrase is a colonial imposition and implies a universality, which does not exist. I use this phrase recognizing the limitations of this approach.

discourses, both in educational settings and in the surrounding media and governmental accounts. Having identified the central tenets of reconciliatory inclusions, this study then considers how Canadian national identity and values might be shifting, or not, as a result of efforts to be more inclusive.

Since their establishment, public schools in Canada have been tasked with the formation of a national identity and the dissemination of national values to the country's youth (Manzer, 1994). Whether or not a nation can be said to exist as a cohesive whole is less relevant to an investigation of Canadian nationalism than is its constant, continual production and performance, as well as its consequences. In the Canadian example, expressions of nationalism are informed by histories and legacies of colonialism, conflict between British, French and Indigenous national groups, successive waves of immigration and the resulting ethnic and religious diversity of Canadian society. It is also informed by contemporary expressions of internationalism and transnationalism that unify historically marginalized subnational groups including Indigenous peoples, peoples of colour, women, LGBTQ2 peoples, working class peoples, and other self-identifying groups. In response to these challenges, Canadian national identity, like other nation-state national identities, is in a constant state of renewal as it integrates and reflects shifting demographics and political priorities in order to reproduce the perception of its legitimacy. National narratives matter because they aim to reproduce a sense of cultural commonality and belonging amongst a citizenry — a sense of nationalism — in ways that strengthen the legitimacy and supremacy of the state at the expense of those citizens and groups that are marginalized in and through the practices of statehood (Coulthard,

2014). Through the exercise of sovereign authority, states subjugate and refuse alternative articulations of group membership, nationalism, and sovereignty, while simultaneously catching these same people and groups up in all-consuming processes that confirm their state-based citizenship. As is discussed in greater detail in chapter one, national narratives are founded on and reproduced through the ubiquitous production of myths. These myths, depicted often enough in art, music and story, become part of the national consciousness, and part of the common history and culture of a nation-state, even when the myths themselves are the work of imagination.

Such myths are also reproduced in stories told to children in schools, and the dissemination of dominant narratives about the state has played a central role in schooling in Canada. Through schooling, the production of national values was, and continues to be, a major component of Canada's nation building project since the nineteenth century. The values taught in schools reflect those of a dominant culture, produce conditions of possibility for national identification, and impact the character of public life (Giroux, 2002; McLaren, 2004; 2005). As the investigation of Canadian values undertaken in this dissertation reveals, it is through the production and performance of so-called dominant values that the perception of a national dominant culture has come into being, rather than through any pre-existing numerical or moral majority. The structural and subjective imposition of national values historically produces a specific set of restrictions to economic, political, and social resources, marginalizing those who are not easily represented by or included in Canada's national identity. In addition to the explicit values set out in formal, written curricula, values are also brought in to

classrooms through what theorists call the hidden curriculum – the set of assumptions and beliefs that inform and are informed by a teacher’s subjective experience of their world. Critical perspectives emphasize the importance of teachers engaging in critical self-examination to be aware of the values they implicitly transmit to students (McLaren, 1994; 1995; Giroux, 2004). As is explained in greater depth in chapter three, nationalism – and one’s understanding of themselves as a member (or not) of the nation-state – forms one aspect of the values that comprise a hidden curriculum.

Instruction in national values falls within the purview of citizenship studies, which is most often a corollary of social studies. In such classes, students could expect to be introduced to their rights and responsibilities as citizens. As is also elaborated in detail in chapter three, while citizenship studies examine national values from the perspective of citizenship, it does so while centering the state and state-based citizenship, with consequences for those values and identities that exceed this scope. For this reason, the promotion of national identity through schooling has been studied from the perspective of multicultural education, and over more than 40 years, this research has resulted in a number of models that describe and promote diversity in the classroom (Fleras & Elliot, 2002; Banks, 2009; Banks & Banks, 2013). Multicultural education aims to interrogate the claims and biases of dominant cultural values, and attend to marginalized and excluded groups to increase representation and inclusivity. Such models elaborate progressively more critical engagements with multiculturalism that provide teachers with various avenues by which to engage issues related to cultural diversity in the classroom. On one side of the spectrum, *enrichment* is an approach that typically includes culturally specific

food and festivals by inviting students to share elements of their culture with their classmates, followed by *enlightenment*, an approach that introduces students to the concept of unequal power relations that result from differently positioned groups. On the more critically engaged side of the spectrum is *empowerment*, an approach that draws from cultural knowledge to foster positive self- and group identification; and, finally, at the most engaged, *antiracist*, which includes approaches that aim to reduce the discriminatory effects of dominant culture values that reproduce institutional racism and make students aware of their personal and group membership positions vis a vis power and dominant culture, and is conceptually distinct from multiculturalism (Fleras & Elliot, 2002).

The promotion of national identity has also been studied and critiqued by educational researchers for the ways it reproduces categories of difference away from a hegemonic norm, and excludes non-dominant cultural values (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Multicultural educational approaches are also criticized for promoting liberal political values more broadly, and critics contend that liberalism diminishes non-dominant culture challenges to unequal power relations by absorbing them into the fabric of multiculturalism. From this literature, we have learned that even when multicultural education promotes cultural empowerment, it does so within the larger context of an educational system and society that reproduce dominant cultural values and privilege the unequal economic, political, and social conditions that support them (Giroux, 2002; Schick & St. Denis, 2005; Dhamoon, 2009; Tuck & Yang, 2012). This has largely been achieved through the ever-changing manifestation of liberalism, the

dominant ideology that has framed the evolution of schooling in Canada. Manzer (1994) is one of the few theorists to elaborate the flexibility of liberal values taught in schools to meet the challenges of the age: first, to support the fledgling new country of Canada, common schools taught cultural assimilation and national identity; with the rise of industrialization, schools promoted values of punctuality and productivity; in the post war era, schools taught values supporting social welfare and humanitarian ethics; with the introduction of multicultural legislation in the 1970s educational values shifted from assimilative toward culturally inclusive; then, with the intensification of the global economy, schools focused on job readiness, and now, we are in an era punctuated with urgent calls for cultural respect and reconciliation. However, we have little evidence with which to describe the current values being taught in schools.

Debates over colonialism in Canada and the nature of Canadian national identity are ongoing while a new curriculum is being implemented in British Columbia. Reports suggest that the new draft curriculum signifies massive shifts, including “Aboriginal² perspectives at all grade levels, an examination of the residential school system, [and] new content on the history of East and South Asian immigrants” (Bell, 2015). From the Ministry of Education, we have heard that the new B.C. draft curriculum is expected to radically change the presentation of non-dominant cultures, with particular attention given to Indigenous histories and ways of knowing. These changes are heralded as part of a much broader effort toward reconciliation – as part of a national political movement and discourse characterized by official apologies for past discriminatory policies and

² Aboriginal is the term used by government to describe First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada.

practices targeting Indigenous and racialized minority groups – and punctuated by calls for reconciliation from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission recommendations published in June 2015.

Over the last decade, reconciliation has been evoked as a solution to the problems associated with discriminatory treatment of non-dominant culture groups. Though, as will be explored in depth through this dissertation, the framing of Indigenous peoples as non-dominant culture groups fails to recognize the distinct political nature of Indigenous nations and further promotes their absorption into the Canadian state. In Canada, a movement of reconciliation has emerged, articulated through various political discourses, including education. This movement conceives of reconciliation as efforts on the part of the state and the citizenry to acknowledge and atone for past wrongs, most significantly the Indian residential school system, but also including the Head Tax levied against Chinese immigrants from 1885-1923, the internment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War, and what is called the Komagata Maru incident of 1914, in which Canada refused entry to a ship of immigration-seekers originating from India, and who, under the rules of the commonwealth, were British subjects. The politics of reconciliation suggest that apology and atonement are first steps on a path to more equitable future relations. Education is considered a fundamental component of reconciliation. Proponents of education for reconciliation suggest that by learning the truth about the country's racist past Canadian students will be able to critically assess their country's history and understand the role that discriminatory practices had in producing the structural inequalities that continue to pervade Canadian

society. They further hope that this understanding will encourage liberal values of diversity and multiculturalism, and encourage students to be invested in creating a more equitable future.

Research Purpose and Questions

Theories and critiques of multicultural inclusion are ubiquitous, yet there is a dearth of empirical analysis through which to assess the usefulness of such theories to describe the current state of inclusivity and diversity in educational contexts (Anyon, 2009). With this dissertation, I aim to contribute to filling this gap by providing an analysis of productions of national identity as they show up in curricular documents. Through this analysis, I aim to increase understanding about how national identity is produced through schooling in Canada, and generate a description of how national and non-dominant values are produced in school curricula. As useful as theories are to describe social phenomena, despite tomes of theories and decades of multicultural education, schooling continues to reproduce unequal outcomes, which is suggestive of a disconnect between how curricular multicultural inclusion is theorized and prescribed, and how national and cultural identities are constructed and produced in schools. This research investigates the suggestion that B.C.'s new curriculum and the era of reconciliation in which it occurs are representative of a shift in official and popular attitudes toward Indigenous nations and racialized minorities in Canada. This research examines representations of nationalism in B.C.'s new draft curriculum and assesses its potential for critically transformative approaches to inclusivity and equity in education.

I am persuaded by the arguments of critical multicultural and antiracist educational theorists, critical political theorists, and Indigenous theorists who believe that mainstream approaches to cultural diversity in education are insufficient to decenter dominant narratives and values. This is the case because such mainstream approaches predominantly present non-dominant cultural groups, their histories, ways of knowing, and experiences with the Canadian state in subject areas and discourses such that they are included as amendments to, rather than decentering of dominant Canadian national values. For this reason, this study examines productions of national identity and values, looking in particular at what is made possible and what is evaded through discourses of reconciliation and reconciliatory curricular design. Stated broadly, my research question asks: How is dominant Canadian nationalism produced in B.C.'s new draft curriculum? My research is primarily interested in the character of Canadian nationalism produced in the new curriculum, and so I ask: In what ways is the character of Canadian nationalism produced in the new curriculum the same and different from national values produced through schooling during Canada's Confederation era. To do this I compare the national values evident in this most recent curriculum with national values described in secondary historical educational literature. Looking specifically into how new multicultural and Indigenous content is included in the context of an era of reconciliation, my two-fold central research question asks: How is reconciliation being imagined in context of the new B.C. curriculum and surrounding discourse, and how does the inclusion of new content either alter or maintain the production of a dominant Canadian national identity?

Overview of Research Process

To explore these research questions, I examined the most recent B.C. curriculum that was implemented over a three-year period, 2015-2018, for productions of national values. Interested in how central concepts related to national identity and values are represented in the subject area where we might most reasonably expect to find them, and where we might therefore reasonably expect to find them having been thoughtfully considered – Social Studies – I focused exclusively on this subject area. In the United States, Calderon (2014) describes American Social Studies as “an exemplar of colonization, or coloniality in education in relation to Indigenous peoples” (314), and I was interested to see how this descriptor would work, or not, in the Canadian context. I further focused my research on grades 8, 9 and 10. My main curricular findings, which are discussed in greater detail in chapters five and six, indicate that while there is evidence of progressive inclusions in the most recent B.C. curriculum, the curriculum does not decenter the hegemony of the Canadian state or its dominant national values. In addition to this curricular study, I also undertook a smaller, ethnographic study of the discursive context in which the new curriculum sits. In order to understand the ways in which reconciliation is being imagined, I examined secondary data collected from government documents, media, and other public discourses.

Significance of the Study

In this dissertation I explore the new curriculum in B.C. and the discourse which surrounds it which has widely been read as exemplifying the spirit and practice of reconciliation. At the forefront of this research is an attempt to understand, first, the

intentions and accomplishments of the most recent B.C. curriculum in the pursuit of reconciliation. Specifically, I am interested in how the production of national values and priorities in curricula are accommodating of the goals of reconciliation, and revealing of its limits. This analysis considers the production of national identity and values in the new curriculum in conversation with those of Canadian foundational values, to glean how Canadian values have changed, or not, since the Confederation era, and how they are shaped by the priorities of the era of reconciliation. Second, I then consider the discursive terrain of curricular design and show how reconciliation is being imagined in the context of education in Canada through a reading of official Ministry of Education statements, media responses and representations, public and professional engagements, and critical responses. Through this description, I show how reconciliation is being imagined in the context of education in Canada, and how the surrounding discourse suggests it is being incorporated into the curriculum. Within the discourse, reconciliation is framed as a positive and possible remedy to colonialism in Canada, as well as to instances of racist discrimination against racialized groups for which official apologies have been extended. This framing shapes the official narrative about Indigenous-settler relations and extends into provincial, regional, and local contexts. Through an engagement with this narrative I ask what is made possible and what is evaded in this framing, paying special attention to the role of schooling.

Definition of Terms

Aboriginal refers to the first inhabitants of the lands now within the borders of the Canadian nation state, and includes First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. This term

came into popular usage in Canadian contexts after 1982, when Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution defined the term as such (First Nations Studies Program, 2015, Terminology).

Citizenship refers to the state of being a member of a particular country and having rights and responsibilities because of it.

Culture in this dissertation refers to those matters recognized as such in the context of multiculturalism in Canada and as distinct from those of the economic and/or political. While I note that both economics and politics can be considered as aspects of culture, and while each of those can be seen as having cultures of their own, in this dissertation I follow lines of analysis that take up the ways in which the scope of the cultural is determined by the state and state power, which then comfortably lets in those aspects of culture, so defined, that are easily absorbed into the fabric of multiculturalism, while excluding economic and political matters (Day, 2001; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

First Nations refers to Aboriginal peoples in Canada who are ethnically neither Métis nor Inuit. “This term came into common usage in the 1970s and ‘80s and generally replaced the term “Indian,” although unlike “Indian,” the term “First Nation” does not have a legal definition” (First Nations Studies Program, 2015, Terminology).

Indigenous “is a term used to encompass a variety of Aboriginal groups. In the UN, “Indigenous” is used to refer broadly to peoples of long settlement and connection to specific lands who have been adversely affected by incursions by industrial economies, displacement, and settlement of their traditional territories by others”(First Nations Studies Program, 2015, Terminology). Indigenous nations in Canada and elsewhere assert

that their sovereign statuses are valid, and point to the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which is mentioned in the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982, Section 25, the British North America Acts and the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (to which Canada is a signatory) in legal support of this claim.

Liberalism in politics is associated with non-authoritarianism, the rule of law, constitutional government with limited powers, and the guarantee of civil and political liberties. In economic terms, liberalism is associated with an unplanned economy with free and competitive markets, as well as private ownership and control of productive resources. The basic institutions that are characteristic of a liberal society are constitutionalism and the rule of law; equal basic rights and liberties; formal equality of opportunity; free, competitive markets with private property in means of production; government's obligation to provide public goods and a social minimum; and the fiduciary nature of political power to impartially provide for the public good (Freeman, 2017).

Multiculturalism refers to a political strategy that is a response to the fact of diversity, and is designed to address contesting language, cultural, and land claims within the nation-state (Fleras and Elliot, 2002; Kymlicka, 1996). See the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1985).

Nation refers to a group of people who understand themselves as belonging to clear, coherent group as a result of shared cultural or historical criteria.

Nationalism is a political ideology that "claim[s] that individual human identities embody an essential connection to large groups of people who share specific geographical territories, particular languages, unique political and cultural institutions,

significant historical memories, and (perhaps) similar religious beliefs or ethnic traits” (Kramer, 2013, 577).

National Identity is the sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language, and politics. A person’s national identity is their identity and sense of belonging to one state or to one nation.

Nation state refers to the idea of a homogenous nation ruled by its own sovereign state authority. This idea is rarely realized, and more often state authorities rule over culturally diverse populations.

Native is a general term that refers to a person or thing that has originated from a particular place. The term “native” does not denote a specific Aboriginal ethnicity (such as First Nation, Métis, or Inuit). In Canada, the term “Aboriginal” or “Indigenous” is generally preferred to “Native” (First Nations Studies Program, 2015, Terminology).

State refers to a political organization or concept that has a permanent population, a centralized government, and that exercises sovereignty within clearly demarcated geographic borders. States are officially recognized in and through the international system of states.

Chapter Overview

Following this general introduction that has outlined the purpose and background to this study, in chapter one of this dissertation I offer a context section that introduces the new curriculum in B.C. and situates it within the national and historical contexts from which it has emerged. This section begins with a theoretical examination of modern nationalism, and considers Canada as a particularly liberal modern state in order

to better contextualize the politics of reconciliation as they are unfolding in Canada and thus informing the production of national values. In this chapter I offer a brief account of the history of educational inclusions and exclusions that took place in British Columbia, paying special attention to Victoria as the site of my research study. I also provide an overview of responses to educational injustices, most importantly, that of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Through this historical account, this chapter then introduces B.C.'s new curriculum, set as it is in the context of the contemporary politics of reconciliation.

In chapter two I offer the first of a two-part literature review. I first review secondary historical literature to develop an analysis of the norms, priorities, and beliefs that were produced as national values through schooling from the mid-nineteenth century through to the mid-twentieth century. From the establishment of common schooling until the mid-1900s, these values can be generally characterized as assimilative. The values and priorities identified in schooling during this period are informative for understanding the foundational values of Canada, as well as for understanding the particular form of nationalism promoted through schooling at this time. I return to these foundational values later, and use them in my methodology to construct an analytic framework against which to consider the national values promoted in the current curriculum in British Columbia. This comparison is useful for interrogating the claim that, with the introduction of multicultural legislation and educational values in the 1960s and 1970s, Canadian nationalism shifted from an assimilative era toward an era of cultural inclusivity. I later continue this interrogation with my analysis of the most

recent curriculum situated in the context of reconciliation and claims that the current era has shifted from the shortcomings of the assimilative and multiculturally-inclusive past, into the present era of reconciliation. The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with Canada's educational history in broad strokes, and to describe the particular values and priorities of Canada's early educational policy and curriculum designers so that we can compare the tenets of Canada's founding era nationalism with those found in today's new B.C. curriculum.

In the third chapter I offer the second part of my literature review, in which I turn to contemporary literature to develop an analysis of the role schooling has in producing national values generally, and of how national values shift over time in relation to social, economic and political climates. From the literature it is clear that schooling is and has been vital to the development of cohesive nationalism, and that the particular values that characterize national identity change over time in response to changing conditions. Grounding this theoretical consideration in the example of the Canadian nation state, there are three clearly identifiable phases of Canadian nationalism. The first is most easily characterized as assimilative. Based on British imperialism, assimilative nationalism in Canada from the mid 1800s to the mid 1900s developed class values based on respectability, private property and betterment through education. These values were constructed against productions of the Other - American, Indigenous, and marginalized minorities - and excluded those who were not easily absorbed into the body politic. While this phase has been characterized as assimilative in the literature, in this dissertation I will use the term foundational to describe it in order to avoid suggesting

that successive phases of Canadian nationalism are any less assimilative than the first. The second major phase of Canadian nationalism arose from French-English tensions, the Quiet Revolution, and is characterized by issues of bi-nationalism, bilingualism, and biculturalism, which resulted in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963), the Official Languages Act (1969) and rights enshrined in the Canadian constitution through the Constitution Act (1982). The third phase emerged in the mid-twentieth century following the Second World War, as global relations shifted away from direct-rule imperialism and toward a more cooperative international order based on the primacy of the sovereign state as enshrined in the United Nations, and rising recognition of cultural plurality. As the first country in the world to legislate multicultural rights, since the 1960s and 70s, Canada has boasted cultural diversity and inclusivity as part of its core values. Canadian multiculturalism is based on notions of tolerance, diversity, and equality of opportunity. As the subject of analysis offered in this dissertation – B.C.'s new draft curriculum – is situated on Canada's west coast, my analysis focuses on the first and the third phases of nationalism, and much less on English-French Canadian relations.

Through the last few decades there has been a growing sense and articulation of dissatisfaction with Canadian multiculturalism and a growing body of literature that critiques the policies and practices that claim to adequately support cultural diversity. Arising in part from this dissatisfaction are calls for official acknowledgement of discriminatory treatment experienced by historically and racially marginalized groups. Such critiques are also ubiquitous with regard to multicultural education strategies. To address the failings of multicultural education approaches as a remedy for the

reproduction of dominant culture values and socio-economic inequity, I draw from critical education research that examines how normative, dominant values function in educational environments, and how dominant notions of nationalism and nationalistic values inform the values and subjectivities that are produced in schools. In this dissertation I suggest that these conditions have given rise to a fourth phase of Canadian nationalism, characterized as one of reconciliation, that involves official apologies, the evolution of a particular political vocabulary and politics of reconciliation, the work and implications of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and state, provincial, and regional-level efforts to alleviate cultural oppression, such as improved inclusion of cultural perspectives, content and histories in Canadian curricula. This literature review is important for understanding the possibilities, limits, and implications of educational approaches to diversity that employ liberal mechanisms, such as politics of recognition and reconciliation, as is analyzed in chapter six and discussed in greater depth in the discussion sections in chapter seven.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation is my methodology and includes a theoretical perspective, description of methods used, and an analytical tool. Drawing from my review of the secondary historical literature, I have developed two levels for analysis. First, the literature reveals broad categories of values that are generally associated with the promotion of nationalism, such as common identity, common language; progress and development, and so on. Secondly, reading within each of these categories, the literature also reveals the particular values that gained traction and were socially, economically, and politically instrumental for the establishment of the Canadian

state. For example, in the case of common identity, the literature shows that early Canadian values promoted British imperialism and a common loyalty to the British interests in North America. Using the values identified in my historical review, I developed a framework with which to analyze the newly revised B.C. curriculum. At the first level of analysis I used this framework to read the redesigned curriculum for the ways in which the general categories of values are present or not. At the second level of analysis I compared the particular values promoted in the historical era against those of the redesigned curriculum to generate data with which to assess the quality and character of change over time. The first line of analysis seeks to develop a comprehensive understanding of how nationalism has been produced in schooling generally, and the second line of analysis interrogates claims that Canadian nationalism has changed over time.

The discourse that surrounds the newly redesigned curriculum makes a series of claims that rest on the central assertion that this curriculum is different from previous versions in ways that reflect a national culture and climate of reconciliation. The changes purport to remedy the failings of previous approaches to inclusivity that have presented Indigenous and other historically marginalized perspectives as additive, effectively marginalizing them in relation to dominant Western knowledge. Reflecting the current socio-political climate of reconciliation, this era is characterized by official acknowledgements of discriminatory policies, government apologies, and initiatives for remediation. These changes are also a response to the recommendations of the Truth

and Reconciliation Commission released in June, 2015, that make specific reference to the role of schooling in reconciliation.

In the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters I offer findings and discussion over the three chapters: Curricular Content, Curricular Foundational Ideas, and Curricular Discourses. The eighth chapter, titled Conclusions, summarizes the most salient points of the analysis chapters, considers what these findings reveal about the literature and about productions of nationalism in educational contexts, and considers their impact for the role of schooling in efforts for reconciliation in Canada. This chapter also discusses implications and recommendations for theory, research and practice.

CHAPTER ONE: National Values and the Canadian State

This chapter offers an introduction to the theories, histories, and subjects that constitute the context of this dissertation. Beginning with a discussion of modern nationalism and the modern international order, this chapter opens with a wide-view of the conceptual and political contexts in which contemporary educational issues occur. This section considers how Canada is produced as a modern nation state with a cohesive national identity. Introducing Canada as a particularly liberal modern state, this chapter then considers the liberal mechanisms employed by the state to negotiate rights and recognition in its relationship with non-dominant groups, thereby decreasing political opposition. These mechanisms originated with legislation that promised language, religion, education, and cultural rights to Anglo- and Franco minorities within a context of majority/minority discourses prior to Confederation, and today operate under the broad banner of multiculturalism.

Grounding this political theory in the specific site in British Columbia where my research was undertaken, this chapter then offers a brief history of schooling in the area now known as Victoria, paying special attention to the particular notions of Anglo-Canadian nationalism that took root there during the early period of colonization and that influenced the character of public schooling, as well educational inclusions and exclusions produced there and across the province. Educational inclusions and exclusions – as part of wider socio-political processes of Western European colonialism – exemplify the character of dominant Canadian culture at the time of Confederation and beyond. It is the exclusionary and assimilative nature of this dominant nationalism against which

non-dominant groups have organized, with some demanding increased inclusion, rights and recognition within Canada, and, in the case of Indigenous peoples, some demanding acknowledgement of pre-existing sovereignty, autonomy, and self-determination.

Deciding who counts as Canadian, and in what image Canadian nationalism will be created has produced and been produced through a series of nation-building practices that include a number of inclusions and exclusions in the educational history of British Columbia. This chapter offers brief elaborations of educational inclusions and exclusions as they impacted students and their families from Indigenous, Chinese, Japanese, South Asian, and Doukhobour communities. As part of much larger processes of discrimination for which Canadian governments have been asked to account, each of these inclusions/exclusions has since resulted in some level of government acknowledgement, apology and/or atonement. Following more than fifty years of multiculturalism in Canada and its critiques, contemporary political discourse now includes a distinctly reconciliatory form of politics. Against the backdrop of this historical overview, this chapter will then introduce the politics of reconciliation and consider its impacts on the production of Canadian nationalism in education. Finally, this chapter introduces British Columbia's new curriculum, situated as it is within the contemporary politics and processes of reconciliation.

Modern Nationalism

Theories of nationalism abound, as do theories that elaborate how particular articulations of nationalism participate in hegemonic processes that are reproductive of the ideology and practice of nation state sovereignty, and repressive of alternative

expressions of political and economic organization. Since the central subject of this dissertation is representations of Canadian nationalism, the analysis offered within draws on modernist conceptions of the nation, such as those used in the modern system of nation-states and the contemporary international order.

Modernity refers to the historical period following the Age of Enlightenment (1685-1815), during which values such as liberty, progress and tolerance took root across Europe, and demands for constitutional government grew. In the contemporary political context, modernity refers to the current era of political organization characterized by so-called modern states that emerged following the decline of European monarchical rule. So influential is the notion of the nation-state that Smith (1986) argues, “[i]n the modern world only one form of political unit is recognized and permitted. This is the form we call the ‘nation-state’, characterized by frontiers, capitals, flags, anthems, passports, currencies, military parades, national museums, embassies, and usually a seat at the United Nations” (228). Recognition in and through the United Nations and participation in the modern international order are thereby reproductive of nation-state sovereignty. In the modern era, the global world is divided into a system of internationally recognized states, such that, the “milieu of the nation-state is, broadly speaking, the modern world” (Billig, 1995, 19).

Beyond international recognition, nation-states are identifiable as having “one government for the territory...a single education system, a single economy and occupational system, and usually one set of rights for all citizens, though there are exceptions” (Smith, 228). Feinberg (1998) defines the nation-state in two parts, drawing

first on the idea of the nation as “an imagined community of mutual obligation based on a perception of shared history and meaning”, and second on the idea of the state as “the political instruments for meeting those obligations” (6). While nation-statehood is a status, these characteristics make clear that nation-states are also always being produced and performed. This continuous production results in changing manifestations and specificities of nationalism and national identity over time. Bringing together the conceptual notion of a nation of members linked by shared culture, language and customs and the sovereign territorial entity of the state, the nation-state and the international system of states that supports it hold a monopoly on what constitutes legitimate political organization in the modern world. Modern states are characterized by: a defined territory surrounded by clear borders; a system of law and institutions that underwrite a political community; a socially and politically participatory citizenry; a public culture produced through a public system of education, sovereign authority and autonomy within its borders; recognition of sovereign status from other nation-states in the international order; and legitimacy of the nation derived from and through the ideology of nationalism (Smith, 2008).

Groups that organize outside the nation-state system present challenges not only to the physical entities of the nation-states in which they are situated, but also to the hegemony held by the notion of the nation-state as the only legitimate political unit, such that challenges are quickly and powerfully refused by state military forces, and through the diplomatic and economic channels of the United Nations. In the modern international system of states, nationalism – emboldened by sovereignty and international recognition

– is a constitutive element of the modern nation-state, and participates in producing the modern era and modern political units as distinct from and purportedly morally superior to those characterized as pre- or non-modern.

With roots in the French Revolution, nationalism “was officially formulated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man”, which brought political ideology and discourse from the aristocracy to the general population for the first time (Conversi, 2012, 20). Modern conceptions of the nation are historically specific, rooted firmly in the “so-called civic territorial traditions of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Western Europe and North America”, where a “powerful bourgeoisie took the lead in overthrowing hereditary monarchies and aristocratic privilege in the name of ‘the nation’” (Smith, 2008, 13).

While both *ideology* and *nationalism* are broadly contested concepts, “there is some agreement that nationalism is an ideological movement speaking in the name of a self-defined nation and aiming at controlling political institutions (most often the modern state) within a specific territory” (Conversi, 2012, 13). Scholars consider nationalism to be a distinct political ideology and to be an inseparable aspect and product of modernity (Conversi, 2012). Nationalism has been defined as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population, some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’” (Smith, 2008, 15).

Nationalist principles include “the setting of territorial boundaries, the determination of economic life, the regulation of law and order, and the integration of administration” (Schleicher, 2008, 31). Francis (1997) describes a nation as “a group of people who share the same illusions about themselves,” (10) and Smith (2008) suggests

the nation can be understood, “as a named and self-identified human community whose members cultivate shared myths, memories, symbols, values, and traditions, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, and create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and common laws” (19). National identity therefore can be understood as “the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage” (Smith, 2008, 19). Billing (1995) suggests, “to have a national identity is to have a way of talking about nationhood” (8).

The concept of the nation first popularized by Anderson (1983) posits the nation-state as an imagined community with systems of order and rule, through which the nation comes into being, imagining itself as limited, bounded by other similar nations that surround it. Feinberg (1998) describes the historically random character of nationalism, for the way it includes some and excludes others according to arbitrarily drawn borders. In its randomness, “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist” (Gellner, 1965, 169, in Feinberg, 1998, 37). Gulliver (2011) elaborates a theory of imagined communities by which nations are constructed as limited and sovereign in relation to other political units, but warns, “to say that a nation is an imagined community should not be taken as implying that it is an imaginative community. These imagined communities are reproduced as nations and their citizens as nationals” (121). The nation-state “comes to view itself as sovereign, and the relationships its members have to one another is imagined as one of equality even

though visible differences in status clearly exist” (Feinberg, 1998, 38). As we will see, schooling “is a critical instrument for enabling this imagination” (Feinberg, 1998, 38).

The modern era is also characterized by modern forms of colonization, through which Western European powers exert(ed) domination over much of the world. Modern colonization involves at least two distinct forms: the first, called exploitation colonization, refers to a system of resource extraction in which the foreign power seizes control of land, labour and resources; and the second, called settler colonialism, refers to systems in which the colonizing power establishes a system of rule and governance in the occupied territory, and comes to stay, such as that which characterizes the Canadian state. Settler colonialism and the settler colonial Canadian state are central concepts to this dissertation and will be examined in detail in the theoretical perspective of my methodology to follow, but for the present purpose it is sufficient to say that both forms of colonization are distinctly modern, underpinned by logics of progress and development, and that in settler colonial states, like Canada, colonial agendas originated in European imperialism of the late 15th century and continue to influence Canadian-Indigenous relations. Modern development and progress were/are major ideological drivers of colonial settlement in Canada, and of Western expansionism generally. As is evident in the logic of colonialism, Conversi (2012) suggests, “in its extreme forms, modernism can be specifically redefined as ‘developmentalism’, that is, the ideology of development for development’s sake at whatever the costs” (22). As will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters, modernism, nationalism and their associated ideological indicators drove early Canadian educational initiatives and continue to

constitute Canadian nationalism in educational contexts. In the modern era, in a general sense, the nation-state has been imposed as “a linear concept of time made of cumulative gains and losses”, “to regulate industrial development and economic expansion” (Conversi, 2012, 21). Against this theoretical backdrop, we can anticipate the tensions in and around a state-based education system, predicated as it is on an imperative of modernist developmentalism.

Canada as a Modern Liberal State

Both domestically and internationally, Canada is generally accepted as a modern liberal state. Domestically, as governed by a representative democracy that upholds the individual rights of citizens through the legal authority of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and internationally as a nation-state recognized in the United Nations (U.N.), and one that is formally participatory in international standards of human rights. Through a political ideology of liberalism, the Canadian state asserts its legitimacy through both the so-called classical liberalism based on a constitutional rule of law, as well as through a more contemporary social liberalism, characterized by social justice and progressivism. In Canada, like in other liberal states required to acknowledge minority nations within their borders, various theories and practices of social liberalism are used to contain this multiplicity and maintain sovereign authority.

In liberal states, politics of multiculturalism, recognition, and identity offer channels through which non-dominant group members and organizations representing their collective interests appeal to the state for rights and freedoms. In Canada, non-dominant group members negotiate rights and freedoms through what can be broadly

considered the policies and politics of multiculturalism. With goals of increasing recognition of group rights and social justice within a multicultural state, such politics can be seen as effective processes for greater inclusivity and pluralism. However, these politics run into problems when the rights demanded by non-dominant groups are incompatible with the assumptions and aspirations of the state. In Canada, many Indigenous people and nations refuse inclusion in processes of multicultural politics, resisting participation in politics of recognition that affirm state authority while assigning them minority status vis-a-vis a hegemonic settler majority (St. Denis, 2011). Indigenous education scholars such as Sandy Grande (2004) “have offered a critique of multiculturalism for ignoring the significance of Indigenous (struggles for) sovereignty and stressing the project of inclusion, which does not help, or even prevents Indigenous peoples from achieving decolonizing aims” (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández 2013, 81). “American Indians are not like other subjugated groups struggling to define their place within the larger democratic project,” Grande writes, speaking to the U.S. context, but which also describes Canada. “Specifically, they do not seek greater, ‘inclusion,’ rather, they are engaged in a perpetual struggle to have their legal and moral claims to sovereignty recognized” (Grande, 2004, 107 in Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández 2013, 81). Canadian systems seek to “‘incorporate’ or ‘domesticate’ the subordinate indigenous societies” through multicultural discourses and legal mechanisms that claim “indigenous peoples exist *within* the dominant societies as minorities, domestic, dependent nations, aboriginal peoples or First Nations *of* Canada and so on” (Tully, 2000, 38). Rather than recognition of non-dominant rights arbitrated through Canadian legal institutions,

Indigenous political movements seek acknowledgement of their political autonomy, self-determination, and sovereignty equal to that of the Canadian state.

In Canada, the civic-territorial nationalism of the state is in conflict with other nationalisms, most notably that between the Canadian nation-state and Quebecois³ nationalism⁴, and between the Canadian nation-state and a multitude of Indigenous nationalisms. Like most other modern nation-states, contemporary political discourse in Canada seeks to gloss the inherent oppression of sub-state nationalisms. For example, in current political discourses, state representatives suggest that Canada and Indigenous nations can move forward with a 'nation-to-nation' relationship, a position that ignores differently-authorized conceptions of the nation, and suggests an equality between Canada and Indigenous nations that leaves out an analysis of power and sovereignty. Such suggestions also bracket off history entirely, attempting to create a clean slate for contemporary negotiations without addressing reparations and remedies for previous harms. Modernist principles are authorized in and through international organization and law. Predicated as they are on civic-territorialism, these principles attempt to elide, both conceptually and legally, alternative notions of nations, territoriality, and sovereignty.

³ The research offered in this dissertation leaves out an analysis of Quebec. As an Anglophone researcher studying English-language public schooling, issues distinct to Quebec fall beyond the scope of my inquiry. I note that Quebec holds a unique and contested/able role in the study of Canada's settler colonial condition, able to be analysed as both a colonized and colonizing political actor.

⁴ Quebec does not participate in Canadian multiculturalism, viewing it as a mechanism of assimilation, and promotes interculturalism in its place. Indigenous nations in Quebec do not participate in interculturalism, and exist instead on a nation-to-nation basis with the rest of that province. See Bouchard, G. (2015) *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Perhaps the most serious problem with the modernist conception of the nation is its inherent ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism – the assessment of other cultures according to preconceived ideas that originate in the values and customs of one’s own culture – is well theorized in modernist nationalism, yet civic-territorial nations and their corresponding nationalisms continue to be treated as normative while treating others as inferior deviations (Smith, 2008). Largely conceived within national frameworks and applied within the modern international system of states, these national notions are employed to distinguish the modern from the pre- or non-modern, and provide the conceptual ground against which to distinguish the Other and justify their exclusion (Conversi, 2012).

Through the last few decades there has been a growing sense and articulation of dissatisfaction with Canadian multiculturalism and a growing body of literature that critiques the policies and practices that claim to promote cultural diversity. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) draw attention to how an approach to multiculturalism that seeks inclusion and diversity – a mode they call *whitestreaming* for the way it recenters white people and white supremacy – operates as part of the settler project of erasure and replacement of the non-white other: “when being inclusive, whitestream curriculum begins to absorb and contain, consuming and erasing the other, by always-already positioning the accumulated knowledge as other to, less refined, more subjective, and less reliable than the whitestream” (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, 82). Embarking upon initiatives to improve multicultural diversity and inclusion, such approaches invite non-white people to share knowledge and experience that is then

absorbed into the mainstream and re-positioned as part of the dominant knowledge base: “the language of diversity completes the replacement, positioning white people as the true diverse subjects, the new natives, and protectors of the value of human difference (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, 82). “On the introduction of multiculturalism, the fact of assimilation does not change,” Wolfe (2013) argues, “merely the surface contours of the settler matrix into which the irritant of Native people’s uniquely originary status is to be dissolved” (6). Schick (2014) characterizes multiculturalism as “a popular narrative of Canadian nationhood...with its simultaneous celebration and paradoxical erasure of difference”, and points out that the official “narrative positions all Canadians equally, maintaining that schools too are neutral spaces” (94). With these observations it is imperative to examine the ways in which liberal discourses and processes are complicit in the settler colonial project, looking in particular at how these discourses take shape in curricular decisions. Arising in part from this dissatisfaction are calls for official acknowledgement of discriminatory treatment experienced by historically and racially marginalized groups. Such exclusions are evidenced throughout the history of nation states and show up in educational contexts, and will be elaborated in the specific cases of Canada and British Columbia in the sections to follow.

Imagining Canada: Educational Inclusions and Exclusions

Symbols of Canadian nationalism were embedded into the country’s first education systems from the outset. As the next chapter will elaborate in detail, Canada’s founding era education leaders focused on creating and instilling a sense of national

consciousness and cohesiveness through schooling. Through both the promotion of common values and the dissemination of notions of national geographies and histories, students learned that they belonged to a country called Canada, and that they shared in this identity with each other. Though, as with the production of all group memberships, the cohesion of the *us* came at the exclusion of the *them*. The following section examines how Canadian nationalism was being imagined in the Confederation era, who was in and who was out, and how schooling was used as a site in which to debate national identity in Victoria, British Columbia.

Barman (2010) notes that British Columbia was one of the last regions “caught up in the land grab we know as settler colonialism” (155). Isolated on the far west coast of the North American continent, the region now known as B.C. is situated on the territories of 198 Indigenous nations, and until the 1850s had attracted fur traders but relatively few non-Indigenous settlers (Barman, 1995). This changed with the gold rush of the mid-nineteenth century that brought thousands of prospectors up the Pacific coast. Barman (1995) estimates that as many as 25,000 went through the Hudson’s Bay Company (H.B.C.) outpost at Victoria, and that the population grew from fewer than 500 British settlers in 1858 to over 3000 residents by the end of the year. To secure their holding of the territory, the British Empire established the new colony of British Columbia on August 2, 1858.

Through it all, the small H.B.C. outpost at Victoria swelled with new arrivals and, in many cases, their children, and put pressure on the private school system established there by elite British colonial company men for the education of their sons (Barman,

1995). Previously, the outpost had been primarily populated with English and Scottish colonists who sought to replicate the rigid British class structure of their homeland and maintained the strict social divide between the company officers and workers, farm labourers, and servants: This social structure was reproduced in part through segregated education (Barman, 1995). For families who could afford some tuition, there were English language grammar schools and private-venture Church of England or Catholic schools operating, as well as at least two private-venture schools for girls (Barman, 1995). The private school system instilled religious values and prepared children to take their place in the social order, with children of lower ranks receiving only rudimentary literacy instruction, and children of greater means being prepared to assume their privileged positions (Barman, 1995).

A rapidly growing and diverse population soon brought demands for equitable educational opportunities and influenced the establishment of a publicly funded, non-denominational common school system (Barman, 1995). When British Columbia entered confederation in 1871, the common school system was expanded throughout the province. Appointed in 1872, John Jessop, the first Superintendent of Education in Victoria, followed closely the educational approach of Egerton Ryerson in Upper Canada. Seeking to standardize the education of young Canadians, Jessop prescribed the use of authorized textbooks – the same as those used in eastern colonies – province-wide (Van Brummelen, 1983).

While schooling was officially public and accessible to all, school policies and practices brought unequal educational opportunities for children from marginalized

communities, and children would continue to be excluded on the basis of race under the guise of language and governmental jurisdiction until the mid-1950s (Ashworth, 1979; Barman, 1995). While the B.C. provincial school system was officially accessible to all, during this period some school districts excluded children of racialized groups. In Victoria, Chinese students were barred from common schools on the official grounds that they did not speak English and therefore could not be educated with English-speaking children: rhetoric that was a thin veil for racist attitudes of exclusion (Ashworth, 1979; Stanley, 2003). Of these exclusions, that of Chinese children from Victoria common schools is of particular interest to this study, as it occurred within the Confederation era and directly engaged issues of nationalism and racism. The exclusion of Chinese children during this early period was part of a larger process of national identity formation ongoing on Canada's west coast during which notions of culture, civilization and respectability in white settler culture were being defined against the radicalized "Other", in this case, Chinese. For these reasons, the educational exclusion of Chinese children will be examined in greater detail in the following pages. Indigenous children in B.C. faced a different official attitude regarding their education, one which excluded them from the provincial school system and sought instead to bring them into Canadian nationhood through compulsory education in separate, church-run, nationally-funded educational institutions. The forced schooling of Indigenous children in Canadian education is the central issue that discourses of reconciliation address, and so this history will also be examined in greater detail below.

Chinese and Chinese Canadian Children and Schooling

Through the mid and late 1800s there was growing resistance to Chinese immigration to the British outpost in Victoria among white settlers. Beginning in the 1850s, Chinese migrants came north with the gold rush, and then stayed on to work in fisheries, coal and railroads. White settlers in the area argued that cultural differences made Chinese people unable to be assimilated into the colonial culture. The 1870s brought calls to limit Chinese immigration, based on fears that Chinese immigrants would take jobs from white persons and create insular Chinese communities of trade in Victoria, exporting revenues back to China.

Ashworth (1979) characterizes the period between 1901 and 1923 as one of educational segregation for children of Chinese heritage in Victoria. This segregation was fueled by political controversy over Chinese immigration. Part of the Confederation agreement between federal and provincial governments was the building of a transnational railway. British colonists in Victoria sought to use the opportunity to support a settlement-immigration plan to bring over workers from the British Isles, but the federal McDonald government overruled the expense and brought in less expensive Chinese labourers from California, China and Taiwan (Ashworth, 1979).

Following the completion of the railroad, when labour was no longer in demand, Canada passed the *Chinese Immigration Act, 1885* which imposed a duty of \$50 for Chinese people seeking to enter the country, the first piece of Canadian legislation to discriminate against arrivals based on ethnicity. In 1901, the Chinese head tax was

increased to \$100, and in 1904 it rose again to \$500, a prohibitive cost for those hoping to immigrate.

In Victoria in 1901 there were only 16 Chinese students enrolled in school, with another 108 school-aged children not enrolled (Ashworth, 1979). European settlers, worried about the influence of Chinese children on their children, resisted educational integration and sought to preserve what they conceived of as an “Anglo-Saxon standard of moral and ethical culture” (Ashworth, 1979). Even amidst widespread calls for public schooling in B.C., pressure mounted against the inclusion of students of Chinese origin, though public opinion was mixed. Mar (2010) notes that Chinese demands for “more inclusive visions of immigrant nation-building” in Victoria were met with opposition from those holding racist perceptions of Anglo-Canadian nationalism and that the racist influence of the Ku Klux Klan had reached Canada’s west coast. Yet, there was also “a nascent Canadian liberal, pluralist ideology of society [which] had a measurable influence” on the anti-segregation battle, and the “quiet support” of other white European Canadian allies “helped to stem the tide of school segregation” (Mar, 2010, 85). In the midst of the debate, some school trustees questioned whether the School Board had the authority to exclude Chinese children as long as their parents paid taxes (Ashworth, 1979). To circumvent this obstacle, in 1907, those opposed to Chinese integration suggested that English language proficiency should be used as a requirement for school entry, a move that brought about a legal challenge from Chinese families in response (Ashworth, 1979). The court found in favour of the Chinese children and their families and ruled that all children had the right to school regardless of nationality,

English language proficiency, or class size (Mar, 2010). Yet, rather than admit Chinese students to common schools with European children, the school board supported instead the establishment of a Chinese public school in the city's Chinatown, and de facto educational segregation continued (Mar, 2010).

In 1922, in response to growing harassment from a group of approximately 1000 Anglo pro-segregation protesters, Chinese students initiated a school strike (Mar, 2010). The group of Chinese-Canadians and their families were aware of the necessity of an English-language education for their futures, and they mobilized around the issue, garnering support from China and Chinese-Americans against British Columbia's anti-Asian movement (Mar, 2010; Stanley, 2011). Educational segregation of Chinese children was compounded by political restrictions that removed the right of Chinese immigrants and Chinese-Canadians to vote at all levels, including for local school boards. By the 1920s, "many Anglo and French Canadians believed Chinese to not be assimilable based on an ambiguous set of ideas about supposed racial, cultural, and national differences that suggested incompatibility with the "white Canada" ideal" (Mar, 2010, 84). The segregation of Chinese children in B.C. only ended after Chinese communities in Victoria and Vancouver organized against the school boards, brought suit against the Board of Trustees on the grounds of the B.C. School Law that mandated education, and appealed to the Chinese consulate in Ottawa to apply pressure federally. After one year, on September 4, 1923, a local Chinese newspaper announced "Resistance to School Segregation Achieves Victory," and Chinese students returned to their classrooms, with the exception of the first four years of elementary school during which Chinese children

in some areas would be educated separately to focus on English language proficiency (Mar, 2010, 84). The 1922-23 Chinese student strike was inadvertently empowered by the head tax that restricted immigration. With children of merchants and the professional elite comprising over two-thirds of the locally born first generation, “the group brought together considerable social and cultural capital” to resist further segregation and catapulted the local issue of schooling into an international political incident (Stanley, 2011, 20). Partial educational segregation would continue in Victoria until after the Second World War. Restrictions to Chinese immigration, first under the Chinese Immigration Act, 1885, and later the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923 would stay in place until 1947 when Canada became a signatory of the United Nations and those Acts were found to be inconsistent with the UN Charter. Even then, immigration restrictions remained until the liberalization of Canadian immigration in 1967, when free entry for Chinese migrants was finally in place.

This discriminatory treatment targeted at Chinese people has been acknowledged and addressed through official apologies from both federal and provincial political leaders. In 2006, former Prime Minister Stephen Harper formally apologized in the House of Commons and announced personal compensation for those subjected to the head tax and their spouses, and in 2014 former Premier Christy Clark formally apologized in the Legislative Assembly and announced a one million dollar legacy fund. An educational resource called *Bamboo Shoots: Chinese Canadian Legacies in B.C.* has been produced by Open School B.C., Ministry of Education, sponsored by the Ministry of International Trade and Minister Responsible for Asia Pacific Strategy and Multiculturalism, and overseen by

Project Advisors from the Legacy Initiatives Advisory Council Working Group Members in consultation with representatives from the Chinese-Canadian community, to acknowledge the contributions of Chinese Canadians and the historical injustices they faced (Province of British Columbia, 2015a). According to Open School B.C., Ministry of Education, this resource is “the result of an educational legacy initiative following the May, 2014, B.C. government’s formal apology for the historical wrongs committed against B.C.’s Chinese Canadian community” (Province of British Columbia, 2015a).

Indigenous Children and Schooling

Post-Confederation Canadian Indian policy presumed that Indigenous populations would be absorbed into the dominant culture, and education policy was a key component of this agenda (Titley, 1986). Following Confederation and lasting officially until 1951, Indigenous children were to be educated separately from non-Indigenous students in a federally funded system of church-run industrial, residential and on-reserve day schools. The purpose of this system of schooling was to separate Indigenous children from their families and communities, either physically, culturally, or both, and enculturate them into dominant Canadian society. Early Indigenous school policy had limited educational goals. Focused on assimilation, instruction was “limited to basic education combined with half-day practical training in agriculture, the crafts, or household duties in order to prepare pupils for their expected future existence on the lower fringes of the dominant society” (Barman, Hébert & McCaskill, 1986, 6). Historical research shows that the Canadian school system for Indigenous children pursued discriminatory policies directed at limiting the educational outcomes of Indigenous

children, and included “curricula designed to ensure Indigenous children would move into the lowest rungs of society; church-run schools staffed by untrained missionaries rather than certified teachers; and consistent underfunding compared to that provided to provincial school systems” (Dubensky & Raptis, 2017, 20).

While Confederation brought education under the purview of the provinces, responsibility for schooling Indigenous children in British Columbia wasn’t immediately clear. With Confederation came the British North America Act (1867) that imposed federal authority over Indigenous peoples, a jurisdictional fact that emboldened provincial leaders who were looking for a way out of assuming educational responsibility for Indigenous populations (Ashworth, 1979). The province of British Columbia took advantage of what they saw as a jurisdictional gap and invoked section 93 of the British North America Act (BNA Act) to deny responsibility for educating Indigenous children in provincial public schools (Ashworth, 1979). Section 93 of the BNA Act was intended to protect religious rights in the context of controversy over non-denominational schooling and protected pre-existing denominational school rights within the establishment of public school systems. Section 93 (1) states, “nothing in any Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at Union”, and Section 93 (3) states “Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, and Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act of Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen’s Subjects in

relation to Education” (BNA Act, 1876). Since by 1871 many Indigenous children had already been brought into schools run by churches – both residential industrial schools and on-reserve day schools – the province used these statutes as grounds to exclude Indigenous children from public schools, an exclusion that continued officially until the Indian Act was revised in 1951 to allow Indigenous children to attend provincial schools through federal funding. Yet, while legislation allowed for Indigenous children to attend provincial schools, residential schools endured until 1996. The government of British Columbia maintained a two-system approach to schooling until 1949 when the province amended the Public School Act to formalize a cost-sharing agreement with the federal government (Chapple & Raptis, 2013).

The history of education in British Columbia can be examined as a series of racialized inclusions and exclusions, as an evolving set of liberal mechanisms and frameworks, and as the ongoing production of national values and culture. These analyses intersect and overlap, and collectively depict the role that public education has played in the promotion of a particular Canadian national identity. This dissertation is animated by an interest in how schooling – policy and practice – participates in discourses of inclusion and exclusion that perform and produce notions of Canadian nationalism. These inclusions and exclusions point to the ways that different conceptions of the Other were and are used to promote the interests of Canadian nationalism in educational contexts. As the following chapter elaborates in more detail, this early era of Canadian nationalism was largely assimilative – privileging British traditions – and it

would be more than half a century before Canadian national values would shift to accommodate multiculturalism.

Reimagining Canada: Reconciliation

The most recent incarnation of Canadian nationalism involves the emerging politics of reconciliation. Recently and increasingly, federal and provincial levels of government officially acknowledge the legacy of assimilation of Indigenous peoples, a legacy that includes policies and practices with the direct intention of undermining Indigenous identity and autonomy and assimilating Indigenous peoples into the Canadian population. The Canadian state has pursued assimilation through a wide variety of techniques of control, including but not limited to: gender discriminative status membership requirements that excluded women who married non-Indigenous men, and their children; discriminative status membership for Indigenous people who lived in places other than government allotted reserves; as well as automatic enfranchisement into Canadian citizenship and loss of status for Indigenous men who enlisted in the armed forces or enrolled in some state-funded programs or occupations. Perhaps the most infamous assimilative policy in Canada produced the residential school system, which forcibly removed Indigenous children from their homes and intended forced enculturation into Canadian society through education and religious instruction. The Canadian residential school system was founded on pre-Confederation era policies – the Gradual Civilization Act (1857) and the Gradual Enfranchisement Act (1869) – that assumed the superiority of European civilization and supported government policy to remove Indigenous children from their culture and assimilate them into the dominant

Canadian culture. With the introduction of the Indian Act (1876), school attendance was compulsory for Indigenous children and many were forced out of their homes and into residential schools until the last school was closed in 1996. This era of residential schooling is responsible for widespread and deep-reaching personal suffering and cultural disenfranchisement among Indigenous people, families, and communities. The removal of children from their families disrupted familial bonds, cultural belonging, and connections to land and place. As part of a state initiative to 'kill the Indian in the child', residential schooling intended to bring Indigenous children into Western culture and Canadian society, thereby hoping to extinguish Indigenous cultures and remove them as impediments to Canadian colonization of Indigenous lands.

In addition to the removal of children from their families and communities, Canada also pursued its colonial agenda through a land reserve system, accomplished in part through the corruption of the treaty system. Prior to European contact, treaty-making was a known process and one used between Indigenous nations as a way of acknowledging and honouring territorial jurisdictions, and not as a process of relinquishing sovereign authority (Venne, 1996). While Indigenous nations entered treaties with colonial representatives – and in fact insisted upon them before Europeans could enter their territories – many argue that they never relinquished their lands (Venne, 1996). Once treaties were signed, colonial representatives distorted their intent and many Indigenous nations were forced on to policed reserve lands, thus paving the way for Western expansion and agricultural settlement (Titley, 1986). In B.C., Indigenous land title was largely ignored, and colonial and provincial officials sold the land out from

under Indigenous communities. While these assimilative policies and practices enabled the Canadian state through the removal of Indigenous nations, they are largely left out of accounts of Canadian nationalism and national identity. As will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow, how Canadians think about Canada – the illusions we collectively hold about ourselves – delimit possibilities for more just and equitable frameworks.

Several hundred years of Indigenous resistance to Canadian assimilation⁵ have resulted in strong associations, including the Assembly of First Nations, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). In this section, I discuss the political concept of reconciliation, describe the TRC of Canada in more detail, and elaborate its significance for education.

The idea of reconciliation as a political process gained international prominence as a feature of the South African transition from apartheid to democracy (Bashir & Kymlicka, 2008). Arising in the contexts of countries in Africa, Central and South America that were transitioning from authoritarian rule characterized by the explicit exclusion or repression of minority groups toward more democratic regimes, efforts to account for and reconcile discriminatory eras were part of transitional justice movements in newly democratizing countries (Bashir & Kymlicka, 2008). Reconciliation has since “become an influential framework for thinking about the claims of historically oppressed groups” within established democracies like Canada (Bashir & Kymlicka, 2008, 4). Hopes for reconciliation are that such processes will lead to more diverse and inclusive forms of

⁵ While the Canadian state is only approximately 150 years old, its contemporary status is made possible through policies and practices to dispossess, remove and assimilate Indigenous peoples that originate with European contact.

democracy and increased social equity. It is important to note that unlike the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, which has been a critical instrument in South Africa's transition towards full democracy, the federal government did not fund the TRC of Canada, nor did the TRC of Canada have the authority to grant or deny amnesty to criminal defendants. Rather, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was organized by the survivors of the residential school system themselves and funded by their collective agreement settlement (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

In March 2007, the largest class action settlement in Canadian history – the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) – received federal court approval. All parties involved approved the IRSSA: the Assembly of First Nations; legal counsel for survivors of residential schools; legal counsel for the churches that administered residential schools; and the Government of Canada. The IRSSA included five main components: 1. a Common Experience Payment (CEP) to be paid to all eligible former students; 2. an Independent Assessment Process (IAP) for claims of sexual and serious physical abuse; 3. the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission; 4. commemoration activities; and 5. measures to support healing including the Indian Residential School Health Support Program and an endowment to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. As one of five main components of the IRSSA, the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was allotted \$60 million to collect and record the experiences of survivors of residential schools, and to report to the Canadian public on Indian residential schools and the lasting legacy of these schools. The TRC was also

tasked with providing those affected with a safe and culturally appropriate forum in which to share their stories, to complete a full and accurate public historical record, to promote awareness and public education about the residential school system and its impacts on the human dignity of students, and to initiate and encourage reconciliation from all parties involved including former students, their families, communities, religious entities, government, and the people of Canada.

Formally established on June 2, 2008, the TRC issued its final report seven years later, in June 2015. In its final report, the TRC published 94 “Calls to Action”, divided into two categories: *Legacy* and *Reconciliation*. There are calls to action that relate specifically to education in both categories. In the *Legacy in Education* section actions six through 12 address Indigenous student academic access and outcomes, and in the *Education for Reconciliation* section actions 62 through 65 address improving the education of all Canadian students on the residential school system in Canada, the discriminatory policies that supported it, and the lasting legacy of the residential school system for Indigenous people and communities through the inclusion of Indigenous history and cultural content in provincial curricula. This work is the result of the efforts of several deeply invested Indigenous advocacy groups. Through these efforts educational resources called *Indian Residential Schools and Reconciliation Teacher Resource Guides for grades 5, 10, and 11/12* have been developed for use in British Columbia by the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC) and the First Nations Schools Association (FNSA). These groups say these resources are their “response to the call by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada for education bodies to develop age-appropriate educational

materials about Indian Residential Schools” (First Nations Education Steering Committee, n.d., Indian residential schools and reconciliation resources: About the resources). It is not my intention in this dissertation to comment on the character or quality of these resources, but rather to consider the ways in which space is being made for these inclusions in the B.C. curriculum, and whether or not there can be seen to be shifts in the character and quality of dominant Canadian national values as a result of the inclusion of a more just account of Canadian racialized discrimination, past and present.

B.C.’s New Curriculum in the Context of Reconciliation

British Columbia underwent a three-year transition to a new K-12 curriculum, 2015-2018. The newly redesigned curriculum promotes what are referred to as *big ideas*, project-based learning and individualized assessment. These shifts, curricular resources suggest, reflect the desire to prepare future generations for an increasingly flexible, technological and global economy. The ideas embodied in the new curriculum are critical of the linearity and abstraction of disciplined subject areas, and favour instead more inquiry-based and interdisciplinary programs that offer students a role in designing their studies and the opportunity to pursue their passions and interests. The British Columbia Education Plan (February 2015) explains the impetus and the rationale for the new provincial curriculum: The challenge, as set out in the B.C. Education Plan (2015) is to create a “nimble and flexible” education system to respond to and prepare students for “success in a changing world” (3). Seizing the opportunity to move “toward a more innovative education system”, the new curriculum builds on the strengths of the existing system, “while modernizing education so it can adapt and respond to students’ needs”

(B.C. Education Plan, 2015, 3). The B.C. Education Plan has five key elements designed to promote flexible, adaptable, excellence in education: 1. personalized learning for every student; 2. quality teaching and learning; 3. flexibility and choice; 4. high standards; and, 5. learning empowered by technology. Despite the attention given to cultural content and historically marginalized perspectives in the discourse surrounding the new curriculum, there is no mention of cultural diversity, national identity, or reconciliation in the five key elements of the new B.C. Education Plan. Indigenous education is mentioned once only in reference to the need to improve Indigenous student academic outcomes, and not at all in reference to the inclusion of cultural content or improved education of Canadians about discriminatory policies and practices.

The newly redesigned curriculum states an aim to address changing educational priorities for the 21st century. Among these changes are a greater emphasis on technological innovation and preparation for an increasingly technological economy, a pared-down curriculum design intended to allow teachers increased flexibility to use the curriculum to meet the specific needs of their students and communities, and a concerted effort to include the historically marginalized histories and perspectives of racialized minority groups and Indigenous peoples. While each of these stated priorities signals progressive curricular development, research is required to determine what is intended and what is accomplished in B.C.'s newly redesigned curriculum. As reforms are underway to improve inclusivity, questions arise about their ability to bring substantial change. In particular, the ways in which historically excluded perspectives are introduced in relation to traditionally mainstream perspectives are of crucial importance. How we

think about the past has serious implications for how we perceive the present. In this dissertation, I suggest that in addition to including marginalized perspectives, educational equity, and by extension national equity, requires re-thinking dominant Canadian perspectives and their racist and colonial contexts. Stanley (1995) points out that it is the tendency for integrated curricular approaches to introduce students to the ways in which racializations produce exclusions, and teach about 'minority' populations, but racializations are very rarely examined for how they produce dominant identity values and subjectivities. This concern is similarly articulated in Indigenous research that draws attention to the tendency for social science research to be designed in ways that make Indigenous peoples the subjects of study, rather than being designed to demonstrate the conditions of colonialism that produce Indigenous and non-Indigenous subjectivities (Simpson, 2007). In this dissertation I intend to address these concerns by making the production of dominant Canadian nationalism and national values the central subject of inquiry.

Published in the context of contemporary national politics, government officials claim that the new 2015-2018 curriculum that includes content on Canada's discriminatory treatment of racialized immigrants from East and South Asia, as well as discriminatory treatment of Indigenous peoples, contributes to reconciliation efforts. Already critics contend that rather than a new ethos or era of relations, reconciliation is the latest incarnation of liberal nationalism, and that it is no less assimilative than any earlier incarnation (Coulthard, 2014). The values that underpin Canadian curriculum and pedagogy are rooted in the Enlightenment values associated with Western liberal

philosophy (Donald, 2016) that impose conditions of cognitive imperialism on those from non-Western knowledge systems and cultures (Battiste, 1998; 2005). Eurocentric thought contributes to cognitive imperialism through the production of narratives that favour Western values and identities over others, for example, “the assertion that only Europeans can progress and that Indigenous people are frozen in time, guided by knowledge systems that reinforce the past and do not look towards the future” (Blaut, 1993 in Battiste, 2005). Eurocentric knowledge systems have appropriated and Europeanized contributions to knowledge from all over the world, while reinforcing “the myth that regions outside Europe contribute nothing to the development of knowledge” (Battiste, 2005). Eurocentric thought – authorized through the forces of British imperialism – rationalized colonial expansionism in what is now Canada, and produced the values that comprise Canadian national identity and its corresponding exclusions. “For as long as Europeans have sought to colonize Indigenous peoples, Indigenous knowledge has been understood as being in binary opposition to “scientific,” “western,” “Eurocentric,” or “modern” knowledge” (Battiste, 2005). Eurocentric knowledge systems are reproductive of Western liberal societies that are organized around principles of individual rights, equality, democracy and free markets.

In this dissertation I am interested in the ways that settler colonialism and Canadian nationalism condition and inform each other. This new curriculum comes as Indigenous and non-Indigenous theorists, scholars, leaders and activists are increasingly critical of the ways in which settler colonialism constrains possibilities for meaningful reform, such as that suggested by the politics of reconciliation. While scholars have

recently begun to examine how curricula have been and continue to be complicit in the settler colonial project (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013), and the study of settler colonialism has grown in recent decades, the role of curriculum remains under-examined and under-theorized (Calderon, 2014). This work is particularly timely in British Columbia, where there is a new, and as yet unexamined curriculum, designed in part to account for racial discrimination in Canada. In the following chapters I examine how Canada, like other modern states, advances liberal discourses and processes of multiculturalism and reconciliation to account for diversity and remedy social inequality, and how these discourses are grounded in the hegemony of the settler state and founded on Eurocentric political philosophies that confirm state-centric sovereignty, the rights of the individual, democratic liberalism, and the capitalist economic market. I argue that while advancing liberal tropes of multiculturalism and reconciliation to reconcile diversity, modern states like Canada are confirming the hegemony of Eurocentric systems of knowledge and order that create the conditions of oppression in the first place, and then offer to accommodate cultural diversity, leaving social, economic and political hegemony intact. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2013) refer to these processes as *moves to secure settler futures* – attempts on the part of settler colonial states and societies to accommodate diversity on cultural terms – terms that specifically do not challenge the hegemony of the settler state, and, in fact, align with the settler state’s self-professed liberal multiculturalism and promote its reputation for accommodation of diversity – while denying challenges that threaten the social, political, and economic authority of the settler state. Settler colonial acquisition of land and resources enable the production of a

Canadian nationalism that is able to be inclusive of cultural diversity without relinquishing authority over land, economic exchange, or control of resources (Coulthard, 2014).

CHAPTER TWO: National Values and Educational History

Canada's systems of provincial schooling have a somewhat brief, yet storied past. For many decades historical research in Canada focused on nation building political processes and economic development, while the country's educational history was less well studied. In 1975, historians Prentice and Houston pointed out that while public schooling has been often framed in historical research as little more than a corresponding sign of progress occurring in tandem with the country's economic growth, there were significant, less-examined circumstances of and motives for educational change in Canada's past. While previous prevailing narratives stressed the popular support for schooling that took root in the 19th century as the central factor in school reform and the emergence of the public school system, the objectives of educational reformers had a broader socio-political scope and invite a closer analysis. As this chapter will begin to explain, Confederation-era education leaders saw the vital role for schooling in settling a diverse population of immigrants of varied socio-economic classes and the disparate norms and ways of living that they brought with them to the colonies of Canada. Through the construction of so-called middle class values and notions of respectability and propriety, educational reformers participated in the production and proliferation of what would become Canadian national values that helped forge a sense of national identity and belonging amongst this varied population. School subject matter and textbooks presented narratives, depictions, and imaginings intended to bring about a shared sense of place and purpose amongst the youth in the Canadian colonies. Indigenous peoples were largely left out of early educational history, with educational

segregation being the official policy, if not always the practice. Yet, while pursued outside of provincial systems of public schooling, the enculturation of Indigenous children into Canadian national identity through education was a key strategy of nation building. From the secondary historical literature reviewed in this chapter, themes emerge that paint a picture of early Canadian educational priorities and the strategies undertaken to achieve them. This chapter will familiarize the reader with Canada's educational history and its social context in broad strokes, and describe the values and norms pursued by Canada's early educational reformers in the aim of establishing a thriving settler colonial society.

An Unsettled Settler Society

From before Confederation, schooling was used to bring together a diverse immigrant population through the production of national values in what would become Canada. Following the Seven Years War (1756-1763), when France ceded its North American lands – with the exception of two small islands – to Britain through the Treaty of Paris (1763), the British Royal Proclamation of 1763 renamed New France the Province of Quebec, as it would remain until 1791. British colonists worried that the majority French-speaking population in Quebec would join the growing unrest in the southern colonies that would become the American Revolution. In an effort to appease the French, the British enacted the Quebec Act, 1774, that brought in the first Quebec Charter of Rights for language, culture, civil law and religious freedom for Roman Catholics and the Roman Catholic Church. As such, a system of secular public schooling was slower to emerge in Francophone areas, where the Roman Catholic Church sought to maintain its role in matters of education and opposed the spread of public schooling (Prentice &

Houston, 1975, 4). Through this era, the raising of children was seen as the primary responsibility of the family, and parents – especially fathers – received sermons during church services on the importance of modelling and instilling good values in their children (Prentice & Houston, 1975, 6). In English-speaking areas, a number of religious denominations competed for social moral authority, leaving space for the emergence of a centralized system of social order, such as that pursued by public schooling.

From 1791 until 1840, the British colonial territories in what is now Canada were renamed Upper and Lower Canada, reflecting their positions on the St. Lawrence River, with Upper Canada in the southern part of modern day Ontario, and Lower Canada in the south-eastern part of modern day Quebec, as well as the Labrador region of modern day Newfoundland and Labrador. Upper Canada was governed by a Family Compact oligarchy; a small group of elite men who exercised political, economic and juridical power, while a similar structure called Château Clique governed Lower Canada. The Family Compact originated through a series of political appointments made by Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe to two unelected branches of government, through which he sought to recreate British society in Canada through the establishment of an aristocratic ruling class (Mills, 2006a). The Château Clique was composed primarily of elite anglophone merchants appointed by the governor (Mills, 2006b). These leaders held largely conservative and loyalist views, and were opposed to democratic reform and responsible government, described as an executive or Cabinet that is dependent on the support of an elected assembly, rather than one appointed.

Through the early part of the nineteenth century in Upper Canada, schooling was basic and only available through private venture or partially funded local schools (Prentice, 1977). British ‘donors’ and ‘friends of students’ – wealthy sponsors from the old country – paid to operate schools for privileged children, while religious societies funded education for children of fewer means (Prentice & Houston, 1975, 7). Through the mid-nineteenth century, pressures from urbanization and immigration, periods of economic depression and labour unrest, growing tensions between French and English, Catholic and Protestant, and rumblings of civil unrest in the United States all contributed to an increase in programs for social reform, including schools, believed to be the only way to unite a diverse and struggling immigrant population (Prentice, 1977, 56). The Act of Union, 1840 – which came into effect in 1841 – abolished the separate legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada and united the two as one political entity, the Province of Canada. And, in the 1840s, educational authorities finally gained enough public and political support to pursue educational reform and the structure of the modern provincial school system emerged (Axelrod, 1997).

Prentice argues that, rather than driven by a moral imperative to educate and ameliorate an uneducated society, concerns over the status and progress of the British colonies drove education reform in Upper Canada, where education was seen as “at once the best means to rise and the only real insurance against social and economic decline” (Prentice, 1977, 66). Prentice (1977) explains that in the mid-nineteenth century Upper Canadian society was transitioning from a

multi-level, hierarchical and rather static structure of interdependent ranks, to the idea that increasingly the community was made up of two great classes only... the respectable, proprietary or middle classes on the one hand, and, on the other, the propertyless (sic) lower classes or the labouring poor (67).

Whereas the elite had comfortably held socio-political authority within a multi-tiered, hierarchical society, the confluence of a large and growing mass of labouring poor raised concerns about the potential for conflict, and the risk of the lower class to violently rise up against the middle class (Prentice, 1975). In this context, education reformers saw “the schools as the institutions best adapted to promote peace in the community, to foster good relations between the rich and poor” (Prentice, 1977, 67). Rather than discourage emphasis on class-based tensions, education leaders drew public attention to the possibility of “mutually-hostile classes” to garner support for common schools as the promoter of common values (Prentice, 1977, 68). Prentice (1977) explains that while schooling had the goal of elevating a respectable middle class, it was also intended to produce “a safe and disciplined lower class, the necessary labourers over whom those who had bettered themselves could exercise their newly won power” (115). In order for this class system to work peaceably, it was important for the labouring class to support the values of education and gentility that distinguished the middle class, while also accepting their lot on the lower rungs. Reformers thought, “ideally, schooling would lift labourers out of their rudeness and ignorance, but it must not, on the other hand, alienate them from their occupations” (Prentice, 1977, 107). Through common schooling and the proliferation of common norms and rules of respectability, the lower classes

could be encouraged to take on the values of the higher, while concretizing social ranks and ensuring stability. Through this emerging social order, education reformers hoped class conflict could be avoided in part through the use of common schooling, not by removing class-based distinctions, but by uniting the classes through the common experience of school and the promotion of common values (Prentice, 1977).

The use of public schooling to promote national identity is well documented (Manzer, 1994; Feinberg, 1998). In the colonies of Canada, curricula were created with the purpose of producing and perpetuating those particular historical narratives that supported the country's national aspirations (Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak, 2010). Anxious to reproduce the stability of the old country and resist the rebellious spirit of the American colonies, colonists north of the border pursued distinctly loyalist socio-political values through education, as they did through social practices at large. These values accompanied the very earliest educational initiatives in the colonies that would become Canada. Research reveals that the particular values that have come to distinguish Canada from its southern neighbour date back to the very beginning of the Canadian colonies (Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak, 2010). Fuelled by anti-colonial, rebellious sentiment, the American Declaration of Independence emphasizes an individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", while Canada, on the other hand, was founded as a "nation dedicated to peace, order, and good government" (Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak, 2010, 257). Whereas American nationalism esteems the United States as a revolutionary nation born of its independence from Britain and recognized for its global leadership, Canadian national narratives depict Canadians as peace loving, cooperative, and content

to remain within the British Commonwealth. The differences between the two countries' founding values are rooted in their different historical experiences, key among them, differing experiences with revolution. When, during the late 18th century, Americans who supported the War for Independence arrived in the most populous northern British colonies of Nova Scotia and Quebec hoping to gain allies and bring the Canadian colonies into the rebellion, they were not able to convince the northern colonies to join. What might have begun as a circumstantial anti-revolutionary stance in Canada was bolstered following the American Revolution when British loyalists fled north, impacting fledgling Canadian nationalism with loyalist values, as well as impacting the constitution writing process in Canada. As a result, while American national identity was born of a revolutionary spirit that intended to challenge the authority of government, Canadian nationalism "saw the authority of political institutions as central to the well-being of their country" (Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak, 2010, 257).

As the colonies that would become Canada became increasingly self-managing in the era leading up to Confederation and colonial practices shifted to include less direct bureaucratic management from Britain, Canadian settler colonial society was entrenched with strong "cultural and emotional attachment to the monarchy and all that it represented" (Axelrod, 1997, 26). School helped to secure this attachment, classrooms were adorned with the Union Jack and portraits of the Queen, and "the promotion of Loyalist mythology [was] a normal part of classroom life in English Canada in the mid-nineteenth century" (Axelrod, 1997, 26). The curricula and educational materials used in schools during this era were designed to support the broader socio-political goals of

Confederation-era leaders. As such, educational reformers sought the standardization of textbooks and the normalization of teacher education to help ensure students would receive the same messages about the fledgling country of Canada and its relationship to the imperial center of Britain. Van Brummelen (1983) explains,

the vast and only sparsely settled expanse, with the constant threat of American annexation, with an often hostile native population, with a plurality of nationalities and religions, with poor communication and transportation, and with an almost non-existent sense of national identity, it would have been surprising if textbooks, and, consequently, schools, had not held before the students a common Canadian vision of life and society that the leaders wanted to inculcate (24).

Beginning in Upper Canada in the 1840s, prescribed textbooks were intended to introduce a common knowledge and a set of common values across the province, as students from diverse backgrounds were socialized into a common nationality through schooling (Van Brummelen, 1983). In British Columbia, the first Superintendent of Education, John Jessop, closely followed the example of educational leader Egerton Ryerson in Ontario, and, in 1872, Jessop issued a province-wide prescription of approved textbooks intended to promote social harmony and foster a homogenous citizenship (Van Brummelen, 1983). Jessop's initiative was overwhelmingly successful, in part due to the state of public schooling in B.C. at the time. Public schools were new and there were few books in use outside the colonial outpost of Victoria (Van Brummelen, 1983). By the fourth year, Jessop reported that all schools in the province used the prescribed

textbooks in all subject areas (Van Brummelen, 1983). The rapid spread of prescribed textbooks meant soon children across the province were being introduced to the same subject matter and reading the same literature, producing a common knowledge and uniting them through the experience of provincial education.

Between 1872 and 1925, provincial education leaders selected textbooks for use in Canadian schools founded on “a well-defined framework based on a British, Christian heritage” that “presented how they believed children should act and what they should think” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 24). During an era “marked by the territorial expansion of the British Empire, English Canadian educators sought to instill in school children a passionate commitment to their Anglo-Saxon heritage and identity”, and enthusiastically encouraged loyalist sentiments (Axelrod, 1997, 56). In the new schools of the Canadian colonies, “the books they used and the pedagogy they practiced reflected aspects of Canada’s social and cultural life. What children were expected to learn, and how they were taught, signaled in part the dominant values of their communities”, and those values were distinctly loyalist (Axelrod, 1997, 54).

The first official readers chosen by Jessop in 1872 for use in British Columbia were called the Canadian Series of Reading Books, or The Red Series, and were Canadian revisions of Irish National Readers that were selected first by Ryerson in 1846 “as an antidote to the various American readers in use in Ontario at that time” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 4). Textbook choices reflected deeply held nationalist attitudes, and “Americans were perceived as too individualistic, materialistic, aggressive, and disorderly” (Axelrod, 1997, 26). Canadians, on the other hand, thought of themselves as “more civil,

peaceable, ordered, and respectful of tradition” (Axelrod, 1997, 26). In order to distance Canadian school children from revolutionary American sentiment, Canadian education leaders chose to use the Irish readers that were “politically reliable, denominationally non-controversial, and relatively cheap to purchase” (Axelrod, 1997, 39).

While early Canadian education leaders admired the United States for its economic and educational achievements, they also held serious concerns about American republicanism, practices of slavery and racial segregation, and patriotism directed against the British Empire, and these concerns influenced the strong control the Canadian provinces sought over textbook choices (Prentice, 1977). Confederation-era Canadian textbooks had little good to say about the United States, giving much more coverage to British victories against France and Spain abroad than they did to the American War of Independence (Van Brummelen, 1983). Canadian history textbooks used the War of 1812 as an “opportunity not only to make the point that the Americans had been beaten, but also to say that they had attacked an unoffending people, justly ruining their commerce and losing their national honour” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 20). Canada, and its ongoing loyalty to Britain, was honourable by contrast. References to American slavery practices were “accompanied by reminders that the Canadian provinces had abolished it in 1793 and 1801” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 20).

Confederation-era textbooks also produced racialized Indigenous identities against which the idealized Anglo-Saxon identity could be imagined. As Grosvenor (1999) explains, productions of the racialized Other are held up as referent points in nationalist discourses, against which to define that which will be considered representational of

national identity. In this vein, early Canadian textbooks included disparaging representations of Indigenous peoples and communities, most often depicting them as uncivilized, in order to promote the necessity of civility in settler society (Van Brummelen, 1983). In the territories around the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay, the most common representation was that of the so-called 'noble savage' – "with an emphasis on the savage" – and included depictions of Indigenous people as cruel and war-like, spending their recreation time gambling, smoking and feasting, and omitted mention of Indigenous family and community life, such that settler society would both fear and despise them (Van Brummelen, 1983, 21). Such representations of Indigenous peoples as lawless and aggressive were one tool used to legitimate colonial expansionism in North America (Carleton, 2011). By contrast, textbooks in British Columbia depicted Indigenous people as friendly but immature, providing justification for paternalistic policies and the dispossession of Indigenous people from their lands and political systems (Carleton, 2011). Narratives that support the notion of peaceful colonial settlement, notes Carleton (2011), gloss the historical realities of Indigenous resistance to and political organization against British imperialism (106). Even while the Nisga'a and Tsimshian nations sent delegations to Victoria to negotiate land issues as early as 1887 (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, n.d.), Indigenous political organization tends to be absent from general historical narratives, and Indigenous society is continuously presented as primitive. Schick (2014) observes the usefulness of stereotypes about racial minorities and Indigenous peoples for "descendants of white settlers who continue to benefit from unearned white privilege" (93). Disparaging stereotypes and accompanying paternalistic policies that

hampered Indigenous people and communities “were useful in creating the mythology of the vanishing indigenous people and, later, producing management systems that enabled the state to control the progress of aboriginal people when they refused to go away” (Schick, 2014, 93). These portrayals of the limited progress of Indigenous peoples “were useful to white settlers and the northern white nation who marked their stories of progress against those of an indigenous other” (Schick, 2014, 93).

Disavowal of conquest, genocide and colonization through myths of peaceful settlement date back to the earliest textbooks, and are ongoing in North America (Razack, 2002). Schooling participates in the production of these narratives, while textbooks reinforce the necessity of settlement and the benevolence of colonial society. Children learn(ed) that it was the responsibility of British society to protect less civilized people and bring them up to the standard of British civilization (Carleton, 2011), an attitude that continues to underwrite the paternalism evidenced in Canadian-Indigenous relations. Told against the stark backdrop of frontier life, narratives of settler benevolence help to legitimate settler colonialism “as a natural, commonsensical process of creating a safer and more secure society for non-Indigenous settlers” (Carleton, 2011, 106). Settler colonial narratives depict Indigenous people – as Indigenous people – as threats to settler society, which thereby necessitates either their assimilation or erasure (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Textbooks heavily promoted the assimilation of Indigenous peoples, and through textbooks school children learned that it was the responsibility of settler society to bring Indigenous peoples into civilized life, and that this could be accomplished by incorporating them into the dominant socio-economic system and showing them the

value of their labour (Van Brummelen, 1983). Textbooks celebrated Indigenous leaders who appeared to cooperate with settlers, and encouraged students to ask, what more “could anyone desire than to become a British subject, and to be part of the glorious Empire that stood for truth, courage, liberty and freedom” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 22).

Creating Common Values

Respectability

In the mid-nineteenth century, in the absence of a clear set of values by which the middle and labouring classes could be unified, education reformers sought to instill the notion of respectability as a central pillar of social cohesion and order. Character traits associated with respectability included modesty, honesty, and kindness: values that were sure to prioritize order and gentility above justice or equality. Prentice (1977) notes, the “manifestations of respectability that they praised and promoted were refined manners and taste, respectable religion, proper speech and, finally, the ability to read and write proper English” (Prentice, 1977, 68). One can see that through the proliferation of such values, those of the labouring class who fell short of such traits as a result of limited education or social enculturation would be less likely to be resentful for their social position, more likely to assign responsibility for their failings to themselves, and more likely to admire such traits in the middle and upper classes, thus reducing the likelihood of uprising or class conflict.

Private Property

In Upper Canada, in the mid-nineteenth century, the now generally accepted norm of private property was not yet widely practiced across social classes. As a result,

those who placed a high value on private property – chiefly those with the means to buy and sell land – were invested in the general public accepting and valuing this commodity: In order for landowners to exercise the social capital generated from the possession of private property, the labouring classes also had to aspire to this ideal. “One of the chief complaints made about the poor of Toronto in the 1860’s”, explains Prentice (1977), “was that they had little to no sense of property, tending to regard the region around them as “a kind of common” from which their children might pick up whatever they could, “toward the satisfaction of their very inconvenient cravings”” (82). Coming from old country circumstances without a history of land ownership, most European settlers had not yet acquired the norm or the means to secure private property. Instead, in the absence of a system of enclosure, they saw the land as a collective resource, from which anyone could harvest according to their needs. As long as the labouring classes could satisfy their needs from the common property on which they lived, they had no pressing need for private property. However, while the labouring classes may not yet have possessed property of their own, new norms of respectability dictated “it was also respect for private property that most clearly distinguished the respectable from the lower classes” (Prentice, 1977). In this fashion, the labouring classes were pressured to conform to the social norm of respectability that demanded a respect for private property, while these norms were actually antithetical to their own economic interests.

Educational leaders were also heavily invested in the popular acceptance of private property norms, and such concerns impacted educational reform. “The very concept and existence of private property was what distinguished savage from civilized

societies, according to opinions cited by Ryerson in his 1877 textbook on the Elements of Political Economy” (Prentice, 1977, 81). Early school promoters argued that with adequate education, children would acquire the value of private property and the accumulation of wealth, and that exposure to material luxuries through books in school libraries would promote a desire for prosperity and “awaken new wants” (Prentice, 1977, 82). The valuing of private property was part of a larger budding consumer culture, in which those with means promoted wealth and consumption and denigrated those who cared only for their daily needs (Prentice, 1977). Rather than remain content to live from the commons, people were encouraged to better themselves through education, as education was the path to wealth, while at the same time told that through working hard and amassing wealth they could secure an education for their children and improve their social standing. “A spiral of consumption was being set up”, explains Prentice (1977), where “the more you had of one, the more you could get of the other” (83). However, throughout this transition from socialized to privatized society, it was the desire for wealth and property that reformers sought to instill in the labouring classes, rather than the actual accumulation of either. People were expected to better themselves, but “whatever people sought... it ought to be according to their position... It was in the striving, rather than in the possession of “riches” or “exalted station” that real happiness was to be found” (Prentice, 1977, 83). “What school promoters contributed to this idea”, says Prentice (1977), “was that it was education, more than anything else, that made the difference” (67).

Language and Literacy

Debates around the proper use of the English language were presented as class-based issues, and framed to garner support for compulsory public education, as poor language skills were equated with a lack of respectability that could be remedied through schooling (Prentice, 1977). As Axelrod (1997) explains, social respectability “required one to speak proper English, free of unrefined vernacular, and to be attentive to the principles of order and uniformity” (55). Through the linking of social respectability and so-called ‘proper’ language skills, the normalization of English language pronunciation and grammar was a powerful tool used for social cohesion. Even while those of the labouring classes sought to improve their social standing through education and aspired for increased indicators of respectability including literacy, norms of respectability simultaneously required them to accept their lower position in the social order. In this way schooling participated in the reproduction of socio-economic inequality from its very inception in Canada.

In addition to being a powerful incentive for public schooling, the spread of literacy and the uniformity of pronunciation and accent helped to codify the Canadian nation, as educational reformers promoted what they believed to be a grammatically standard English. Acceptable English language skills included: a pronunciation that was neither “lower class,” American, nor Irish; spelling and grammar that accorded with norms set in Department of Education-authorized spellers and grammars; and handwriting that was appropriately slanted, regular and neat” (Prentice, 1977, 81). Those of the labouring classes who had not had access to schooling were made to feel

unsophisticated and inferior for their lack of literacy and language skills, and were encouraged to remedy this condition in their children by sending them to school, a program which would have the added effect of enculturating them into the values that would reproduce the social order that kept them on the lower rungs and benefitted the elite (Prentice, 1977).

The Family and the Home

As a primary unit of social organization, the family has always been an instrumental site for the inculcation of social values. First through church authority, and later through schooling and citizenship practices, family values have been used to model and instill values for social cohesion and economic productivity. The early to mid-nineteenth century was an era of religious piety, and lasting until around the turn of the 20th century, social norms around family life were disciplined and formal, with authority resting in the church. Van Brummelen (1983) explains that family members had strict roles, in which the mother, as the first teacher and role model, was expected to teach goodliness, obedience, and deference to the father, who was typically more distant with the children, and the children themselves were viewed as small adults and expected to contribute to the wellbeing and economy of the family. Church sermons included morality lessons directed at parents about the importance of modelling appropriate behaviour for the young. And with the proliferation of public schooling, in both formal school settings and through informal teachings in the home, education and religion were closely linked, with the primary responsibility of social life given to the family (Axelrod, 1997).

At the turn of the twentieth century, as Canadian society was increasingly stable and the economy grew, religious influences became less authoritarian and cultural norms around the family shifted. Social gospel values idealized the notion of the middle class family, with two or three children, both girls and boys, pets, a stay-at-home mother who played with the children and taught them Christian values and to care for the less fortunate, and a father who went out to work, but helped the children with their homework in the evening (Van Brummelen, 1983). Even while family life was less strict, the role of the family unit in the stability of social life remained important. Van Brummelen (1983) explains that the idealized notion of the family participated in the maintenance of social order through its extension to a broader social idealism, in which people were encouraged to fulfill their personal moral obligations through their contributions first to the family, and then to social life, which would in turn advance society at large. As always, the carefully constructed ideal nuclear family unit was not representative of many actual family living arrangements. Many families that settled in Canada brought with them family and social norms that were organized around different values and included different familial relationships: The nuclear family model excluded families and social relations that did not adhere to the idealized Anglo, Protestant, middle class model (Van Brummelen, 1983, 12).

By 1925 the values instilled through the ideal of the family had shifted again, this time to prepare youth to be good, contributing citizens through the values modeled in family life. Van Brummelen (1983) explains, school textbooks introduced ideals of family bonding through the depiction of nuclear families enjoying time together, playing games

and singing songs, from which family values including truthfulness, thoughtfulness, honesty, and self-control could be extended to the teaching of citizenship values and the importance of caring for others in an increasingly international world (Van Brummelen, 1983, 12). In each incarnation of the ideal family, the role of the family and the values produced within the family home were directly connected to broader social life and stability.

A Curriculum to Promote a Nation

Coined the century of public schooling (Prentice & Houston, 1975), the nineteenth century saw the proliferation of compulsory, standardized education in Canada, such that public schooling “had become the uniform experience of the vast majority of the children of Canada by 1900” (Prentice & Houston, 1975, 2). Attendance at free, common schools was first made mandatory in 1871 with the Public School Act in Ontario that required all children aged seven to twelve to attend at least four months of school each year (Prentice, 1977). Soon other provinces followed: “Prince Edward Island’s first compulsory law was passed in 1877, Nova Scotia’s in 1882, and New Brunswick’s in 1905. British Columbia’s mandatory-schooling legislation of 1901 was strengthened in 1921... by 1916 eight provinces had compulsory-school laws” (Axelrod, 1997, 36). This shift from elite and voluntary to popular and compulsory “signalled a changing relationship between the school and the state”, and was one that saw schools “become a public institution in the modern sense of the term, an institution not only paid for out of public funds, but with publicly defined goals” (Prentice, 1977, 17). In schools, children were encountering the ideals held by educational leaders, told through

narratives about the new country of Canada they imagined. The following section considers how public school subject areas and influences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were incorporating British loyalism, and desirable, so-called middle-class norms and values, and how the spread of these values contributed to the entrenchment of a particular kind of Canadian settler colonial nationalism.

English Language and Literature Instruction

In addition to providing a 'proper' English language vernacular that would support social cohesion in the colonies that would become Canada as described above, languages were also used to maintain the connection between the colonial society and its European roots. As Axelrod (1997) explains, at the start of the nineteenth century when schooling was still private and only available to the children of the elite, the Anglican Church played a major role in the founding of grammar schools in the Canadian colonies in which an emphasis was placed on the study of Latin and Greek. It was believed that knowledge of these languages would help prepare privileged youth to hold positions of occupational and social leadership in their communities, by imparting to them the values of the historical and religious documents through which they would study the ancient languages (Axelrod, 1997, 7). Through this education students would attain a sense of heritage, both uniting them with each other and rooting them in a common European ancestry. Stressing Latin and Greek language study reinforced the strong European and Christian traditions that would strengthen the Canadian settler population's connection to the British Empire and to long-standing Western European religious traditions. Conrad (2011) explains that written histories were used in Canada to promote notions of continuity

between ancient and contemporary cultures: “by reconnecting to the societies of Ancient Greece and Rome, Europeans developed a complex sense of a linear past that stretched back several millennia” (37). Through this connection, historical narratives of linear progress and development legitimated ideals of imperial expansionism, and European and North American societies could be seen as moving ever forward toward more fully realized civilization.

Research shows that the instruction of national languages and literatures is also used to support national identity formation and strengthen nationalist ties, as most cultures have “attributed a civilizing value to the teaching of traditional literature” (Koutselini-Ioannidou 1997, 398). Prior to World War I, beyond basic primers, readers selected for use in British Columbia “contained a rich treasury of British literature, including works of Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Coleridge, Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and Wordsworth” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 22). Through these readers students learned that they were the beneficiaries of the apex of English literature of the nineteenth century, and their studies “emphasized that there was no more priceless legacy than the heritage of English language and literature” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 23).

Christian Morality

While the B.C. Public School Act decreed non-denominational instruction, Confederation-era schooling was heavily influenced by Protestant values and social conventions of the day, which held to strict religious doctrines and a belief in salvation through God’s grace alone (Van Brummelen, 1983). The first textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia reflected a literal interpretation of the Bible and promoted

conservative Christian teachings. As it concerned knowledge, Van Brummelen (1983) notes, “the only certain truth was the existence of God” (6). These texts were intended to extend the obedience and unquestioning faith demanded by the religious ideals of the day into a society that allegedly aspired to embody such ideals. During this very early era, the emphasis for educational and political leaders was on social stability, and strict religious observation helped enforce public norms of respectability. By around the 1880s, textbooks shifted from demanding strict piety toward emphasizing a version of morality that had direct social concerns (Van Brummelen, 1983). This era introduced social gospel ideologies, which encouraged people to “lessen the misery and ignorance of the poor and oppressed” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 7). Children in schools were taught that they should help ameliorate the condition of those less fortunate, and that this could be accomplished through the spread and acceptance of middle class norms and values. By the 1900s, social gospel thinking was even more pronounced, with religion and the influence of the church employed “to prevent lawlessness among the native population and helping them become part of a civilized society” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 7). Religious institutions and leaders had a role in the promotion of acceptable norms and values during this era: “The work of the church was not to convert people to Christianity, but to improve the moral and social conditions of society and in this way be a great civilizing force” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 8). This civilizing force sought to bring the lower and labouring classes into the desirable moral and social condition to accept and contribute to the new social structure of settler Canadian society. As was discussed above, for the

labouring classes, this meant fulfilling one's economic role dutifully, while upholding a social code of respectability that privileged the higher classes.

Progress and Development

What came to distinguish English Canadian nationalism in the late 19th century was the distinctiveness of its economic history (Conrad, 2011). Conrad (2011) explains that the notion of emphasizing Canada's economic distinctiveness found support among Canadians eager for a national identity separate from their American neighbours to the south. Historian Harold Innis "argued that the export of staple, or primary, products – first fish and fur, later timber, wheat, and minerals – to more mature economies had laid the foundation for Canada's east-west political boundaries" (Conrad, 2011, 410), boundaries that gave shape to the national geography of the country. From the very beginning, these boundaries – and their spatial relationships to valued natural resources – were used to produce discourses of national industry that contributed to growing awareness of the new nation-state and its budding nationalism. These discourses made their way into school curricula, and through the teaching of these discourses in classrooms, schools were a place where the country of Canada was being imagined.

In the late nineteenth century, technological advances in resource management and extraction coincided with the rapid spread of urbanization as "a hardy and vigorous population was making wilderness into bountiful farmland and progressive industrial towns" (Van Brummelen, 1983, 16). Canada was lauded as showing the "promise of a great nation", and British Columbia in particular was, "in many respects, the most progressive of all Canadian provinces" (Van Brummelen, 1983, 16). British Columbia "had

unbounded potential in mineral, lumber and agricultural wealth and could take pride in its fine harbours and steamships...and the building of the railroad symbolized the rapid progress being made”, encouraged by the stability of the Hudson’s Bay Company (Van Brummelen, 1983, 16). Mathematics textbooks, among others, reflected this booming industry and the promise of commerce by using industrial facts and figures to construct mathematical questions, simultaneously reinforcing the normalcy of economic development and instilling faith in the continued progress of Western innovation.

As Van Brummelen (1983) explains, British imperialists and Canadian settlers held the hope that “Western civilization would reach its apex in twentieth-century Canada”: Progress, it was believed, rested upon two central pillars: “first, a confidence in the continued economic development of Canada; and, second, the belief that Canada was the true inheritor of the British ideals of justice and liberty” (16). In schools, imperial patriotism was taught explicitly, with British constitutionalism presented as the ideal way to secure liberty and prosperity in the new society (Van Brummelen, 1983, 18).

Established on the foundation of British law, faith in Canada’s progress rested on British notions of liberty and justice, and textbooks declared Canada the full beneficiary of Britain’s imperial power, proclaiming its superior pedigree of toleration, freedom, and equality (Van Brummelen, 1983, 17). The union of Anglo-Saxon, Christian values and economic progress and development in the Canadian colonies was reinforced through school textbooks that suggested, “a progressive future depended on a firm devotion to morality and religion” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 17). School readers of this era taught a brand of character education that reflected the mutually reinforcing influences of

Protestantism and industrialism that brought together ambition, self-reliance, and enterprise as the path to personal salvation and social prosperity (Van Brummelen, 1983).

History and Geography

History and geography textbooks explicitly promoted Canadian love of and loyalty to the British crown (Axelrod, 1997), and Canada was presented as an extension of Britain in the 'New World' as late as the 1920s (Van Brummelen, 1983, 18). "Geography classes offered some coverage of the world, but most attention was given to the territories claimed by the British Empire (Axelrod, 1977). Through the late 19th and early to mid 20th centuries, children at school memorized patriotic British songs and poems, learned that they were "Children of the Empire", and pledged themselves to Britain and the King (Van Brummelen, 1983, 18). Authorized textbooks were one tool used by the state to school children in the logic and legitimacy of settler colonialism", writes Carleton (2011), and "the existence of Canada as a settler society is rationalized as part of a larger benevolent process of British imperialism: spreading British civilization around the world" (104). Textbooks of this era told of the bravery and benevolence of settlers coming to North America, their work to settle the land and make it productive, and their commitment to spreading the ideal of British civilization. The fusion of British imperialism and Canadian nationalism produced a distinctly settler colonial society that could at once pay homage to Britain and promote loyalty to the new Canadian nation-state.

In the provinces and territories of Canada, regional identities and provincial control of education posed challenges to educational leaders who struggled to

implement a national approach to history education that would promote the notion of shared heritage and a common national identity. The issue was of such importance to educational leaders that in 1892, Ontario Minister of Education, George Ross, asked publically, “can’t we agree upon certain features common to the whole of this Dominion with which we can indoctrinate our pupils?” His query resulted in a nation-wide contest for the creation of a national history textbook, and the winning text, W.H.P. Clements’s *History of the Dominion of Canada*, was published in 1898 (Osborne, 2011, 58). “Though it was not endorsed by all provinces”, explains Osborne (2011) “it established the basic nation-building narrative that endured into the 1960s and beyond” (58). The approach taken to history instruction was as “an authoritative account of what happened in the past, with no reference to questions of evidence or interpretation” (Osborne, 2011, 57). This approach, it was believed, “would automatically promote patriotism and national pride while also equipping students to continue the nation-building work that previous generations had begun” (Osborne, 2011, 57). Nineteenth century history courses in the Canadian provinces rarely covered material beyond that related to the British Empire or the colonies of Canada (Axelrod, 1977). In the early years of Canadian colonization, “narratives called histories were little more than travel accounts intended to satisfy curiosity about the ‘new world’, or to promote commercial investment and settlement” (Conrad, 2011, 37). Primary purposes of history courses were to introduce students to their fledgling country and instill a common identity through a shared experience with British imperialism.

Conrad (2011) characterizes the onset of interest in Canadian history as one in which “the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century in the Western world inspired an unprecedented interest in the past as historians rushed to chart the origins and characteristics of the emerging nation-states” (38). For both English and French settlements in the United Province of Canada, early historical accounts recounted both imperial and national ambitions. In the late nineteenth century, Quebecois historian, François-Xavier Garneau, suggested, the “central theme of French Canadian society was the struggle for survival against outside forces, which included French imperialists and British conquerors” (Conrad, 2011, 38). During the same era, English Canadian historian, John Mercier McMullen “saw material progress and responsible government in the British Empire as the twin pillars upon which the United Canadas – effectively Canada West⁶ – would achieve their national destiny” (Conrad, 2011, 38). Set against the backdrop of the French and British Empires, early French Canadian historical narratives struggled to articulate an autonomous North American settler colonial nationalism, while English Canadian narratives produced a settler colonial nationalism rooted in British imperialism.

For the first several decades of history education, Canadian provincial curricula were designed by a small number of academic historians, in consultation with provincial ministers and educational leaders. With a dedicated focus on the use of history education for nation building and citizenship values, “there was, however, a lack of fit between the stated goals of history curricula and what happened in the classroom” (Osborne, 2011,

⁶ Canada West refers to the former colony of Upper Canada after being united into the Province of Canada, 1841-1867. After Confederation it became the province of Ontario.

57). While history education would hold a prestigious place in Canadian curriculum for almost a century, by the middle of the 20th century, there were growing concerns about the use of history for national values and “some historians worried that enlisting history in the cause of citizenship risked turning it into patriotic propaganda” (Osborne, 2011, 57). Historians increasingly worried about the confusion of history with civic, patriotic or religious thought, and argued, “the teaching of history aims to develop the human mind by the objective and honest study of the past, based on documents” (Osborne, 2011, 58). Other critics of Canada’s nation-building history “objected to what they saw as its restrictive view of just who the nation builders were” (Osborne, 2011, 59). Throughout the twentieth century, Western and Atlantic Canadians challenged the central Canadian ‘Laurentian’ bias, while agrarian radicals criticized its urban and capitalist tendencies, women and feminists critiqued its male biases, socialists critiqued its class bias, internationalists critiqued its divisiveness and focus on conflict (Osborne, 2011, 59). Among the specific challenges brought against the dominant approach taken to this telling of history also critiqued the discipline of history itself for being “only a recital of facts in chronological order devoid of any social interpretation” (Osborne, 2011, 59). Some within this body of opposition saw the consequences for generations of learners who would be uncritically socialized into an understanding of history that celebrates British colonialism and glosses its violences.

For example, in Quebec, “English-speaking Canada’s version of nation-building history was seen as an assimilative threat to Quebec’s distinct identity” (Osborne, 2011, 60). Rather than present a single unifying national narrative, Osborne (2011) explains

how Francophone history textbooks emphasized that Canada was established by two founding nations (60). When Anglophone historians criticized what they saw as the divisiveness promoted through Francophone textbooks, Francophone historians argued their aim “was not to foster division but to describe historical reality,” which highlights the debates surrounding the purpose of history education (60). “From the 1890s to the 1970s, Canadian history education in English-speaking Canada was dominated by the theme of nation building, intended to instill a sense of Pan-Canadian identity in the young” (Osborne, 2011, 55). While in French-speaking Canada the focus of history education was on Quebec and its relationship with the rest of Canada, “in both anglophone Canada and francophone Quebec, the central theme of history textbooks and curricula was nation-building, even if two very different conceptions were in play” (Osborne, 2011, 55).

Until as late as the 1950s, British lineage was highlighted in Canadian nation building narratives that emphasized Canada’s European heritage and its place in the British Empire, distinguishing Canada from the United States (Osborne, 2011). Having inherited British systems of governance and institutions, Canada taught its youth that British history and tradition were founding elements of Canadian nationalism (Osborne, 2011). Canadian nationalism involved a unique patriotic dualism that celebrated both Canada and Britain, in which “loyalty to the dominion involved seeking a common imperial citizenship with common responsibilities and a common inheritance”, and history textbooks reinforced the superiority of British values, rooting Canada firmly within the British tradition, in contrast to the ‘disgraceful’ withdrawal of the French from

Quebec (Van Brummelen, 1983, 19). War itself was presented in textbooks as “cruel, but necessary to uphold British ideals”, that stressed how Britain “showed magnanimity by granting self-government to conquered people”, as in the case of Quebec (Van Brummelen, 1983, 20). And, when Canadian soldiers were honoured as war heroes for the first time following First World War, they were celebrated for “demonstrating British valour and imperial manhood” (Van Brummelen, 1983, 20).

After the First World War, Canadian cities began flying the Red Ensign alongside the Union Jack, and the first national anthem, Canada! Maple Land! was sung (Van Brummelen, 1983, 19). Popular opinion holds that in many senses Canada came into its own as a country — increasing its independence and distancing itself culturally and politically from its imperial center — through its involvement in World War I and the events that followed. By 1921, Canada was an independent signatory to the Treaty of Peace (i.e. Versailles), and given a seat at the League of Nations, reflective of the rise of a more independent, less imperial nationalism, though Canada’s entry into full, independent statehood was less than clear. By the 1950s, there was a decline in the teaching of British history in Canada, a shift attributed to the post WWII era that brought a realignment of world powers and a changing international political arena (Osborne, 2011). Rather than continue to hold a distinct place in the Canadian curriculum, instruction of inherited British institutions were to be found in Canadian, rather than British, history courses. Osborne (2011) notes that at the same time that British history was being absorbed into Canadian history content, more general European history

courses were offered at higher levels, strengthening and diversifying Canadian roots in the Western tradition more broadly.

Until the 1960s and 70s, the purpose of history education in Canada was nation building. History education in English speaking Canada was “to tell the story of how the Canadian nation came to assume its current form” (Osborne, 2011, 56). Osborne (2011) asserts that for history education, “its purpose was to instill in students a historically rooted sense of Canadian identity and a reasoned pride in the Canadian past” (56). “Above all, this was a story of progress, of challenges met and overcome, be they geographic, economic, political, international, or any other” (Osborne, 2011, 56). Osborne (2011) argues that Canada’s focus on nation building through history curricula did not lose its power until the 1960s, when social and political pressures impacted how Canadian schools taught national values (55). While “the established nation-building orthodoxy never totally disappeared”, new pressures on education introduced history as a way of teaching values education, history as a form of disciplined inquiry, history as an analysis of social problems, history organized around concepts and themes, and history merged into interdisciplinary social studies (Osborne, 2011, 56). Overall, the 1960s and 70s brought about questions concerning the value of teaching history, and much debate was brought around changing the important role history education had played in Canadian schools. These changes spread beyond the teaching of history. By the 1960s and 70s, non-dominant groups were demanding more representation in Canadian public life and the government responded with the introduction of multicultural legislation,

changes that would impact the way diversity was treated in educational settings and usher in an era of multicultural education.

The review of the literature offered in this chapter has demonstrated the central role played by schooling in both the production of national identity and in its inculcation in the country's youth. This chapter has revealed how, in the absence of a cohesive national population, and in the absence of common values, political and educational leaders crafted the common values that would unite Canadians and disseminated these values through schooling. This literature has also demonstrated how common values were wedded with educational values, such that children were brought into their national identity through their experiences of school. This secondary historical literature reveals the particular values privileged by leaders during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well as how these values continue to influence and inform dominant notions of Canadian national identity. In the following chapter, to which I turn now, my review of contemporary literature examines how such dominant notions of Canadian values are taken up in the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER THREE: National Values and Contemporary Schooling

This chapter begins with a consideration of the contemporary condition of national values in education. As the previous chapter explained, for roughly a century from the mid-1800s to the second half of the 1900s, Canadian national values were reproductive of British and European norms and traditions, expressly assimilative, and focused on producing a cohesive national population, where the understanding of cohesion was based on these norms. As a result, the nationalist values produced in schooling during this era supported the notion of a dominant culture to which all Canadians could belong, with little mention of those people and groups not easily represented by such values. Around the time of the Second World War the rise of global social liberalism brought shifts in Canadian public consciousness toward increased cultural recognition. In 1971, multicultural legislation was introduced to protect the rights of those identified as minorities vis a vis the dominant Canadian population. These shifts were also reflected in multicultural education approaches that aim to increase representation and reduce discrimination. This chapter considers these approaches, their intentions and limitations. After almost five decades of multicultural education, schools are still producing unequal outcomes for children from different cultural backgrounds. Drawing from critical multicultural education literature, this chapter will then consider what is made possible and what is elided through the policies and practices of mainstream multicultural education. Critical approaches include both critical multicultural and critical race theory that go beyond affirmative remedies to address the causes of social and educational inequity. This chapter considers the strengths and

limitations of various multicultural education approaches and explores their possibilities using analyses of 'affirmative' and 'transformative' remedies for social injustice as theorized by Fraser (1998). Finally, this chapter turns to an examination of the inequities and issues not addressed by mainstream, critical, or antiracist educational approaches. There is a small and growing body of literature that takes up the exclusion of Indigenous peoples and issues related to colonialism from multicultural education, and that calls for an examination of the conditions of settler colonialism in educational contexts. These considerations are significant to the current era of reconciliation in Canadian education, and argue in support of research and educational approaches that account for Canada as a settler colonial state. After examining the production of national values in the contexts of multicultural and critical multicultural education, this review introduces the production of Canadian settler colonial nationalism as it occurs even within more comprehensive approaches to educational inclusivity. As my study will show in the findings and discussion chapters that follow, even when curricula are expressly inclusive of diversity and reconciliatory for past wrongs, conditions of settler colonial nationalism continue to be reproduced.

Nationalism and Citizenship Studies

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, secondary historical literature reveals how the concentration of preferred cultural norms and values were organized and disseminated through schools across Canada to bring together a cohesive sense of nationalism amongst a diverse population. This dissemination helped to produce a narrative of a coherent national culture, predicated on ideas of a dominant Anglo-

Canadian nationalism. Non-dominant culture values were thus defined in relation and subordinate to dominant culture values, those perceived to be white, middle class, Christian, and so on. This chapter begins with an exploration of the sometimes-tenuous connections between national identity production in public schools and multicultural issues in education. In undertaking this review, I was initially surprised to find that the majority of the literature available concerned with national identity and nationalism in education comes from the subfield of citizenship education, rather than from multicultural education, where I had expected to find it. While it is not surprising for citizenship studies to include instruction in national identity and values, I had expected these topics to be included in multicultural education also, for the simple reason that it is through and against the production of dominant national values and identity that multicultural statuses are determined. This is significant to note for the way it reveals a gap between the national values students are taught as nation-state citizens and the models of multiculturalism through which they learn about diversity within that nation-state. While appearing benign, this distinction between national identity and multiculturalism works to reinforce the idea of a mainstream, predominantly white, national Canadian culture and identity that receives different treatment from other, predominantly non-white, cultural identifications. In this way, students are reminded that their nation-state citizenship signifies their primary identity, and that other national, cultural, linguistic, or alternative memberships are secondary to it. This distinction is relevant for how it mirrors the hierarchy of political identities that determines much of modern political life. The modern political order “can be conceived either by reference to

a series of rights to which all citizens are entitled or as a coherent and interlinked set of obligations, which state leaders are thus able to impose upon often-reluctant populations” (Conversi, 2012, 21). Through this set of distinctions, people find their interests as non-dominant group members in tension with the expectations placed on them as citizens of the nation-state. As will be examined in the findings and analysis chapters later, the omission of the study of dominant national identity values from multicultural education approaches suggests consequences for the efficacy of transformative curricular inclusions.

Defined as “a sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, and language” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019), the production of a national identity has always been vital to the cohesion of the nation-state. Public schools in Canada have always been involved in producing national identity (Manzer, 1994; Feinberg, 1998; Osborne, 2000). In schools, students are exposed to approved curricula, textbooks, instructional methods, and certified teachers, all of which are intended to produce a common citizenry, which is one important reason why early public schools were called common schools. In fact, preparation for mature, participatory citizenship is the primary reason that school attendance was made mandatory in Western states (Osborne, 2000). Modern systems of schooling “teach people the meaning of their nations and portray nationality as a key aspect of modern selfhood” (Kramer, 2013, 576). Citizenship is a central aspect of nationalism in modern states, a key theoretical and practical component of the social contract that organizes relations between individuals and between individuals and the state. Citizenship has to do with the relationship

between individuals and a group, specifically, of an individual citizen to the state, and includes the rights and responsibilities that comprise that relationship (Siexas, 2006).

From their very beginnings, public schools in Canada were expected to prepare the young to participate in civic life (Osborne, 2000). Schools had the task of turning boys and girls into citizens, “children had to speak the national language, read the national literature, learn the national history and geography, and internalize the national values”, Osborne (2000) explains, “[a]nd, if they were of working class or peasant background, as inevitably the majority were, they had to learn to know and keep their place in the social order” (9). Preparing children for participatory citizenship was a primary driver for compulsory education, and drove the push for a standardized curriculum, trained and certified teachers, approved textbooks, and standardized attrition (Van Brummelen, 1983; Osborne, 2000). Theorists note that “teaching nationalism and creating a national consciousness involves imparting an agreed upon national history (Schleicher, 2008, 29). Drawing from discourses of nationalism and citizenship education, this body of literature takes for granted the imagined community within nation-state borders and the legitimacy of nation-state authority. The use of public schooling to promote national values is ongoing and underlies contemporary citizenship education theory. The use of public schools for the construction of national identities is also a topic for contemporary debates concerned with the character of Canadian nationalism in education. Critics of nationalism in education argue against the reproduction of social inequalities and domination of hegemonic value systems. It is the imposition and promotion of dominant, national values in education that have been and continue to be the impetus for

multicultural education theory and practice in schools, even while these discourses and subject matters remain separate in educational contexts.

Citizenship education, a subfield of social studies or civics education, is primarily concerned with preparing students for civic life. Citizenship education debates are generally organized around three central concerns: whether or not to teach national values; what values to teach; and whether or not national values can be taught legitimately (Feinberg, 1998; Osborne, 2000; McDonough & Cormier, 2013). In the debate surrounding whether or not to teach national values, the majority of the literature that looks at teaching national identity values does so from the perspective of arguing either for or against the coherence of a national group (Feinberg, 1998). Those who favour national values instruction argue in support of a cohesive nation, distinguished by its particularity from other nations, as defined by territorial boundaries. Those opposed to national values instruction challenge the coherence of a nation by drawing attention to the imposition of territorial borders, the lack of social cohesion, and the multiplicity of subgroups within borders (Feinberg, 1998).

Even while this theoretical debate goes on, teaching social and civic values is widely accepted as part of the public school mandate in North America – students encounter such concepts in courses including social studies, civics, government, and history, among others – though the particular values to be taught are rigorously debated. In their recent study Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak (2010) found that while the long-stated goal of civics classes in the United States has been civic empowerment, there is much contemporary debate about the meaning of ‘civic empowerment’. Ought it mean

educating students to be critics of American politics and society? Or ought it mean socializing them into American values? McDonough & Cormier (2013) explore under what conditions it might be possible to legitimately teach nationalism. The authors argue that teaching about nationalism, in contrast to teaching particular national or patriotic values, can promote liberal, democratic, and civic values, and avoid illiberal nationalistic sentiment (McDonough & Cormier, 2013): though, even this conception presumes the nation-state, with consequences for non and sub state groups. Within this literature, it is generally agreed that the development of healthy national identification is important for democratic citizenries, and these debates typically rely upon paradigms of liberal values to assess citizenship education and the character of civic life (Osborne, 2000; Banks, 2008; Solano-Campos, 2015). While the purpose of teaching national values has been and continues to be preparation for civic life, the character of national values has undergone major shifts over the last hundred and fifty years.

In an analysis of textbooks, Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak (2010) found that social studies and civics classes in Canada emphasized: communitarianism over individualism; attention to international human rights and world peace; the responsibility of Canadians to be good global citizens; participation in civic life and balancing the common good with the rights of the individual; knowledge of political systems elsewhere over that of the Canadian government; and the importance of making ethical decisions in a global sense (261). In their analysis of images and photographs within these texts, they found some inclusion of Indigenous peoples – portrayed as both pre-Canada and part of Canada – and minimal representation of visible minorities, but the focus remained on Canadians as

global citizens. These findings raise important questions about how (English) Canada is presented to students, and what is left out. From this study we know that, with a deficit of instruction on historic and contemporary domestic political issues, Canadian multiculturalism is presented to students as a completed project, rather than as a set of ongoing, contentious socio-political challenges.

Historical claims to a particular version of Canadian nationalism continue to impact the character of citizenship education. In a discussion of the contemporary challenges facing common schooling, and the relationship between imagined communities and education, Feinberg (1998) identifies two ways in which the values promoted in common schooling can be considered arbitrary. First, in the sense that the promoted values unfairly privilege those values that are reproductive of class, gender, and racial inequalities to the detriment of non-dominant groups, and, second, in the sense that national identities are randomly assigned, in that national borders are arbitrary and imposed, with resulting advantages and disadvantages (Feinberg, 1998, 34). Here Feinberg (1998) draws attention to the role of schooling in underwriting the nation-state through the promotion of what are presented as universal values in schools, but are actually preferred and heavily promoted national values contained within national borders (35).

The commonality that emerges from this literature is a consistent reliance on liberal norms and values to assess the legitimacy of citizenship and nationalism programs. Contemporary citizenship education in Canada rests on a foundation of a version of liberalism that is inclusive of diversity and in which multiculturalism is a lauded national

value, though with restrictions, and only in recent decades (Osborne, 2000; Banks, 2008; 2009). Such restrictions include processes for land and resource management that are not in line with state-based market capitalism, and acknowledgment of sovereignties that threaten the hegemony of the state. Multiculturalism allows for and welcomes challenges that reinforce the binary of dominant and non-dominant groups – categorized as minority issues vis a vis the dominant state and society. Central tenets of multiculturalism “prevent an anti-colonial analysis” through furthering social division among groups, failing to remediate social inequality, romanticizing or reducing cultural others, and failing to adequately deal with the conflicting claims of individuals, groups and the centralized state (Fleras & Elliot, 2002; St. Denis, 2011) Further, the integration of Native studies into social studies and other general course areas brings the risk of the erasure of Indigenous studies (St. Denis, 2011). St. Denis (2011) argues that unless such courses take Native studies as their starting point and continued foundation, Indigenous content can be lost amid multicultural content that Indigenous people reject as an instrument of colonialism (311).

Nationalism and National Myths

Unlike in nation-states like England and France where productions of national identity can draw from longer agreed-upon histories to encourage patriotic sentiment, in North America national curricula were created with the express purpose of manufacturing and perpetuating national myths (Hardwick, Marcus & Isaak, 2010). In a Canadian study Gulliver (2011) found that the “imagined community is constructed through the banal repetition of established tropes and symbols of identity. Ironically, one

such trope in Canada is that Canadians are not nationalistic” (120). The notion of ‘banal’ markings of the nation is borrowed from Billig (1995) and refers to nationalistic constructions in established nations, as distinct from those found in sites of political struggle for national self-determination or autonomy.

Nationalism, argues Billig (1995), is most often identified by citizens of the so-called Western nations, as happening ‘over there’, in areas of the world where discontent minority groups threaten the legitimate nation-state, not in the everyday normality of countries like Canada, the United States or Britain, yet each day these nations are reproduced through performances of nationalism. This is possible, he suggests, because of an ‘intellectual amnesia’ through which nationalism is confined to a certain kind of social movement and not to nation-states. Unlike the overt and sometimes violent expressions of nationalism characteristic of the Palestinian Territories, for example, the nationalisms of Western nation-states, argues Billig (1995), fit an ideological pattern in which they are able to be forgotten, appearing natural, while at “the same time, nationalism is defined as something dangerously emotional and irrational: it is conceived of as a problem, or a condition, which is surplus to the world of nations” (38). “In the established nations there is continual ‘flagging,’ or reminding of nationhood,” but “having slipped through the categorical net, the routine flags of ‘our environment’ get lost” (Billig, 1995, 8). Having no name, “it cannot be identified as a problem. Nor, by implication, is the daily reproduction of the nation a problem” (Billig, 1995, 6). These gaps in language are also gaps in theoretical discourse and bring attention to areas for critical study. In order to critically assess the myths we hold about ourselves and about ‘our’ nations, “we

must distance ourselves from ourselves and from that which we routinely accept as obvious or 'natural,' in order to see nationalism as an ideology (Billig, 1995, 15).

Ideologies – patterns of belief and practice that make existing social arrangements seem 'natural' or inevitable – include patriarchy, racism, and settler colonialism, and make the dominance of masculinity over femininity, and the superiority of European society over that of the rest of the world seem commonsensical, if not inevitable (Billig, 1995, 15).

To distinguish the nationalistic practices of already established nations from those of aspiring nations, Billig (1995) uses the term banal nationalism to “cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced”, while also appearing fully realized (Billig, 1995, 6). With this term, Billig’s intention is to give a name to those acts of nationalistic performance and reproduction that are difficult to see and even more difficult to talk about in their banality, such as a flag hanging passively outside a public building, or a maple leaf on the cover of a math text book. These markers are seen as symbols of national unity and sovereignty, becoming “symbolically banalized” when imprinted on currency, stamps and textbooks and exchanged without a second thought. (Billig, 1995, 42) The maple leaf is a ubiquitous symbol of Canadian nationalism. The symbolism of the maple leaf implies the ‘naturalness’ of the Canadian nation, suggesting it is ‘of’ the land, rather than a construct imposed upon it.

Gulliver (2011) examined English as a Second Language textbooks used in Canada for the ways “banal flaggings make the imagined community visible and mark the territorial claims of the nation” (123). Among the banal flaggings Gulliver (2011) identified was the image of the maple leaf, as on the flag of Canada, also as a graphic,

and as falling leaves in images of cityscapes, offices, universities, and schools. Gulliver (2011) notes that through the repetition of the maple leaf we learn that schools “are a place in which students learn to stop noticing the ubiquitous flag in the corner” (125). So commonplace is the symbol of the nation-state that the legitimacy of the nation-state is never questioned.

Gulliver (2011) also describes how the nation is produced through the nationalizing of boundaries, architecture, and landscapes: “Through nationalizing weather, the natural world, and cities and towns, they convert all space into nationalized space” (125). Maps “become a way of representing this nationalist ideology”, and “regional perspectives or understandings, legal battles for the control of space, and symbolic intrusions of other imaginings on national spaces are not mapped” (Gulliver, 2011, 126). In addition to territorial maps, textbooks also utilize beautiful places, cityscapes and landscapes, the mythology of wilderness, and the maple leaf on coins to teach that the nation is always with us. This research brings attention to the impact of latent representations of nationalism on student learning, and brings into focus the importance of examining how these representations show up in school settings. Gulliver (2011) reminds us of the pedagogical purposefulness of banal nationalism, and its use in classrooms. For example, in one textbook, students were encouraged to debate gendered constructions of nationalism through a consideration of changing the lyrics in the national anthem from ‘in all our sons command’ to ‘all of us command,’ an exercise Gulliver (2011) notes gives students “the opportunity to critique particular constructions of nation while nationality itself remains uncritiqued” (129).

National Narratives in Schooling

One of the most prolific educational tools used to disseminate national narratives is the textbook (Van Brummelen, 1983). As examined in the previous chapter, early Canadian schooling sought to create a common history and sense of place, uniting students in a sense of shared belonging through standardized texts. Constructing chronicles and producing territories, history and geography textbooks are used “to establish the legitimacy of territorial sovereignty” (Tadmor-Shimony, 2013, 237). In her examination of Israeli national education, Tadmor-Shimony (2013) found that the state defined the cultural values of the Jewish people as stemming “from Bible study, Jewish law, Hebrew language and literature, and Israeli geography and history”, producing the legitimacy of the contemporary colonial Israeli state through hearkening to common ancestral knowledge and values (239). In the Israeli example, following the establishment of the state in 1948 and a massive influx of Jewish settlers, schooling helped to familiarize students with their new land and foster a connection with their new nation-state (Tadmor-Shimony, 2013). To indigenize Israeli students, their textbooks and popular educational culture encouraged them to see themselves as prickly pear cacti – as a robust part of the natural environment – much the way Canada employs the maple leaf as a ubiquitous symbol of the naturalness of Canada and Canadians (Tadmor-Shimony, 2013). Thorny on the outside, yet with a sweet interior, the prickly pear cactus used in this metaphor also serves to normalize the violent occupation of the Palestinian Territories by suggesting that settler violence is no more than a natural defense in a hostile environment, rather than a blight on the character of the Israeli state and its

citizens. In a similar way in Canada, the promotion of stories that highlight the pioneering spirit of early settlers, the bravery and robustness of explorers headed west, and the fortitude of the early inhabitants of this harsh geography all contribute to an enduring sense of Canada and its Canadian-ness, separated from any responsibility for the violence of settling the land. This research suggests that national education systems seek to create and reproduce national identities, “based on an awareness of belonging to the landscape of the national territory” (Tadmor-Shimony, 2013, 237). As products of modern industrial processes, states employ nation-wide state-based education systems that help create the conditions necessary for the creation of a national consciousness (Gellner, 1983). Calderon (2014) notes, “developing discourses and practices of nationality is to teach an almost predestined sense of citizenship and democratic participation, at least for some populations” (315). In this way, she explains, national identity construction is presented to students as natural and inevitable, rather than ideological and constructed. Or, put simply, the role of education in Canada is to ‘Canadianize’ the population (McLean, 2007).

Tadmor-Shimony (2013) draws attention to how the wave of progressive education that swept across Europe and North America in the 1920s and 30s combined a child-centered approach to combat traditional authoritarian teaching styles with place-based learning, and how this has contributed to the goals of national education programs in settler colonial states. Beginning from a child’s immediate location, and expanding outward through their local environment, as located within their national geography, and then within the international system of states, the modernist nation-state worldview is

both naturalized and reinforced as an inevitable natural order. Tadmor-Shimony (2013) elaborates how the project-based education philosophies of John Dewey, which are enjoying a new wave of popularity in contemporary education debates and in the new B.C. curriculum, are used in state-based education initiatives by linking thematic learning to place; physical geography, topography, flora and fauna, and so on. In this sense, the study of Canada becomes the reimagining of and reproduction of Canada.

Lund (2012) draws attention to what he characterizes as popularly held 'false assumptions' about Canada as a country and a socio-political order that is accepting of diversity (295). He argues these false assumptions are produced through the dissemination of a misleading national origin story, in both implicit and explicit messages, in formal education and informal cultural activities (Lund, 2012). While Canada's origin story promotes settler values of expansionism and territorial conquest, it has generally excluded mention of Britain and Canada's colonization of Indigenous territories and peoples (Lund, 2012). When confronted with the colonial question, Canadian narratives quickly deflect responsibility, simultaneously insisting both the relative "terra nullius" [allegedly unoccupied land] of the Canadian territories, and the necessity of westward expansionism. Once colonization is accepted as an inevitable human development, any moral culpability for its consequences is extinguished. While contemporary narratives are welcoming of immigration, these are features of what Barker (2009) calls the 'Canadian peacekeeper myth', a narrative that ignores any past or ongoing colonial violence, while welcoming immigrants. Canadian narratives also lean heavily on liberal values of equality and inclusion, promoting a 'mosaic'-like nationalism, but this narrative overlooks long

held racist ideologies and discriminatory legislation employed against non-dominant group members by the Canadian state and by provincial and municipal governments (Lund, 2012).

The Hidden Curriculum

In educational contexts, the formal curriculum refers to a program of study, curricular content and modes of teaching and assessment, and learning aims and expectations (Rahman, 2013). The formal curriculum is officially recognized and mandated, public, available to all and meant to be explicit, and in many senses, an idealization, that which we wish to attain (Portelli, 1993). In addition to the formal, written curriculum, theorists argue students encounter a hidden curriculum: the values, beliefs and priorities of their educators and educational environments. Since the 1960s and 70s, scholars have argued that students in schools learn more than the formal curriculum itself. The hidden curriculum is thought to include all that the student might be learning implicitly (Portelli, 1993). Originating in the work of critical curriculum scholarship, theorists argue that students are influenced by and exposed to the socialization process of schools (Jackson, 1968). The hidden curriculum “deals with the tacit ways in which knowledge and behaviour get constructed” and “by which students are included to comply with the dominant ideologies” (McLaren, 1994, 91). The hidden curriculum can include “unwritten rules, regulations, standards and expectations that form part of the learning process in schools and classrooms” (Rahman, 2013, 660). These unwritten rules and norms “reflect the white dominant culture values, practices and worldviews”, and “emphasize to students the knowledge that is most valued, and the

behaviours and practices that are considered appropriate” (Rahman, 2013, 660). At stake in the performance of a hidden curriculum is the fact that the student who understands the environment of school and is able to meet often unspoken expectations is rewarded, while the student who does not understand these implicit norms struggles. The literature shows that there is “in fact a strong connection between the hidden curriculum and the social class systems that operate within our society” – that it is most often children from higher income homes that operate successfully in educational settings – “and that there are clear advantages to those who are well versed in mainstream culture” (Rahman, 2013, 663). The hidden curriculum reinforces the values, beliefs and ideologies of the dominant society, and in an educational setting this has the consequence of producing non-versed students as low achieving. Scholars argue that as a result of the benefits of successfully navigating the norms and expectations of the hidden curriculum, already privileged students advance, while less-advantaged students are negatively impacted. This system thereby reproduces existing socio-economic inequities.

Political ideas are inherent in institutions, including schools, and schools are teaching institutions of the state (Manzer, 1994). The unchecked hegemony of Western ideologies in schools, and the inclusion of concepts that appear benign but that bring with them the prejudices and aspirations of Eurocentric imperialism affect the integrity of cross-cultural approaches and arguably most significantly affect students who are members of minority groups (Fleras & Elliot, 2002). Latent and explicit expressions of nationalism, the role of schooling in producing nationalism, and the oppression of non-dominant groups and perspectives in schooling, as well as a shifting political

consciousness that is growing increasingly critical of hegemonic class biases and inequities have all contributed to shifts away from assimilative approaches to nationalism and toward Canada's era of multiculturalism and multicultural education that I turn to now.

Multicultural Education and Critical Responses

A mainstream approach to multiculturalism underlies most multicultural education models that are premised on the assumption that through increased inclusion of non-dominant culture values and content, schools can be made more inclusive, thereby making schooling more equitable and improving student outcomes across diverse populations. Prior to the 1960s and 1970s, Canada, like most Western democracies, favoured assimilationist models of citizenship education, a major goal of which was to “create nation-states in which all groups shared one dominant culture” (Lund, 2012, 296). With the rise of global social liberalism following WWII, many of these countries sought to increase recognition of non-dominant groups and increase cultural pluralism. Originating after the enactment of the national multicultural policy, multicultural education in Canada focused first on the integration of students from non-dominant ethnic groups through processes of cultural inclusion – usually through the sharing of food, dance, dress, and music with their white, Canadian peers (Lund, 2012, 295). Multicultural education approaches are typically drawn from federal multicultural policies and are characterized by the inclusion of diverse cultural knowledge and experiences. The political goals of these approaches are to foster appreciation of different cultures in order to increase social harmony in a multicultural society. Inclusions

of this type typically increase recognitions of plurality, thereby increasing inclusion for non-dominant culture group students. What these approaches do not do is attend to the underlying social structures that produce differently privileged social groups defined by categorical markers such as race, gender, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, gender identity, ability, and so on.

Multicultural education models outline a number of stages or approaches that educators can follow to introduce issues related to cultural inclusivity in the classroom. Such models typically begin with *enrichment*, an approach that supports the inclusion of culturally specific food and festivals, aimed to increase the cultural knowledge of students and increase cultural acceptance; *enlightenment*, which encourages educators to teach about unequal power relations, encouraging students to understand social inequities; *empowerment*, in which educators draw from cultural experts and bring alternative, non-dominant knowledge in to the classroom; and finally, *antiracism*, which aims to reduce the discriminatory effects of dominant culture values that reproduce institutional racism in the classroom and teach students to identify structural causes of inequity that they face in schooling (Fleras & Elliot, 2002). These approaches are typically included in schooling in ways that are amenable to predominantly white, middle class, female teachers. In this way, multicultural inclusions are careful not to make dominant culture group members uncomfortable.

Multicultural education theorists have developed many models to describe these levels of engagement with multicultural inclusions: Banks (1995) has categorized the stages of inclusion as: content integration; knowledge construction; prejudice reduction;

equity pedagogy; and an empowering school community. McLaren (1995) uses the terms: conservative; liberal; left-liberal; critical/resistance; and revolutionary multiculturalism. There is no consensus in the literature on how such work should be classified, which reflects the diversity of perspectives, approaches and goals that fall within this scope.

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997/2001) use their system of classification to both highlight and justify their understanding of what they call critical multiculturalism. Necessitated by a need to overcome the limitations of approaches that re-center dominant culture values as normative and reinforce the inequities between dominant and non-dominant culture groups, critical multiculturalism goes beyond the aims of inclusion and empowerment to challenge underlying systems and structures of institutional racism. This version of critical multiculturalism has theoretical origins in the Frankfurt School of Social Research in the 1920s, a school of thought with a “focus on power and domination within an industrialized, modernist age” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2001, 23). Critical multicultural theorists advocate increasing individual self-consciousness in order to understand how one is situated within complex social relations.

In his analysis of the differences between mainstream multicultural models and antiracist⁷ or critical multicultural models, Lund (2012) notes that “despite the differences in perspective and approach, there are no clear distinctions between multicultural education and antiracist initiatives in schools”, pointing to the need for

⁷ What Lund (2012) calls antiracist education also goes by several other names, including critical multiculturalism, exposing the debate among theorists over how to categorize and compare different approaches to teaching and different goals of multicultural education.

more comprehensive theorizing and analysis of the quality and character of educational practice. Lund (2012) goes on to say that, “when done well, both can promote civic responsibility, moral accountability, political sensibility, and critical participation” (297). Multicultural education approaches can prepare teachers to include multicultural content, perspectives, experts, and knowledge, as well as prepare them to teach about the social, economic and political challenges faced by non-dominant groups. From this body of literature, there emerge at least two distinct goals of multicultural education: one aims to improve inclusivity and equity within institutions, and the other aims to challenge and re-order institutions themselves. Highlighting this difference, Lund (2012) notes that mainstream multicultural educators who favour inclusivity are criticized by advocates of more critical approaches “for focusing on maintaining the status quo and leaving systemic barriers in place” (298).

In thinking about the character of reforms that seek to increase inclusivity within institutions, compared to those that seek to undo or decenter dominant institutions, Fraser’s (1998) distinction between affirmative and transformative remedies for social inequality is useful for considering the kind of work accomplished by multicultural inclusions. Fraser (1998) considers affirmative remedies as those that seek to improve the outcomes of unequal relations and institutions, such as those found in multicultural education approaches, while transformative remedies seek to restructure social relations to not only improve outcomes for less advantaged groups, but to reposition all social groups and remove the structural roots of injustice. Affirmative remedies are generally compatible with mainstream approaches to multiculturalism in that they accept the

authority of the liberal state and its institutions, and aspire to improve outcomes for socially disadvantaged people and groups, while transformative remedies, on the other hand, identify the root causes of social injustice as occurring within liberal institutions, and aim to restructure political and economic relations through a reconceptualization of the identities of both valued and undervalued social groups (Fraser, 1998). Affirmative remedies are generally consistent with hegemonic ideas about the liberal welfare state and mainstream multiculturalism, and transformative remedies seek to undo the status differentiation between groups and shift toward alternative economic structures and a radical re-envisioning of the meaning and function of identity and cultural politics (Fraser, 1998).

Both multicultural politics and education can be useful for increasing recognition and rights of non-dominant groups in Canada. In the interest of social justice, both multicultural education and multicultural politics offer affirmative remedies that increase the rights and inclusion of non-dominant groups (Banks & Banks, 2013). Curricular inclusivity, as an example of an affirmative remedy, is a positive and important goal for public schools that seek to reflect the diversity of the student population and endeavor to offer equal educational access and outcomes to all students, and actions that increase social justice have positive impacts for all students. Yet, these actions stop short of transformative remedy: in his analysis of the limitations of mainstream multiculturalism, Lund (2012) notes, “an effective pedagogical response to racism acknowledges historical sources of institutionalized discrimination” (295). While approaches to multicultural education range from increasing cultural content to reducing the discriminatory effects

of institutionalized racism, critical multicultural theories argue that mainstream approaches are delimited by paradigms of social justice that consider only the negative consequences of inequality, and not their causes. Mainstream multicultural theory is “criticized as disregarding an analysis of power, politics, and privilege and other forms of oppression” (Lund, 2012, 296). On the other hand, antiracist education and other critical approaches recognize institutionalized racism and “address embedded biases in learning materials and existing inequitable power relations in schools (Lund, 2012, 296).

Mainstream multiculturalism focuses on inclusivity for the purposes of social harmony, a goal that contradicts more critical approaches that argue that the restructuring of society is required to bring about greater equity. Critical multicultural and antiracist approaches attempt to fill this gap and attend to systemic inequality, but, through their reliance on liberal norms and mechanism, do so in ways that re-center the dominant/non-dominant binary and reinforce institutional authority over the terms of representation and inclusion.

Settler Colonial Studies in Education

Lawrence and Dua (2005) bring attention to the ways in which Indigenous peoples and ongoing politics and processes of settler colonialism have been left out of multicultural, antiracist and post-colonial studies. While Canada promotes an origin story founded on liberal values, it omits or understates its colonial origins of conquest and erasure, achieved through “policies of direct extermination, displacement, or assimilation” (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, 123). Such policies have the direct intention of removing Indigenous peoples, so that settler societies can take their place on seized

lands. Lawrence and Dua (2005) elaborate how multicultural and antiracist frameworks that are built on colonial foundations participate in the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples: By ignoring the ongoing colonization of Indigenous people and territories, and by failing to integrate an understanding of Canada as a colonial state, otherwise progressive critical multicultural and antiracist theories participate in colonial agendas (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). Lawrence and Dua (2005), among others, point out that the major missing thread in multicultural and antiracist theories and education models is that of Indigenous people, nations, and land. Instead, Indigenous peoples are “reduced to small groups of racially and culturally defined and marginalized individuals (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, 123). They further point to the fact that critical multicultural and antiracist theories rarely take up the question of land as one of contested space; “to acknowledge that we all share the same land base and yet to question the differential terms on which it is occupied is to be aware of the colonial project that is taking place around us” (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, 126). Calderon (2014) points out that in settler colonial societies “narratives of immigrants are central to the construction of citizenship”, producing ideologies of the settler-as-native, and shaping social, economic, and political relations (320). To validate settler claims to territory, settler colonial societies “construct an imagined community amenable to settler nations” and “enabled by legal and ideological mechanisms” (Calderon, 2014, 319). Taking up research questions that problematize the subjectivities and systems of settler colonialism, and re-inscribing, re-naming, and re-mapping the territories that comprise the Canadian state to reflect Indigenous knowledge and histories works to un-settle settlers, and “reveals the

Canadian nation as still foreign to this land base” (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, 127). Revealing the foreignness of the Canadian nation also “calls into question notions of settler belonging-as-whites, or as people of colour, based simply on Canadian citizenship” (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, 127).

Lawrence and Dua (2005) argue that most multicultural and antiracist discourses exclude Indigenous people and nations. In the few cases in which Indigenous people, nations, and political struggles are included, decolonization politics are equated with antiracist politics, “which places decolonization within a liberal-pluralist framework, which decenters decolonization” (131). “Aboriginal issues are placed within a liberal pluralist framework, where they are marginalized and juxtaposed to other, often contradictory struggles, such as that of Quebec sovereignty”, which re-centers the authority of the settler state (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, 133). With this insight, Lawrence & Dua (2005) call our attention to the complicity of the Canadian multicultural project writ large with the aims of settler colonialism. Calderon (2014) points out that “unfortunately, critical discourses (e.g., critical race theory, queer theory, etc.) based in Western epistemologies fail to decolonize settler colonial ideologies and practices by centering [the] modern nation state” (315). Ignoring the ongoing colonization of the lands that comprise Canada and dispossession of Indigenous people, multicultural approaches to inclusivity attempt to reconcile diversity into the imagined Canadian nation while overlooking the condition of colonization that enables it.

Accepting the contributions of both affirmative and transformative remedies, the literature demonstrates that there are positive outcomes resulting from both

multicultural and antiracist approaches, as well as significant differences between them.

This literature further demonstrates that both affirmative and transformative educational approaches can improve school inclusivity and academic outcomes, and that progressive approaches to antiracist or critical multicultural education can challenge the institutional racism that promotes and privileges a particular representation of Canadian culture.

Whereas all but the most critical of multicultural and antiracist approaches rely on and reproduce the values and norms of liberal multicultural political theories, critical and antiracist approaches challenge liberal institutions themselves and seek to restructure economic, social and political systems for more equitable relations. As this chapter has elaborated, citizenship and multicultural literatures rely on liberal-pluralist schematics and thereby fall short of adequately accounting for or remedying issues that exceed such frameworks, resulting in a gap in the literature concerning Indigenous issues.

CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology

This methodological chapter lays out the design of the research study undertaken in this dissertation. In order to provide definitions and references to existing theories that guide my approach to this study, as well as to account for the theoretical focus and assumptions employed in my analysis of the data, I begin this chapter with a theoretical perspective. I have chosen to apply a settler colonial theoretical perspective for the strengths of its explanatory power in making sense of the data I have collected in a study of national values in the new B.C. curriculum. With this lens, I am able to both describe the observable phenomena within the data, and produce generalizations about their significances in the contexts of the settler colonial Canadian state and the current politics of reconciliation, drawing from the insights of settler colonial theory, informed as it is by Indigenous theory.

Next, this chapter includes a section that describes the research design, methods used, and considerations of data selection and analysis of this dissertation. In this section I elaborate critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodological approach and outline how and why I have selected this approach to an analysis of the B.C. curriculum (2015-2018). I then explain how and why I have chosen to compliment this CDA approach to the new curriculum with an ethnographic approach to select and collect data from the discourse that surrounds the new curriculum. The combination of these approaches and data sets allows me to consider the curricular data in and through the contexts in which it has been developed and is being implemented, and this section provides a rationale of how this is the case.

Finally, this chapter includes a description of an analytical tool developed in order to categorize the data collected into themes and enable coherent data analysis. The tool is informed by the secondary historical data analyzed in the second chapter of this dissertation, from which I have drawn descriptions of the types of national values evident in schooling in the years immediately following Confederation. From these descriptions I have generated a thematic framework into which the data collected from the new B.C. curriculum (2015-2018) has been organized. This section includes a description of each of the categories used in the process of theming the data, and their participation in the production of dominant national values. Placed into the framework provided by this tool I am able to group data for coherent coding and create classifications for comparison with previous productions of national values in education.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective that guides this research study is one of settler colonialism. Settler colonial theory borrows heavily from Indigenous theory and Indigenous studies in its analyses and critique of settler colonialism. As a non-Indigenous researcher of the settler colonial Canadian state, I also borrow heavily from the contributions of Indigenous theorists and researchers. Weaving through the contributions of settler colonial theorists with Indigenous scholars, I aim to maintain the clarity of each, while allowing my work to be informed by the insights of both.

The following section outlines the central features of settler colonial theory, describes how this theoretical lens makes certain assumptions about the Canadian state, multiculturalism and the politics of reconciliation, and provides examples of settler

colonial techniques in educational settings that will later be identified in B.C.'s new curriculum and the surrounding discourse. I then consider the limitations and prescient critiques of settler colonial theories and provide a rationale for the ease of application and strength of explanatory power of settler colonial theories to my research study. Through this elaboration I foreshadow the analysis I apply to the new B.C. curriculum and the surrounding discourse, and delimit the scope of my analysis to those findings interpretable through these theories.

Settler Colonialism

Emerging as a distinct discourse and analytic theory through the last few decades, settler colonial studies examines the characteristics of settler colonialism as they are distinct from other forms of colonialism, such as those temporary regimes of direct rule practiced by European and North American powers in most of the global south. Unlike other forms of colonization where direct rule is temporary and focused on the extraction of labour and resources, in settler colonial societies the "colonizer comes to stay" (Wolfe, 1999, 2). Over the last two decades, this phrase coined by Wolfe has become something of a catchphrase for settler colonial analyses, and is used to refer to the colonial systems that are permanently imposed on seized territories that characterize countries like Canada. Unlike direct rule colonies where imperial systems are withdrawn once resources have been extracted, in the case of settler colonialism, "permanent colonial outposts of the metropole are established to govern, and settler populations displace local communities. Invasion", Wolfe (1999) notes, "is a structure not an event" (2).

Settler colonialism is also distinct from immigration. Unlike other kinds of migrants, settlers bring with them their systems of governance and law (Wolfe, 1999; 2006). Rather than live under the sovereign authority of local rulers, settlers “carry their sovereignty with them” from imperial centers and establish institutions and instruments to exercise that sovereignty in the lands they colonize (Veracini, 2010, 3). “Settlers are not immigrants”, Tuck and Yang (2012) explain, because “immigrants are beholden to the Indigenous laws and epistemologies of the lands they migrate to. Settlers become the law, supplanting Indigenous law and epistemologies” (7).

While many who live in settler colonial societies insist that colonialism is a feature of the past, one that preceded the modern state as we know it, as Turner and Simpson (2008) argue, “colonialism is *not* an historical period that is now over; it continues to define the relationship between [Indigenous] people and the European newcomers... Indigenous peoples live with the practical, and philosophical effects of colonialism in the present” (in Tuck 2011a, 34, emphasis in original). Ongoing colonial effects include “a relationship where power – discursive and non-discursive facets of economic, gendered, racial and state power – has been structured into a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchal social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous people from their lands and self-determining authority” (Coulthard, 2014, 7). At the root of settler colonialism is the imperative to displace Indigenous populations and establish settler states in their place.

Some concepts are integral to the logics in and through which settler colonial societies are organized and are central to analyses of settler colonial societies across the

fields of Indigenous theory and settler colonial theory. Both highlight the centrality of land – and specifically the appropriation of Indigenous land – in settler colonial architectures (Wolfe, 2006, Veracini, 2008; Coulthard, 2014). Unlike other colonial systems, “settler colonies were/are not primarily established to extract surplus value from indigenous labor, but from land, which required/requires displacing Indigenous peoples from their homelands” (Tuck, 2013, 326). Wolfe (2006) argues that in the case of European settler colonial removal of Indigenous people and cultures, “the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.), but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element” (388). As Coulthard (2014) explains, “[settler] colonialism requires, at its core, an exploitable land base.”

Settler colonial claims to Indigenous land in Canada are legitimated by the concept of *terra nullius*, in discourse, though not in law, where the facts of the Royal Proclamation (1763) and the history of treaties run counter to the notion. *Terra nullius* — a Latin expression that translates to ‘nobody’s land’ — is a foundational principle of colonialism, and has enabled the architectures of the settler colonial Canadian state and others like it. While at odds with Canadian law, the principle of *terra nullius* is used in international law used to describe territory that is considered empty and which may be acquired by state occupation. Originating in the mid-fifteenth century with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in what is now North America, the suggestion that the lands of this continent were uninhabited was used to legitimize their colonization. This notion remains prevalent in North American historical consciousness, and is part of the national origin

stories told in Canada and the United States (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández 2013). In Canadian schools, children learn of intrepid explorers striking out into the wilderness, portaging their way across hostile climes, and of the challenges faced by pioneering settlers struggling to set up small farms and survive on rugged, unsettled terrain. Omitted from these popular narratives are the stories of the Indigenous nations that inhabited these lands, and of their systematic removal to make way for westward colonial expansion and settlement.

Terra nullius is a convenient way for settler societies to come to terms with their occupation of colonized lands, and it helps to justify settler conquest. As Tuck (2013) explains, “in settler colonial societies such as the United States, rights of property and occupation rely upon discovery narratives.” Like *terra nullius*, the corresponding ‘doctrine of discovery’, is used to justify settler conquest on the basis that Europeans were the first to cultivate the land and make it productive. European settlers brought with them property and labour values derived from European political philosophy, notably in this example, Locke’s labour theory of value, in which land comes to be considered as property through the application of one’s labour. European philosophical traditions thus support colonial expansionism on the basis that Indigenous people, while residing on the land, had not owned it as property in any recognizable way. Once land becomes property through private ownership it becomes part of the colonial hierarchized architecture. Settler colonialism “is based on the logic of owning land...land is property, and people are differently positioned relative to their ability to own it” (Patel, 2014, 361).

Agriculture and land-based discourses support the notion that settlers are the legitimate and original inhabitants of North America, while physically and symbolically removing Indigenous inhabitants (Wolfe, 2006). Whereas “primary sectors – forestry, fishing, pastoralism and mining – are eventually exhausted, agriculture not only supports other sectors, it is inherently sedentary and, therefore, permanent” (Wolfe, 2006, 395). The permanence of settler possession of land through agricultural cultivation facilitated the growth of settler society, Wolfe (2006) explains: “As John Locke never tired of pointing out, agriculture supports a much larger population than non-sedentary modes of production” (395). “In settler colonial terms”, Wolfe (2006) continues, “this enables a population to be expanded by continuing immigration at the expense of native lands and livelihoods” (395). National narratives confirm the centrality of land cultivation and agriculture in the founding of settler society, celebrating the salt-of-the-earth, down-home, simple values of pioneers and farmers. Citing Condorcet, who “identified the ‘family settled upon the soil’ as the basic building unit of the state”, and Comte, who “insisted that the ‘prime human revolution’ [is the] passage from nomadic life to sedentary state”, Veracini (2008) suggests, settler societies “often emphasize characteristics that are deeply entrenched in Western political cultures” (366), and in Canada these characteristics of permanence and progress are produced in particular against those of the Indigenous Other. While Indigenous societies did and do practice agriculture, “natives are typically represented as unsettled, nomadic, rootless, etc., in settler-colonial discourse” (Wolfe, 2006, 396). This discourse promotes a settler identity based on cultivation and permanence in spite of “glaring inconsistencies such as

sedentary natives or the fact that settlers themselves have come from somewhere else” (Wolfe, 2006, 396). To produce such a self-identification, the settler also produces what Wolfe (2006) calls a “formative Other in the nomadic native”, and, set against the perceived progress and permanence of agricultural life, “the reproach of nomadism renders the native removable” (396).

In order for settler societies to establish themselves on seized lands, Indigenous populations must first be removed. Through what he calls ‘the logic of elimination’, Wolfe (1999), argues that the difference between other genocidal regimes and settler colonialism is that while genocidal regimes seek to remove a population by death, settler colonial erasure can include physical genocide, but also includes techniques of elimination through which Indigenous people are simultaneously removed and yet remain. Techniques of elimination seek to remove Indigenous peoples *as* Indigenous peoples, while they physically remain (Wolfe, 1999; 2006; Baloy, 2016). Examples of such practices “can include officially encouraged miscegenation, the breaking-down of native title into alienable individual freeholds, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, re-socialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of cognate biocultural assimilations” (Wolfe, 2006, 388). Such techniques characterize the Canadian state’s relations with Indigenous populations, relations that have long had as a priority the aim to assimilate Indigenous people into dominant Canadian culture. “Elimination is a project by settlers to destroy, contain or modify Indigenous societies so that a settler society can build on Indigenous territories”, argues Wildcat (2016), “while also seeking to ‘erase’ or ‘extinguish’ the status of settlers as

colonizers, and without entering into a true partnership with Indigenous peoples” (394). Through techniques of erasure and replacement settler societies seek to remove Indigenous peoples as the original inhabitants of the land and replace them, indigenizing their settler colonial societies as the original settlements on the land. (Wolfe, 1999; 2006; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández 2013; Calderon, 2014; Baloy, 2016). “The heart of settler colonialism”, describes Calderon (2014), “ has to do with legitimating settler territorial acquisitions through physical and ideological dispossession of Indigenous inhabitants and cooptation of nativeness by settlers” (314).

A striking example of settler culture’s appropriation of indigeneity is found in the establishment of Stanley Park in Vancouver, British Columbia. Before the lands that now comprise Stanley Park became the city’s first park in 1886, Indigenous communities had used the prime waterfront land on lush forested territories for thousands of years. In order to re-make the 1,001 acres into a park to honour Lord Stanley – Colonial Secretary of the United Kingdom, 1885-1886, and later the sixth Governor General of Canada, 1888-1893 – scores of inhabitants had to be removed from the lands. “As Mawani explains... in the early twentieth century, this spatial transformation project ambivalently acknowledged and ignored Indigenous spaces through descriptions of ‘temporary’ or ‘seasonal’ land use that disregarded intensive, long-term emplacement (Baloy, 2016, 215). The removal of the local Coast Salish communities enabled the production of the land as a ‘natural’, ‘wild’, and ‘empty’ park through imperial imposition, and through the use of colonial techniques of mapping and jurisdiction (Baloy, 2016, 215). Following the removal of the Coast Salish people and settlements, the land changed from “an

Indigenous lived place to a spectacular ‘public space’, Stanley Park’s land was re-inscribed with new meanings that significantly inform(ed) local settler senses of place” (Baloy, 2016, 215). At the same time that Indigenous people were removed to allocated reserve land through the colonial logic of place-making, the displaced Coast Salish lived presence in Stanley Park was replaced with Indigenous totems and other items seized and imported from Indigenous communities farther north, such as Haida. Colonial park planners installed a replica of an Indigenous village in Stanley Park “to satisfy the voyeuristic settler gaze, replacing Indigenous indigeneity with sanitized indigeneity, relics without people, and material culture stripped of its political content” (Baloy, 2016, 216). These structures remain in Stanley Park to this day, which draws approximately 8 million visitors per year, many of whom pose for photographs in front of the historic misplaced/place-making totems that reproduce Vancouver as an indigenous land, but without Indigenous people.

Settler Colonialism in Educational Settings

Settler colonialism impacts and informs educational settings in settler colonial states like Canada in a number of ways. At higher levels, “settler colonial knowledge regimes shape social science research” (Calderon, 2016), influencing how research questions are designed and pursued. This is evident in the long standing tendency of social science research to produce Indigenous people and cultures as the subjects of academic inquiry, as well as in the tendency for academic research to pursue damage-centered approaches that highlight the limitations and failures of Indigenous people and cultures, rather than their possibilities and achievements (Simpson, 2007; Tuck & Yang,

2014; Calderon, 2016). These tendencies instill colonial mentalities in students, reinforce paternalistic approaches to settler-Indigenous relations, and participate in reproducing settler colonial supremacy.

Settler colonialism also informs K-12 schooling, and is produced in and through elementary and high school curricula. In the United States, Calderon (2014) examined social studies textbooks and the prescribed learning outcomes the textbooks aim to produce and found that “traditional school curricula teach the values, beliefs, and knowledge systems that support colonization” (314). She describes US social studies as “an exemplar of colonization, or coloniality in education in relation to Indigenous peoples” (314). Coloniality, she explains, “refers to the manner in which modern systems of colonialism operate epistemically, economically, ontologically, politically, and spatially (Calderon, 2014, 314). Additionally, Calderon (2014) argues, “social studies curriculum [is] a foundational tool to settler colonial schooling” (314). In her analysis, Calderon (2014) coined the term *settler grammars* to describe the examples of settler colonialism she identifies in curricula. Calderon (2014) describes the grammars – or narratives – of settler colonialism as “discursive logics that maintain settler colonial ideologies and identities that are dependent on Indianness” (315). Settler grammars “maintain the myth of Indigenous homogeneity and subordinate position of Othered knowledges (Moodie & Patrick, 2014). Calderon (2014) has classified five main categories of settler grammars: empty lands; territoriality; the immigrant nation; the new native; and settler superiority. These categories are helpful for understanding how settler colonialism shows up in K-12 schooling, rendering visible the assumptions, beliefs, and norms that are all too often

passed off and accepted as value-neutral or benign across settler society. These categories are also helpful for anticipating the examples of settler colonialism that this research study identifies in the new B.C. curriculum, though because Calderon's data was collected in the United States and is analyzed for productions of American settler colonialism specifically, I do not use these categories in my analysis, and instead use categories drawn from secondary historical Canadian literature. In the passage that follows, I briefly elaborate each of Calderon's settler grammars, and describe how each exemplifies the central tenets of settler colonialism as I've described them in the section above. Through this elaboration the settler colonial techniques previously examined are animated, and their impact on education is made evident.

Calderon (2014) identifies *empty lands*, "a grammar central in colonizing nations takeover of other people's territories", which reproduces the settler colonial principle known as the *doctrine of discovery*. Through *empty land* grammars in curricula, the geography of North America in her study is conceptualized as untamed and uncivilized, ripe for the establishment of settler societies. In schools children and youth are exposed to such depictions in social studies textbooks that portray Indigenous people as nomadic, hostile and uncivilized, thus justifying settler conquest and the establishment of settler society. Rather than include descriptions of colonial violence and the occupation of the settler state, such educational settler grammars produce American nationalism as a civilizing force, bringing civilization to uncivilized lands and people (Calderon, 2014, 325).

Closely related, *territoriality* refers to the production of lands as *terra nullius* in educational contexts, in which it is presented as both empty and belonging to no one.

Territoriality grammars celebrate European explorers and their 'discovery' of the so-called New World. Such notions of *territoriality* support settler colonialism by "legitimizing the eventual disappearance of pre-civilized Indigenous peoples, dependent on wild herds, also slowly disappearing" (Calderon, 2014, 330), and on modern, settler societies taking their place. In this way, *territoriality* grammars suggest the necessity of progressive development and reproduce the notion of the supremacy of Western society. *Territoriality* grammars also support settler colonial techniques of erasure, as through this logic Indigenous people as Indigenous people must either disappear as part of the pre-modern landscape, or abandon their indigeneity and pursue the modernity of Western culture.

Settler superiority draws from the Western political philosophy of Locke's labour theory of value to suggest that settlers are "entitled through law and moral superiority to take lands and make them productive" (Calderon, 2014, 326). *Settler superiority* also produces and is produced through notions of progressive linear development, legitimating settler conquest through racist narratives that depict Indigenous people as uncivilized, incapable of self-rule, and so requiring paternalistic protections from the state. Calderon (2014) notes that even when textbooks include accounts of American discriminatory treatment of Indigenous peoples, they do so while still insisting that settler society was driven by a superior, divine destiny, in which "they felt justified by God" (327).

With the *immigrant nation*, Calderon (2014) draws attention to nationalist notions that rest on a central narrative that insists that the United States is a nation of

immigrants (Calderon, 2014). The version of American nationalism identified here assumes that all inhabitants are members of a single nation, conflating the singular authority of the state with nationalist identification. Such narratives are also organized around the central issue of land and borrow from the settler colonial technique of the indigenized settler elaborated earlier, in which the settler state indigenizes itself on seized territories. Drawing legitimacy from the much-debated land bridge theory, *immigrant nation* narratives insist that Indigenous people migrated to North America as recently as 10,000 years ago, the first of many successive waves of immigrants. In this way, “Indigenous peoples are merged into narratives of immigration and settler nationalism”, says Calderon (2014), “erasing a central tenet of Indigeneity – that Indigenous peoples originate from particular places in North America” (321). The land bridge myth relies on Western science, thus reproducing the authority of empiricism over other knowledge traditions and excluding contradictory evidence from Indigenous origin stories that contain their own scientific thought (Calderon, 2014, 322). This narrative also confirms settler claims to land by depicting Europeans as the first in North America to develop the land and make it productive (Calderon, 2014, 321). *Immigrant nation* grammars reinforce notions of linearity and progressive development by producing Indigenous people as precursors for modern American citizens (Calderon, 2014, 323).

The *new native* refers to settler colonial aspirations to erase Indigenous populations and take their place as the natural and native inhabitants of the land. Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) refer to this aspiration in educational settings as “the settler colonial curricular project of *replacement*, which aims to vanish Indigenous

peoples and replace them with settlers, who see themselves as the rightful claimants to land, and indeed, as indigenous” (73). As an example, Calderon (2014) notes that official school standards in the United States require as a learning outcome that students “recognize that American society is and always has been pluralistic and multicultural, a single nation composed of individuals whose heritages encompass many different national and cultural backgrounds” (California History-Social Science Framework (CHSSF) 2005, 20, in Calderon, 2014, 324). The insistence that American society “is and always has been pluralistic and multicultural” erases lived experiences that know otherwise, and the insistence of a single nation subsumes all other identifications – as well as all that preceded it – under the broad banner of American nationalism.

Calderon (2014) argues, “the heart of settler colonialism has to do with legitimating settler colonial acquisitions through physical and ideological dispossession of Indigenous inhabitants and cooptation of nativeness by settlers” (Caloma, 2013; Wolfe; 2006, in Calderon, 2014, 314). In the same way as settler colonial techniques generally, the settler grammars identified by Calderon (2014) are overlapping and mutually confirming, preoccupied with legitimating Indigenous dispossession and securing the hegemony of the settler state. Moodie and Patrick (2017) summarize the concept of settler grammars as describing “the ongoing project of settler colonial societies to construct a national identity which makes sense of its indigenous history”, and through these examples and those identified in my analysis to follow, it becomes clear how this is the case in countries like Canada (442). Calderon (2014) notes that “the idea of the United States as a settler nation is little explored in educational research”, and I would

argue the same is true in Canada. Applying this lens to educational issues in Canada will make settler grammars more visible, and producing research of this type will increase the language we have with which to talk about the condition of settler colonialism in Canada and its ongoing impact in educational settings. As Calderon (2014) argues, “the specific contours of settler colonialism in curriculum studies are as yet under-theorized”, and her work offers strong support for research that examines settler colonial narratives that are central to Canada’s nation-building project.

In September 2015, public schools in B.C. began the three-year transition to a new curriculum, designed to meet the changing educational needs of the 21st century (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2015). For grades K-9, 2015-2016 was a transitional year during which teachers could begin introducing the new curriculum, with full implementation expected 2016-2017. Grades 10-12 began their transitional year in 2016-2017, with full implementation in 2017-2018. Among the changes brought about in the new curriculum is the inclusion of historically excluded Indigenous and racialized minority group perspectives, histories, and experiences with the Canadian state, and specifically, instruction about Canada’s Indian Residential School System. As the previous chapters have shown, even before Confederation and the establishment of public school systems nation-wide schooling in proto-Canada was used to produce and promote values favourable to the fledgling state and its interests. For more than one hundred years and lasting until around the end of the Second World War, these values openly supported the notion of the supremacy of a particular Western European culture over racialized minority and Indigenous cultures. Schooling was a key instrument for assimilation into

mainstream culture and was used to reduce the impact of home and family culture on children and socialize them into the dominant—predominantly white—Canadian culture. In the 1960s and 70s, a global shift toward cultural plurality took root in Canada and informed an era of multiculturalism during which Canadian liberal values shifted to officially include those of tolerance and respect for cultural diversity (Lund, 2012). Yet, critics argue multiculturalism is equally assimilative, absorbing cultural diversity into the fabric of multiculturalism, purporting to respect cultural diversity while simultaneously removing difference (Lawrence and Dua, 2005). Indigenous people and nations have long refused to participate in politics of multiculturalism, arguing that such politics aim to reduce the specificity of Indigenous claims and culture by reducing them to one of many ‘immigrant’ or ‘minority’ cultures within a liberal framework, processes that confirm the authority of Canadian sovereignty and courts as arbiters, and enable colonialism (Coulthard, 2014). St. Denis (2011) says, “Aboriginal groups suggest that multiculturalism is a form of colonialism and works to distract from the recognition and redress of Indigenous rights” (308). Indigenous nations assert their rights as the original inhabitants of the lands that comprise Canada, as Indigenous sovereign nations, claiming territories and autonomous sovereignties that pre-date European arrival and are beyond the discretion of Canadian rule (Lawrence and Dua, 2005; St. Denis, 2011). “Multiculturalism,” argues St. Denis, “is one example of a public policy that has served to undermine Aboriginal sovereignty” (2011, 309).

Tracing the development of proto-Canadian national values from pre-Confederation to the contemporary era helps to unsettle the notion that such values are

somehow natural, and reveals instead the careful crafting of norms to support a particular vision of Canada and Canadian culture. Following several decades of multicultural politics and approaches to education in Canada, severe socio-economic and cultural inequities remain, including unequal educational outcomes for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Indigenous education research argues the importance of Indigenous content and history in schools to remediate the cognitive imperialism endured by Indigenous students (Battiste, 1998; 2000; 2002). These arguments have found support in a much wider-reaching Indigenous resistance and resurgence movement struggling to end systems and structures of colonial dispossession and racism.

Rationale

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine productions of national identity and values as they show up in B.C. curricular documents and discourse. The broad focus of this dissertation is to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of Canadian nationalism. Convinced that Canada is a settler colonial state, I think it makes the most sense to apply a settler colonial theoretical lens to the Canadian national values uncovered in the B.C. curriculum. Settler colonial theory offers a particularly useful lens through which to examine narratives about what Canada is. As the previous chapters have revealed, in Canada, as in most other modern liberal states, efforts to account for socio-economic inequity using liberal mechanisms of multiculturalism fail to remedy inequity and stop its reproduction, and fail to account for the conditions of settler colonialism that underwrite the modern state. The data source for this dissertation is the new curriculum in B.C. and the discourses that surround it, which have come along at a

time in Canadian and British Columbian public life that is emphasizing official apologies and politics of reconciliation as means by which to account for so-called historic wrongs performed by the state against racialized minorities and Indigenous peoples. This research study is designed to critically read the new curriculum and surrounding discourses and assess how each participates in these politics. For these reasons, a settler colonial theoretical perspective is appropriate to interrogate the underlying assumptions of the curriculum and its social context in a settler colonial state, as well as to explain how Canadian national identity continues to participate in producing the conditions of possibility for the settler state, even while incorporating content that addresses discrimination against racialized minorities and Indigenous peoples.

Critiques

Scholars note that with increased interest in settler colonial analyses in recent years, settler colonial theory has become a “distinct emerging field of study rather than a site of struggle already critiqued by Indigenous peoples” (Snelgrove, Dhamoon & Corntassel, 2014, 11). While Indigenous people and scholars have long challenged the processes of settler colonialism identified within, widespread interest and participation in settler colonial theory and analysis have raised concerns about how non-Indigenous research could shift emphasis away from discourses that centre the perspectives and articulations of Indigenous peoples (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014). Snelgrove et al. (2014) draw attention to concerns over the institutional acceptance and promotion of settler colonial studies discourses and related academic journals, and the corresponding marginalization of Indigenous studies and discourses

that center Indigenous articulations. At stake in this decentering is the concern that “settler colonial studies can displace, overshadow, or even mask over Indigenous studies...and variations of Indigenous studies, especially feminist and queer Indigenous work that is centered on Indigenous resurgence” (Snelgrove et al. 2014, 9). When this occurs, then settler colonial studies participate in processes of settler colonial replacement that they attempt to critique and challenge.

Snelgrove et al. (2014) also draw attention to the problematic of the production of the ‘settler’ in settler colonial theory: Focusing on who the settler is has the tendency to mask the Indigenous experience, as well as the diversity of Indigenous experiences with colonialism. Borrowing from the theorizations of Frantz Fanon (1963), Snelgrove et al. (2014) point out that, “although the deployment of ‘settler’ certainly identifies the enemy, it fails to make the Indigenous nation known” (17). For educational theory and practice this is an instructive concern, pointing to the significance of designing curricular approaches to education that center local Indigenous nations and local experiences with colonialism, such as those designed by the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC) and the First Nations Schools Association (FNSA) for use in British Columbia.

Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) raise the complicated and troubling critique that non-Indigenous/white scholarship has the tendency to seek and then absorb knowledge, insight and experience from Indigenous/non-white scholars, subsequently removing the necessity of and then erasing the Indigenous/non-white body, and thus claiming the knowledge as part of the whitestream (see Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). As a white, settler researcher who borrows from Indigenous scholarship, I am

cognizant of these critiques. Considering the possible contributions of settler colonial studies in light of these critiques, Snelgrove et al. (2014) emphasize the potential of growing self-awareness within settler societies. It is my understanding that in order to pursue meaningful anti-colonial education practices, preliminary research must first ask how settler colonial normativity is produced in current curricular design. The research I undertake here will contribute to this discussion, rendering visible the values, assumptions, and perspectives that are all too easily assumed to be politically benign by settler society generally. Examining these values, and drawing from the wealth of critical Indigenous studies theory and settler colonial studies, this dissertation examines the ways in which the values instilled through public education are reproductive of colonial conditions of possibility. At this preliminary stage, the intention of my research is to increase understanding of the values disseminated through public education and the role of schooling in the production of national narratives, national and non-dominant identities, and liberal frameworks that reinforce the nation-state.

Research Design

Using a qualitative research design, this dissertation uses a combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the ethnographic method of secondary data analysis. In this section I offer descriptions of CDA and secondary data analysis, as well as rationales for their use in this study, followed by a description of my approach to data selection, collection, and analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a broad term for the study of language usage, and so is used in a number of academic disciplines and covers a range of topics (Frey, 2018). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is “distinguished from other discourse analysis approaches by its critical focus and its approach to discourses in social and political contexts,” making it an ideal approach for my analysis of national values production in curricula and discourse (Frey, 2018, 524). Critical discourse analysis is useful for investigating how texts participate in the reproduction of power and social inequalities in society (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Rather than as a discrete discipline with a fixed set of theories and research methods, Wodak (2013) describes CDA as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research program with an interest in the semiotic dimensions of power. While there is no single formula for conducting CDA, researchers using CDA are typically “concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of language and discourse in the construction and representation of the social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret, and explain these relationships” (Rogers, 2004, 3).

Unpacking the central tenets of CDA, the critical component refers to the study of power relations in society, most commonly associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory. Critical theory is an appropriate approach to apply to a study of the production of dominant social values: Rogers defines critical theory as “a rejection of naturalism, (that social practices, labels and programs represent reality), rationality (the assumption that truth is a result of science and logic), neutrality (the assumption that truth does not reflect any particular interests), and individualism (3). The discourse

component of CDA is a broad category, including more than linguistics or language use, it also includes speech and written text involved in social practice, that is, it also examines the production of meaning-making that occurs through language use in social contexts (Rogers, 2004, 3). The analysis component of CDA engages the researcher's definitions of critical and discourse, as well as their intentions for undertaking the analysis (Rogers, 2004, 3).

Before elaborating how CDA is an appropriate methodology for my research design, some definition of its central concepts will be useful for the discussion to follow. *Text*, in the context of CDA, refers to both written and spoken language (Fairclough, 1992). For the purposes of my research study, *text* includes both written text in the form of curricular documents and media publications, as well as the written recording of spoken text in the form of quotations and statements. *Discourse* is defined as a socially constructed mode of action (Fairclough, 1992), and "refers to how knowledge, subjects, behaviour, and events are depicted and defined in statements, assumptions, concepts, themes, and shared ideas (Braham, 2013, 2). *Discourse* produces and is produced through the framework through which we see the world (Braham, 2013). *Discourse practice* refers to the production, distribution, and consumption of text (Fairclough, 1992). And, *social practices* refer to discourse – or the social construction of knowledge – as ideology and power (Fairclough, 1992). In this dissertation, I am primarily interested in the production of discourse and social practices concerning dominant Canadian national values, and the notion of reconciliation in educational contexts. As Frey (2018) explains, in educational settings, CDA "focuses on the ways in which social relations, identity,

knowledge, and power are negotiated through written and spoken texts in communities, schools, and classrooms” (525). The focus of this dissertation is at the macrolevel of reproduced social structures (Frey, 2018, 525).

Analysis of Text

Critical discourse analysis employs analysis of structural and non-structural levels of text. Data in this study were considered at three levels: analysis of text; analysis of discourse practice; and, analysis of social practice. In this section I elaborate the performance of analysis at each of these levels. Text is defined as written or oral language. Text is sorted into information units for selection, coding and analysis (Halliday, 1994; Woodside-Jiron, 2004). Information units refer to text as it is organized in a document or conversation and indicates sentences, clauses, or paragraphs – chunks of text. Information units of this kind are a particularly useful way to organize data as they allow for the investigation of meaning-making at the level of the word – including vocabulary, word choice, repeated words, and use of similar synonyms – and also at the level of grammar, investigating how meaning is constructed through the organization of clauses and sentences. Meaning is also confirmed at the non-structural level, as the consistent use of a particular word, its continually produced meaning, and its singular authority are confirmed through repetition. The use of determiners (the, this) in establishing authority is also analyzed at a non-structural level. Authority is also established in text through assumptions and/or assertions – claims either implied or imposed that seek to confirm particular ideas as truth.

Woodside-Jiron (2004) notes that the features of text most interesting in the

critical analysis of policy are those that speak to the genre - specifically, the vocabulary used when presenting new rules and norms, and the ways that text is organized in policy documents to create cohesion. Cohesion, Woodside-Jiron (2004) explains, involves the authoritative sentence structure by which new information is introduced and the intertextual features that produce cohesion, “which is neither a property of a text, nor the interpreter, but rather the intersection of the two” (179). Indeed, the vocabulary used to introduce issues related to colonization and reconciliation is of top interest.

At the level of grammar, identifying components of clauses and sentences – theme and rheme – allows for interpretation at a structural level. Woodside-Jiron (2004) describes theme as the topic of a clause, or what is being talked about, and rheme as the part of the clause that gives more information about the theme, or what is being said about it. Theme and rheme are helpful for analyses that examine the meaning-making produced in the organization of clauses and sentences. Specifically, this is done when tacking new information (rheme) on to existing or given information (theme) (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). This is accomplished by stating an existing, or given piece of information as the first clause of a sentence, and then adding new information as the second clause of the sentence, linking new with old to provide “a set of conditions that exploit the potential of the new information being presented” (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 182). The new information contained in the second part of the first sentence is then reused as the first clause of the following sentence, a process which then positions the new information as existing or given information, followed by more new information, continuing the process of attributing authority and naturalization to usher in new information without seeming

to do so. This linking process has the effect of “making the unfamiliar familiar” (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 182). Closing clauses in a document of this sort might conclude by referring to the new information as “the” standards of “this” document, conferring authority (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). Woodside-Jiron (2004) notes that ‘new’ in this context refers to newness in a given conversation or context, in contrast with current ideologies, rather than the newness of the idea itself. Through analysis of structural and non-structural elements, patterns emerge that reveal how text is organized to ensure particular interpretations, are representative of “struggles over truth and meaning-making” (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 183). The organization of text in this manner produces a sense of order, makes ideas seem logical and natural, but actually “represents the privileging of particular ideologies and paradigmatic commitments” (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 184).

Analysis of Discourse Practice

CDA is a useful methodological tool for investigating how policies are produced in such a way that they are layered on top of each other to produce cohesion (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). Through the repetition of text in policies, ideas come to be understood as fact, gaining authority greater than that of each individual policy. For example, when applied to reading around the B.C. curriculum, particular ideas about learning gain traction as they are repeatedly produced through the layering of Ministry of Education policy statements. Such policies usher in ideas with a sense of collective normalcy and commonsense-ness (Gee, 2004) that would be lacking from a single policy or textual source. Taking up discourse practice as the production, distribution, and consumption of

text, this level of analysis enables researchers to examine the social and political contexts from which they emerge (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). In my research this means in particular the inclusion of policies and text designed to refute resistance, text sources that document collaboration with stakeholder groups, school districts, schools, and teachers, and the imposition of mandatory professional development and training. Investigating discourse practices – the production, distribution, and consumption of text – offers the opportunity to examine the who, what, when, where, why, and how, expanding the conceptual field of curriculum to include the influences and context in which it was produced. Fairclough (1992) describes how this “provides two bodies of information relevant to determining how context affects that interpretation of text in any particular case: a reading of the situation which foregrounds certain elements, backgrounds others, and relates elements to each other in certain ways; and a specification of which discursive types are likely to be relevant” (83).

Analysis of Social Practice

Woodside-Jiron (2004) explains how “putting specific text, discourse practices, and social practices in the context of their local, institutional, and societal influences makes more clear the social phenomena and constitutional power of the given relationships” (180). This context is useful for analyses of how policy and media documents participate in constituting consensus around particular concepts and definitions (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). In the context of my research, social practice – which refers to discourse as the performance of power and ideology – takes place in the socio-political climate of reconciliation and the impact and reception of the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission final report and recommendations. Canadian national political culture is currently characterized by politics of recognition and reconciliation, and punctuated by a recent series of official apologies for discriminatory and racist policies that targeted Indigenous and racialized minority groups. Through this analysis it is possible to examine how new knowledge is constructed in this climate, and how this knowledge is presented (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). The curricular documents and surrounding discourse analyzed here are of particular relevance for a CDA study, as they signify a moment of tension and change, with inter-textual and inter-discourse implications.

Texts, discourse practices and social practices combine to have constructive effects (Woodside-Jiron, 2004), and this is particularly true in educational contexts, where written curricula are interpreted and implemented by teachers in classrooms across diverse communities. Education policy and curricular documents are ideal sources of data for CDA as they participate in the production of public knowledge and values and determine what voices come to the fore in social life, key interests for critical discourse analysis inquiries. Based on research-driven models of ‘best practice’ and in collaboration with community members, advocacy groups and teachers, curricular policy is presented as a well-reasoned approach to education that is in the best interest of children, youth, and society, yet it also “legitimizes the values, beliefs and attitudes of its authors” (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 175), and is known to participate in cognitive imperialism (Battiste, 1995), and for these reasons, is ripe for critical analysis. Part of this analysis, Woodside-Jiron (2004) notes, includes investigating how issues come to be framed as

'problems' in curricular documents, how such problems emerge, how they appear, how they are developed, and implemented in curricula are all questions for critical analysis (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). Critical analysis can challenge the assumptions and intentions of educational policy and investigate underlying performances of power and ideology that are embedded into definitions of perceived problems and solutions, and is therefore an ideal methodology for this kind of research (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). A useful tool in critical analysis of public policy and curricular documents, CDA is an ideal methodology for my research, as it "sheds light on language practices that naturalize relations of power and domination" (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 177). Beyond describing and interpreting policy documents and changes over time, CDA seeks to explain them (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). This is important for investigating the underlying assumptions, priorities and ideologies at work in public documents that are commonly presented as value-neutral, but are actually engaged in processes of meaning making and values production. This, I argue, is particularly the case in matters of curricula and instruction in schools.

Curricular Data Collection

The current socio-political context in Canada advances an agenda of reconciliation, motivated in part by the final report and official recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. While the TRC was without legislative or juridical authority, the current federal government has made a non-binding pledge to implement all of the Commission's recommendations as part of its agenda of reconciliation. Eleven of the TRC's 94 Calls to Action are directly related to education, and provincial ministries of education, school districts, and schools have taken up these

recommendations nation-wide. Calls for reforms to the way Canadian-Indigenous relations are presented in curriculum and instruction are advancing new approaches to curricular and professional development. While this era offers great hope for relational cooperation and respect, it also ushers in familiar and unsatisfactory politics of recognition characteristic of multiculturalism, those that advance identity politics and confirm the state as the legal, liberal mechanism of adjudication (Coulthard, 2014). If the movement for reconciliation is to pursue meaningful and transformative changes to Canadian-Indigenous relations, dominant Canadian values need to shift to include a just account of past and present colonial structures and their impacts on Indigenous communities, and include Indigenous perspectives on their own terms, and in terms of their own political goals. For settler Canadian society this involves a critical self-examination to unearth the priorities, goals, values, norms and beliefs that are held as natural and unbiased, but that are in fact produced in and through and productive of conditions of settler colonialism. It is my aim to unearth these values as they show up in the new B.C. curriculum and the discourse that surrounds it. While the specific educational resources designed for the incorporation of historically marginalized perspectives – such as the *Indian Residential School Resource Packages* and *Bamboo Shoots* – sit outside of the curriculum itself, in this research study I look not to the quality or character of these inclusions, but to the ways in which, or whether or not, dominant Canadian national values and identity are shifting in light of and to make space for these inclusions. I have chosen the new curriculum in B.C. as the central subject of inquiry for this research study in order to examine how dominant nationalist values and identity are

being produced in the emerging era of reconciliation in Canada. It is my understanding that without a meaningful rethinking of the dominant values of settler colonial society that have produced so much inequity in Canada, the impact of the inclusion of non-dominant narratives is destined to be limited.

My review for data selection began with the new B.C. curriculum website (<https://curriculum.gov.bc.ca>), which is an online portal for the new curriculum, including the curricular materials at all grade levels and supporting documents and materials for teachers, as well as documentation of the curriculum redesign process, including summaries of feedback from teachers and community group stakeholders throughout the K-9 redesign process, and the grades 10-12 curriculum which is still in draft stages at the time of writing. Initially I was interested in focusing my study on grades 10-12, as I was under the impression that the school years closest to adulthood might be the most closely focused on preparing students for civic life, imparting important content, understanding and skills related to national identity and Canadian nationalism. However, my initial review of the material found that, while still in the proposal stage, the Social Studies Provincial Core Curriculum requires students to take only Social Studies 10 and one additional Social Studies elective option course (Province of British Columbia, 2015f). At this time (August, 2016) the proposed range of elective Social Studies courses include: World History, First Peoples Issues, Human Geography, Physical Geography, Law and Social Justice, and may be expanded to include Philosophy, Economics, and Comparative Cultures in future drafts. While the proposal states that these options allow for deeper study and the opportunity for students to specialize, they also allow for students to make

course selections in the graduating years 11 and 12 that completely avoid the issues that are the interest of this research, specifically Indigenous issues, racialized minority issues, issues related to cultural diversity, issues related to colonialism and settler colonialism, and contemporary Canadian socio-political and socio-economic issues. This curricular design raises concerns about the efficacy of the new curriculum's stated goal of weaving Indigenous issues through the curriculum at all grade levels, a concern that is closely related to the focus of this study. Intrigued by this potential design omission, I reviewed the Social Studies 10 draft curriculum and found that the Social Studies 10 Area of Learning is 1919 to the Present. If this is indeed the course topic for Social Studies 10, students in learning years 10-12 do not necessarily encounter any course content related to colonial contact, treaties made between the British Crown and Indigenous peoples, Indigenous experiences with colonialism, colonial structures before and after Confederation, or the establishment of the Indian Residential School System in Social Studies. While a significant factor in my data selection and collection, this aspect of curricular design is also significant for my analysis, and will be revisited in later chapters. As a result of this curricular structure, I decided to focus my data collection on the learning years 8, 9 and 10.

Mapping B.C.'s New Draft Curriculum: Getting Oriented

The new B.C. curriculum is available online (<https://curriculum.gov.bc.ca>). The main home page has five tabs: home; core competencies; curriculum; assessment and reporting; and graduation, each tab with a drop-down menu, which I will describe in more detail below. The home page is titled Building Student Success: B.C.'s new

curriculum. On the home page there is a rotating banner offering links to three of other pages in English, French, Punjabi and Mandarin. The rotating banner link photos show white and non-white students and a young, white female teacher. There is a *What's New* section in which educators can see at a glance the most recent updates to the curriculum, instruments to help educators understand and implement the changes, information about professional development opportunities, and links to related policy documents. There is also a *Fast Links* section with links to: glossary; references; development process; frequently asked questions; and feedback. And at the top of the page, a B.C. Ministry of Education logo that is a link back to the new curriculum home page, and not the B.C. ministry of Education home page as one might expect. Publication details list the page Copyright 2015, Province of British Columbia. All rights reserved. On the new curriculum home page there is no mention of Indigenous student education, Indigenous issues in education, education for reconciliation, or racialized minority issues within education.

From the home page, I navigated to the curriculum tab drop down menu, which lists: *detailed information*; *browse by subject*; *10-12 draft documents*; *curriculum search*; and, *tools*. I selected the first option - *detailed information* – which also makes no mention of Indigenous or racialized minority issues. Next, I selected *browse by subject*, which lists the major subject areas: Applied Design; Skills and Technologies; Arts Education; Career Education; Core French; English Language Arts; Français Langue Première; Français Langue Seconde-Immersion; Mathematics; Physical and Health Education; Science; and Social Studies. At this point I am reminded of the settler colonial

technique of erasure (Wolfe, 1999; 2006; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez 2013; Calderon, 2014; Baloy, 2016). In my reading around the roll out of the new curriculum in media and government sources, I have found a predominant thread to be the insistence that weaving Indigenous and other marginalized perspectives throughout the new curriculum is a top priority. This weaving through intends to remedy previous add-and-stir approaches that attach marginalized knowledges onto the mainstream framework, a process that further contributes to the erasure of Indigenous knowledges and peoples in educational settings (Battiste, 1984, in Rogers, 2014). While the intent is to bring Indigenous perspectives from the periphery into educational spaces and discourses, I wonder how a weaving through of Indigenous issues and knowledge might withstand the erasure of absorption. To this point in my examination of the curriculum and data analysis, there has been no mention of issues related to Indigenous peoples or other racialized minorities.

Core Competencies

Curious about what I wasn't seeing on the page, rather than begin an examination of the curricular areas, I navigated back to *Core Competencies*. The *Core Competencies* tab drop down menu lists: communication; creative thinking; critical thinking; positive personal and cultural identity; personal awareness and responsibility; and social responsibility. The *Core Competencies* home page describes them as at the center of the redesign, along with literacy and numeracy foundations and essential content and concepts. I paused here to refer to the glossary for a working definition. The glossary defines *competency* as:

“The combined skills, processes, behaviours and habits of mind that learners use to make sense of the world. Competencies are evident and reflected in every area of learning; however, they manifest themselves uniquely in each discipline. Competencies are activated in the “doing of a subject.” Focusing competency development across the curriculum supports students as they engage in deeper learning — learning that encourages them to look at things from different perspectives, to see the relationships between their learning in different subjects, and to make connections to their previous learning, their own experiences, and to the world at large.”

The glossary defines *core competencies* as:

“The sets of intellectual, personal, and social and emotional proficiencies that all students need to develop to engage in deeper learning and to support lifelong learning. In B.C., the core competencies are thinking competency, communication competency and social and personal competency.”

The first paragraph of the *Core Competencies* home page refers to the provincial consultation through which the three core competencies – communication, thinking, personal and social – were developed and offers a hyper link to the *Defining Cross-Curricular Competencies: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment* document (Province of British Columbia, 2013a). The abstract states: “This document presents working (draft) definitions of the cross-curricular competencies and elaborates on the definitions presented in *Enabling Innovation: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment*.”

I scanned the *Defining Cross-Curricular Competencies: Transforming Curriculum*

and Assessment (Province of British Columbia, 2013a) document for mention of Indigenous and racialized minority issues. The document is 10 pages in length. The first mention comes under the topic heading: *Defining Cross-Curricular Competencies*. In a discussion about the interconnectedness of the three core competencies it states:

The development of the definition of the cross-curricular competencies is informed by the principles embedded in the Goals of Education, the Educated Citizen and the First Peoples' Principles of Learning. As well, it is informed by national and international initiatives on essential 21st century skills and by research conducted by academic researchers in a number of areas, including critical thinking, creative thinking, communication, social and personal responsibility, and Aboriginal perspectives on cross-curricular competencies.

This implies that the First Peoples' Principles of Learning document was consulted, and academic researchers in the development of the competencies considered Indigenous perspectives.

In the next paragraph titled: *Importance of Context in Defining the Cross-Curricular Competencies* there is discussion of the relevance of learning to each child's lived experience and in their different cultural contexts. It states: "From this perspective, it is necessary both to value the different contexts of students' lives and learning environments and to define competencies in a way that is open to different cultural and social interpretations. For example, in the context of Aboriginal learners, the cross-curricular competencies may be interpreted in a way that respects the mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional aspects of a whole and healthy being. Other cultural contexts

may require similar or unique cultural interpretations in order to be meaningful within the context of students' whole lives." There is no mention of how teachers from one culture might interpret or assess the interpretation of students from other cultural groups, or how culturally responsive competencies will or should be determined. What this paragraph does highlight is the implication of a dominant culture group, the dominance of which is evidenced by its lack of need for a cultural modifier. The only other mention comes at the end in the *forecasted timeline* and indicates that "research and work sessions in Aboriginal perspectives on competencies" will continue between May and August 2012. While interesting, this data relates more directly to research that examines the efficacy of Indigenous student education than to the inclusion of Indigenous issues across the curriculum.

Returning to the *Core Competencies* home page and browsing through the core competency profiles, I realize that they are set up like learning objectives, with the learning outcome identified as a particular facet – or aspect – of the profile. The competency profiles offer an overview of examples of learning outcomes related to each competency, described as "I" statements. For example: "I can describe my family and community." For each Competency Illustration – which is like a syllabus – there lists a profile level ranging from 1-6,7,8,9 depending on the competency, for each of which several learning outcomes are listed for assessment, a title of the class or activity, a context in which the competency is being practiced, and the facet of the competency being practiced, if applicable. For each competency illustration offered there is an overview that gives the context of the class to set up the lesson. In addition to a

description of the competency being practiced there are also links to student work samples.

Competencies are designed to be expanding and growing for each student at their own rate of development and are not tied to grade levels. They are rather abstract in this presentation, designed to be built into the fabric of the content of curriculum. What emerges is a narrative about what values, skills, and forms of knowledge are important and worthy of supportive development. There is consideration and allowance made for multiple interpretations and expressions of values, skills and knowledge, though it is not clear whether or not, or in what ways learners from diverse cultural groups might take up these values and how teachers and students from different cultural perspectives will view each other. Linguistic studies of standard and non-standard language dialects using CDA research point out that while different language dialects are equally good insofar as they are complex, communicative, and rule governed, they receive different treatment in schools (Gee, 2004). There is a good deal of research that demonstrates the social and political advantages middle class children gain by having a dialect close to the standard, that dialects close to the standard are valued more positively and built on more adeptly (Gee, 2004, 22). While the Core Competencies document (Province of British Columbia, 2015c) acknowledges diverse cultural interpretation and expression of values, skills, and knowledge, the relative value schools and teachers place on different expressions is not addressed. The implication is that these core competencies are value or culture neutral, occupying a normative space beyond culture, and that they can be learned and demonstrated through various cultural expressions. There is no discussion of

potential incompatibilities between the values, skills and knowledge represented here and that of non-dominant culture groups.

Curriculum

At this point I return to the main <https://curriculum.gov.B.C..ca> page and turn to the curriculum documents. Reviewing the New Curriculum home page, an emphasis is placed on how the curriculum intends to respond to and prepare learners for a changing world, without description of these changes and how they are expected to impact education. This new curriculum model has three core elements:

1. KNOW: Content Learning and Standards – topics – *what students will know*
2. DO: Curricular Competency Learning Standards – skills, strategies and processes – *what students will be able to do*
3. UNDERSTAND: Big Ideas – generalizations and principles - *what students will understand*

The curriculum home page explains that the Know-Do-Understand model is built “to support a concept-based competency driven approach to learning.” The home page also mentions flexible learning environments and states that: “Although the learning standards are described within areas of learning, there is no requirement for teachers to organize classrooms, schools or instruction in this manner. In effect, the Ministry of Education defines the “what” to teach but not the “how” to organize the time, space or methods to teach it.” As will be considered in greater depth in the discussion chapters to follow, the hands-off, decentered approach to instruction in this curriculum raises

concerns about the lack of consistency encountered by students. While not advocating a one-size-fits-all approach, there is no mention here of the requirements or expectations of teachers interpreting and implementing the curriculum in their varied classrooms and communities.

Social Studies (SS)

Turning now to specific curricular areas, on the Social Studies home page I first selected grade 9, curious about how students are prepared for their last few years of school, and interested in what course content precedes Social Studies 10, the topic area of which is *From 1919 to Today*. Grade 9 Social Studies covers from 1750-1919, so at the outset I am expecting it will cover issues related to colonization and Canadian-Indigenous relations that precede the scope of time covered in grade 10.

Before reading the grade 9 curriculum, I selected the Introduction tab at the top of the page that links to the Ministry of Education document titled *Introduction to Social Studies* (Province of British Columbia, 2015f). Under the heading *Features of the redesigned Social Studies Curriculum* there is an Aboriginal Perspectives section that states: "Aboriginal topics and perspectives are embedded in all grades in the Social Studies curriculum (presumably this means grades K-9 and related grade 11 and 12 elective courses, given the topic matter of grade 10 and requirements). As I research and review these documents I find myself drawn to investigate the claim made repeatedly in this curriculum and in supporting documents and surrounding media coverage that Aboriginal topics and perspectives are embedded in all grades in the Social Studies curriculum. I am drawn to assess the document for how well it accomplished this aim.

Curious, I left the Social Studies Intro to check other subject areas to see if there are similar claims made...at a glance:

English Language Arts (ELA)

In the Features of the English Language Arts Curriculum section of the *English Language Arts Introduction document* (Province of British Columbia, 2015d) states:

The *First Peoples Principles of Learning* (First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC), 2008) are embedded in the ELA curriculum. These principles were developed with First Peoples educators and community members and have been affirmed within First Peoples societies to guide the teaching and learning of provincial curricula. The First Peoples Principles of Learning not only honour British Columbia's First Peoples and their perspectives on pedagogy, but also, with regard to the ELA curriculum, promote experiential and reflexive learning, as well as self-advocacy and personal accountability in learners. Embedding the First Peoples Principles of Learning in the curriculum helps to create classroom cultures based on the concepts of community, shared learning, and trust. These principles and First Peoples content are not add-ons or separate units in ELA, but are woven into the fabric of the curriculum.

However, there is no acknowledgement that no matter how well the authors integrate the *First Peoples Principles of Learning* into an ELA curriculum, that the subject remains *English* and that its dominance - in this case represented in the formal and hidden curriculum in schools is the reason Indigenous languages in B.C. are endangered. Nor is there acknowledgment of the explicit suppression of Indigenous languages suffered by

Indigenous children in the Canadian, church-run residential and day schools.

Mathematics

The *Important Considerations* section of the *Introduction to Mathematics* document states:

The Ministry of Education is dedicated to ensuring that the cultures and contributions of Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia are reflected in all provincial curricula. The First Peoples Principles of Learning consider important contexts and aspects of teaching and learning, such as the connection to place, the power of story, respect for Elders' knowledge, and the need for a strong identity of self. It is important for teachers to use these principles to guide the incorporation of Aboriginal mathematical content and knowledge in meaningful ways.

Local and traditional Indigenous Knowledge contributes to our understanding of place. Indigenous Knowledge is holistic and is embodied in experiential ways of learning, including the oral tradition. As Aboriginal communities are diverse in terms of language, culture, and available resources, each community will have its own unique protocol for sharing local knowledge and expertise with the school system. For examples of Teaching Mathematics in a First Peoples context, see First Nations Education Steering Committee <http://www.fnesc.ca/>."

At this point it is clear that efforts were indeed made to weave Indigenous perspectives throughout the curricular subject areas, yet several more questions arise from these descriptions. As an example, I followed the link above to the FNESC website and found

that the Math First Peoples Resource Guide is designed for math grades 8 and 9. Presumably these resources are the first of many guides to be developed for other grades. However, at this point there are not resources available to support the claim that teaching math from Indigenous perspectives is woven across all grades and subject areas. The Teaching Mathematics in a First Peoples Context Grades 8 and 9, like the other resources on this site have been developed by FNEESC – rather than by the Ministry itself, and I am interested to know more about the relationship between the two groups, as well as how documents produced externally are or are not woven through the Ministry produced curriculum. At this point, while the curricular documents continue to remind the reader that Indigenous perspectives are now integrated – and not merely additive or external – it is not yet clear how that integration has been accomplished, as the Indigenous documents and resources themselves are external to the curriculum website. Further, Indigenous perspectives are not included in the same way in all subject areas.

It would be interesting to continue to investigate the claim that Indigenous perspectives are woven through the curriculum, and how well these claims are supported by the institutional structures and mechanisms – websites and resource guides – to ensure that they are taught inclusively. However, at this point I am going to return to my central research question and read the grade 9 Social Studies curriculum to see if it brings me closer to my original question – about how Canadian nationalism is represented in curriculum.

Social Studies Grade 9

Glancing at the grade 9 Social Studies webpage, I have concerns about the

amount of data that I will be able to collect – the new curriculum is streamlined, listing at the top, the Big Ideas, followed by a detailed list of the Learning Standards, separated into two columns: Curricular Competencies and Content. Each list has several relevant learning standards listed in bold that open an informational pop up window when hovered over. Not all information windows are the same, the most informative list sample topics (very abstract) and key questions (fairly concrete) though neither are exhaustive lists, nor do they link to relevant teaching resources. Browsing the streamlined curriculum, I am left wondering how teachers will interpret the bullet-point learning standards and how they will choose and access learning resources to teach the wide range of topics. Informally, I have heard from both in-service and pre-service teachers that many intend to look back to the previous curriculum’s IRPs – Integrated Resource Packages that this curriculum is intended to replace – for details related to instruction and for teaching materials. Curious, I google searched and opened the Social Studies IRP, and I found the Social Studies Grade 8-10 was published in 1997, though Grade 10 was since updated in 2007. Comparing Grade 8-10 IRP, it is immediately obvious that the language has changed. For example, where the new curriculum uses the term ‘colonization’ the old IRPs say ‘interaction between Aboriginal people and Europeans.”

At the bottom of the Social Studies 9 web page – and indeed on all curricular area web pages – are four links: Flexible Learning Environments; Instructional Examples; Student Supports; and Aboriginal Education. The Aboriginal Education link opens the *Aboriginal Education* document, a three-page brief that offers a rationale for improving

the way Indigenous people, perspectives, histories and concerns are presented in B.C. classrooms. While historically largely omitted from the curriculum or included in ways that reproduced racist and discriminatory notions, the document notes that, even while curricular reforms over the last decades have brought improvements and now classroom resources include more references to Indigenous people, “resources began to include some information *about* Aboriginal *people* but not how Aboriginal *perspectives and understandings* help us to learn about the world and how they have contributed to a stronger society” (Province of British Columbia, n.d.).

Curricula Data Collection Social Studies 8, 9, 10

Intrigued to examine how the curriculum presented the years 1750 to 1919, which would conceivably include European contact with Indigenous nations and European-Indigenous relations resulting from exploration and settlement, I began with grade 9, followed by grade 8, which covers from the 7th Century to 1750. At this point I was not surprised. I found some inclusions of topics related to colonialism and also some inclusion of gender relations and racialized minority groups, but framings were consistently aligned with narratives about Canada as a liberal, multicultural state. Problems within Canadian politics and discriminatory treatment of non-dominant people and groups were framed as mistakes of the past, and there are also examples of questions included that appear constructed to offer multiple perspectives, but that actually re-center dominant culture values and perspectives. For example: *Was colonization good or bad?* While to many, the answer is obviously negative and the question intends to examine negative consequences of colonization, from the

perspective of the contemporary Canadian state and its inhabitants, it's hard to imagine the conversation ending with a negative assessment of the existence of the country.

Approaching grade 10, I was surprised to find a very different tone. Unlike grade 9, that seemed lackluster, and grade 8 that seemed to characterize the era as one of struggle, grade 10 came across as contemporary, vibrant and fresh. In the Big Ideas found at the top of the page that introduce the main themes of the year, were two direct challenges to the sort of nationalist metanarrative I had become familiar with to this point:

- “Worldviews lead to different perspectives and ideas about developments in Canadian society”
- “Historical and contemporary injustices challenge the narrative and identity of Canada as an inclusive, multicultural society”

I found the grade 10 curriculum to be full of vitally important concepts and subject matter – so full; in fact, that it became increasingly and convincingly clear that there is no way this whole curriculum could be attended to in one academic year. This structure leaves one to wonder what content a given teacher might include, and how they will make such decisions? It seems that the answer is likely both troubling and encouraging, and revealing of the degree to which the teacher one is assigned will determine one's education. They are all sample topics, and there is no required content.

Examining the new curriculum overall, I was surprised to see so little directional information for teachers. The positive aspect of this of course is the increased control afforded to teachers to find locally relevant and culturally appropriate content and

materials with which to teach their students, a guiding design principle of the new curriculum. This increased autonomy is complemented by the elimination of provincial examinations to be replaced with local, in class testing. This allows for flexibility and differentiation in instruction to accommodate local issues, approaches and content. What is less clear is how teachers will be supported to find adequate and appropriate content should they not be confident about sourcing materials independently, as seems to be the case among teachers new to the profession and those with lengthy career experience and a reluctance to change their instruction. As a result, there is reason to believe that this lack of support will mean that teachers default to past practices, looking to the old IRPs for guidance and appropriate materials. If this is the case, then the purported newness of the curriculum is questionable.

Curricular Data Analysis

Reflecting on the tendency of qualitative inquiry to identify and examine marginalized or vulnerable populations, Tuck and Yang (2014) note that “inquiry as invasion is built in to the normalized operations of the researcher” (81). Tuck and Yang (2014) observe “a tendency in social science to reduce coding to a mechanical process – an increasingly quantitative, increasingly positivist approach that masks the power relationships about who comes to know whom in the creation of knowledge” (81). “In the guise of objective science”, Tuck and Yang (2014) warn, coding “expands the project of settler colonial knowledge production”, and, once begun, “has already surrendered to a theory of knowledge” (81). Taking seriously these concerns, with this research I aim to increase awareness of theories of knowledge that inform and advance settler colonial

knowledge production, to make visible theories of knowledge that often operate unexamined as theoretical perspectives and schemas for data collection, analysis and meaning-making. Examining the construction of settler colonial nationalism in curriculum, I will also examine constructions of settler colonial knowledge production through this research. Tuck and Yang (2014) further note that the code beneath the code is rarely examined, and that “[s]ettler codes express the putative right of the settler to know and thus to govern all the people, land, flora, fauna, customs, cultures, sexualities in his seized territory” (812). In this way, the authors (2014) explain that “a code is a cipher, a system of signifiers that make words meaningful”, and that what is meaningful derives from the code, not from what is observed (812). Taking up the power relations involved in research means “to refuse the colonizing code requires deconstructing power, not objective cataloguing of observations” (812).

Using an inductive approach to coding, I allow the words, concepts, and themes that emerge to guide the structuring of thematic categories for analysis. Following a Foucauldian approach to critical discourse analysis, I focus on the interrelatedness of knowledge and power, looking specifically at the development of concepts related to identity, difference, and nationalism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Using open coding, the purpose of which is to inquire widely, I ask the data a specific and consistent set of questions.

Throughout the data collection process detailed notes were maintained to record analytical decisions and explanations of social practice – interpretations of discourse as ideology and power – over time and to provide researcher reflexivity (Woodside-Jiron,

2004). After collecting data through a careful reading of each document, I used a critical discourse approach to identify words and concepts used to communicate ideas about historically marginalized perspectives, national identity, and difference. I then examined the data for the ways that historically marginalized and hegemonic national values are produced in relation to each other, interested in particular in the potential for hegemonic values to be reconsidered and made more inclusive. Lastly, I consider the social and historical contexts through which these identities and cultural values have been produced, considering the specific political context of reconciliation, and possibilities for relational approaches in education.

Analytic Framework

This study follows two parallel and complementary lines of analysis. One is interested in processes of nation-building accomplished through schooling generally, and so examines the founding values of the Canadian state as identified in the secondary historical literature (chapter two of this dissertation) as an example of processes of nation-building in public schooling. The second explores how national values change over time, reflecting temporally situated values of a given era, while simultaneously confirming the consistency of the nation-state. To follow this line of inquiry I analyze the new B.C. curriculum with an interest in the particular incarnation of Canadian national identity in the early twenty-first century, and examine how these values work to confirm the hegemony of the state and the theories of sovereignty and nationalism that undergird it. The central problematic that drives this dissertation asks how curricular

inclusions both challenge and support established conceptions of Canadian national identity.

A close reading of secondary historical literature (chapter two), finds themes that present a consistent narrative about the values promoted in schooling from the mid nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries in Canada. This literature reveals a set of interrelated values, priorities and practices instilled in and through schooling in the interest of distilling a cohesive nation from a diverse population. After identifying these values, I organized them into a framework that will be used to analyze the new B.C. curriculum. These values are grouped into broad categories to assist with theming and coding values as they emerge from the data collected from the new curriculum. Whereas in chapter two I discussed these factors according to their specificities – that is, the specific values they produce – for use in this analytical tool I have classified them according to the kind of work that they do – that is, the ways that such values participate in the production of national identity. This categorization makes it possible to assess the most recent curriculum in BC in terms of both change and continuity. In summary, these elements include: common identity and values; national histories and myths; progress and development; economic development; and, diversity and representations of the Other.

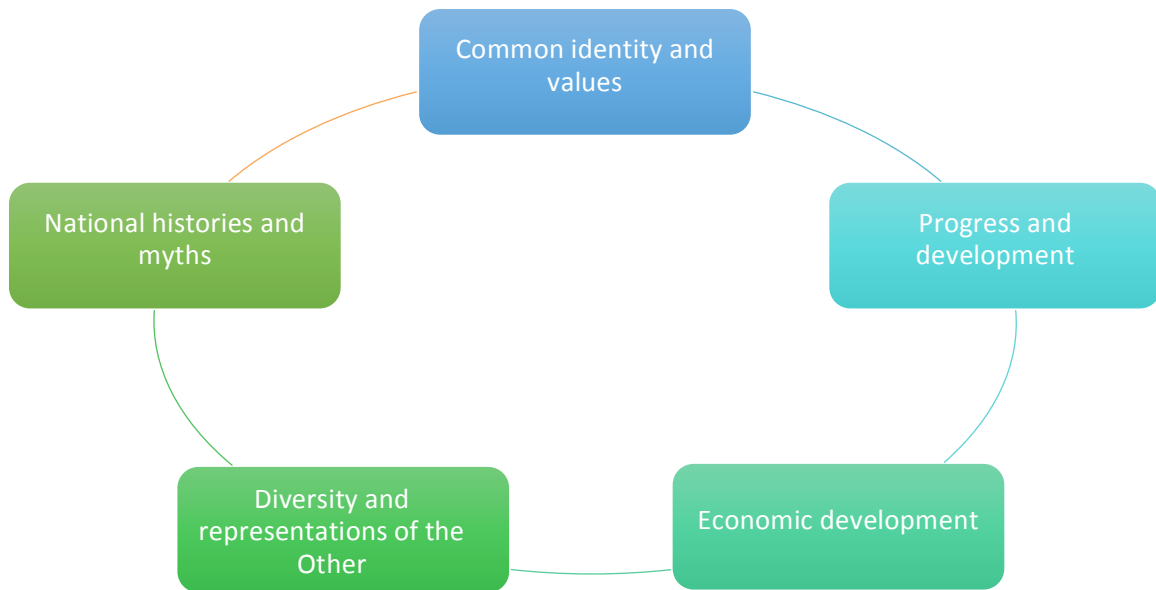


Figure 1: Analytic Framework

Description of Analytic Categories

Common identity includes both individual and collective notions of one's belonging to a state or nation, how individuals understand themselves, understand themselves socially, and understand the ways in which people are the same as and different from others. Put another way, identity involves the notions, beliefs, and elements that constitute a person or collective. National identity is "a special form of a collective, political identity, which consists mostly of a self-image based on certain assumptions about common features as descent, history, language, culture, subjective feelings of belonging, and/or citizenship" (Westle, 2011, 1131). Common values refer to principles and standards of behaviour, and include judgement about what is important. Adhering to or deviating from common values informs notions of sameness or difference as they concern identity. National identities are related to modernity; arising from and

constituting imagined communities in the form of modern nation-states (Anderson, 1983).

Language — including linguistic group membership, discourse and discourse practices — is a central tenet of identity formation and national history. Ideas about the nature of reality are hard coded in language and languages bring with them conceptual categories that inform ways of knowing the world such that “ontology is language derivative” (Manzer, 1994, 44). Modern nationalisms organized as nation-states seek to reconcile cultural diversity, and so-called ethnic nationalisms seek to express themselves through political sovereignty whether within nation-states or transcending them (Greene, 1978). Greene (1978) points out that “the nation-state in its present form is a European development, and that the vast majority of European states are precisely the political expression of ethnic, or more accurately, linguistic groups” (183). Debates about official languages in multi-linguistic areas are part of wider debates concerning the character, self-determination and authority of nations and states.

National myths are narratives about a nation’s past, often including stories about the nation’s origin and development, elevated to a symbolic level. Many founding myths contain narratives about wars of independence or against colonization. National myths reflect and affirm national values, serving as reminders or touchstones for common identity. In liberal states, national myths are mobilized to inspire civic virtue and legitimate the rule of dominant groups. In national myths, narratives are edited, embellished and/or offered without evidence in ways that advance symbolic meaning. A national mythos is a group of related national myths.

National histories take the nation-state to be the primary subject of historical analysis, and the object of historical development is the realization of the nation-state (Passmore, 2005). National histories involve stories of heroes and villains, those who fought on the right and the wrong side of history, those who worked to develop the nation-state, and those who impeded it. Passmore (2005) notes, national histories are both morally judgmental and teleological. National histories are often rooted in anti-colonial or revolutionary narratives and involve the political community coming of age to assume full maturity in the nation-state. Critiques of nationalism contend that such stories, whether of nations or nation-states, are “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1984), that pass off as disciplined study of the past what are more accurately myths and fabrications (Kumar, 2006).

Progress and development are related to notions of national teleology, like those represented in national histories that suggest the intrinsic telos of the nation is to assume full maturity in the nation-state. The telos of the nation is debated among theorists of nationalism, yet it remains a central theme in nation building. National notions of teleology are ongoing and can involve social, economic, and political development, progress that rests on the belief that through modern rationalism and political organization, full civilization is possible. The rationale of teleology underlies aspirations of ongoing progress and expansion, and is compatible with notions of capitalism and accumulation. Indexes of national development are central to modern-nation-states, are connected to economic analyses such as national gross domestic product (GDP), and are involved in international organization and cooperation. In both domestic and

international discourses, national development is seen as the primary responsibility of the state.

Economic priorities refer to the management of material resources. In broad terms an economy refers to an area of production, distribution, trade and consumption of goods, and in modern terms, refers to the resources and combined wealth of a nation-state. Economies are categorized in terms of kind, such as market-based or command-based, and also in terms of development, such as subsistence, industrial, or consumer, or as primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary, reflecting the progressive maturation of the economy and the society in which it is embedded. Informed by a wide range of socio-political, cultural, and geographic factors, economies vary widely. In the modern era of nation-states, economic development is closely related to notions of national progress and development, and reflects beliefs about the teleology of modernity. National GDP is a measure of a country's economic size, and GDP per capita creates a mean estimate of economic size by population.

Diversity, stated broadly, "refers to the variety of differences and similarities/dimensions among people" (O'Mara, 2015, 268). In modern nations, diversity is reconciled into the commonality of citizenship and the "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) of the nation-state. The modern political system of nation-states is founded on a belief in the coherence between culture and territoriality, and so the nation-state is required to produce and promote a common national identity with which to absorb and mitigate difference. Through common nationalism and citizenship, categories of difference such as race, ethnicity, language, religion, and culture are

reconciled. Segal & Handler (2006) note that “designations of ethnicity typically differ from those of nationality in that the former are often used to fit diversity into an encompassing nation”, which hyphenated terms such as African-Canadian or Irish-Canadian, in which “the first term specifies a type of the second”, illuminating that “a key element of the uses and meaning of ethnicity is that it sub-cedes nationality, thereby providing an important means for nations to contain ‘diversity’” (64).

Secondary (Ethnographic) Data Analysis

As I researched and wrote the literature review chapters for this dissertation during the months leading up to the TRC final report and the announcement of the new curriculum in 2015, I grew increasingly interested in how issues of reconciliation were being discussed in the media and taken up in public and academic discourses. As I read through these accounts, I noticed trends emerging, reflecting how reconciliation was being imagined and how it was to be implemented into curriculum design in British Columbia. I realized that before I critically read and analyzed the new curriculum, I wanted to better understand the environment in which the new curriculum was being introduced and how Ministry officials and others were representing the new curriculum in media reports related to reconciliation. By mapping the socio-political terrain in which the curriculum is situated, I hoped to be able to comment on the specific productions of settler colonial nationalism in curriculum, situated as it is in the emerging politics of reconciliation in Canada. For these reasons, I have chosen to complement a critical discourse analysis of the most recent B.C. curriculum with the ethnographic method of secondary data analysis.

A seminal authority on the theory and practice of CDA, Norman Fairclough (2003) suggests “by itself, text analysis is limited”, and that “to research meaning-making, one needs to look at interpretations of texts as well as texts themselves, and more generally at how texts figure in particular areas of social life, which suggests that textual analysis is best framed within ethnography” (15). Ethnography – or the written product of a study of a people, community or group – originated in the field of anthropology, and often includes long-term, observer-participation in the culture under investigation (Frey, 2018, 619). Frey (2018) notes, whereas traditional approaches to ethnography that employ traditional definitions of culture run into problems by assuming cultures are discrete and static, more recent definitions conceived of culture as fluid, and as both produced and producing (620). Keeping in mind the problematic nature of *culture*, the approach I take to ethnographic research in this study intends to engage at the site of this conceptual struggle and collect data that highlights the processes of meaning making and the production of public knowledge surrounding the concept of reconciliation in public school settings. Combining discourse analysis with ethnographic approaches allows researchers to 1.) Examine the theories and ideologies with which people make sense of the world, and consider how cultural models interact with, shape and are shaped by times of change, and 2.) Examine how educational practices are constructed across time and how discourse practices – the production, distribution and consumption of text – shape what counts as knowing, doing, and being within and across events (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, 179).

Whitehead (2005) explains that secondary data is simply a reference to existing data, as compared to new data that are being collected (3). To help identify gaps in what is known, and to generate well considered research questions, secondary data analysis is a helpful preliminary stage of research during which the researcher avails herself of the range of existing information on a topic (Whitehead, 2005, 3). Prior to the collection of primary data, it is suggested that researchers familiarize themselves with the environment within which their data will be extracted. Whitehead (2005) lists media publications and governmental data and documents among common secondary data sources (3). I have collected data from discourse practices in which the new curriculum is situated: government statements, media coverage, public sentiment, and teacher reflections portrayed in media concerning the new curriculum. This data set reveals the rich discourse in and through which the new curriculum has been developed, complete with notions of colonialism, nationalism, Canadian-Indigenous relations, and reconciliation, as well as how stakeholders are suggesting the new curriculum contributes to reconciliation efforts in educational settings.

Secondary Data Collection

Data for this study were collected most intensely over a two-year period, 2015-2016. During this time, formal, written documents were collected from online sources. These documents include: curricular documents; policy documents; official provincial Ministry of Education documents; documents released by related collaborators and stakeholder groups; newspaper articles; and responses from online media sources. These documents include: First Peoples Principles of Learning (First Nations Education Steering

Committee, 2008); Enabling Innovation: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment (Province of British Columbia, 2012); Defining Cross-Curricular Competencies: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment (Province of British Columbia, 2013a); Exploring Curriculum Design: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment (Province of British Columbia, 2013b); Bamboo Shoots (Province of British Columbia, 2015a); BC's Education Plan: Focus on Learning, January 2015 Update (Province of British Columbia, 2015b); Aboriginal Education (Province of British Columbia, n.d.); B.C. Ministry of Education, Aboriginal Education webpage (Province of British Columbia, n.d.).

To collect media reports, in the early months of 2015, I set a google alert on my email account set to send any Canadian news articles containing the terms “curriculum”, “B.C. education” or “Aboriginal”⁸ directly to my inbox each morning. During the main period of data collection, 2015-2016, this news was ubiquitous and my inbox was full each day. In order to delimit data collection to that relevant to my dissertation, I reviewed the list and selected news articles about British Columbia, and omitted the rest unless they were specifically related to either curriculum design or reconciliation in education. Additionally, I google searched the following terms “B.C. AND curriculum AND reconciliation” which yielded numerous results. I read through these documents, selecting data sources related to 1). Media representations of the new curriculum 2). Media representations of reconciliation and 3). Official quotations and statements from Ministry as reported in media. I also searched “reconciliation AND B.C. AND Canada AND news” and collected data related to 1). Media representations of reconciliation, 2). Media

⁸ Aboriginal is the term used by most media to describe First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada.

representations of reconciliation in curriculum/education and 3). Representations of reconciliation in statements made by participants of the TRC, 4). Representations of reconciliation and reconciliation in education by government representatives. After reading and collecting data from these sources, I further expanded my search by reading the articles listed as related or otherwise linked from the articles my original search returned. The media articles selected include: Education is the best path to reconciliation on residential schools; Elders in Metro Vancouver schools help foster 'empathy and compassion'; Truth and Reconciliation report brings calls for action, not words; New B.C. school curriculum will have aboriginal focus; Aboriginal history, culture coming to B.C. schools curriculum; Residential schools, reconciliation on curriculum for B.C. teachers; New B.C. curriculum aims to harness students' passions into academic success; New B.C. curriculum includes residential schools, Asian immigrant experience; Charlene Bearhead galvanizes educators to move from 'apology to action'; B.C. Teachers to get training and prep time for new curriculum; Teachers endorse training plan for new curriculum; Reconciliation is the new assimilation: New NAIPC Co-Chair; B.C. students to write fewer provincial exams; Lessons on learning: B.C.'s new school curriculum embeds Aboriginal worldview.

Collectively these documents provide a rich source of secondary data, demonstrative of the multiple perspectives and collaboration involved in the new curriculum, as well as its presentation and reception in the media. In addition to these textual documents, data reflecting related discourse practices were also collected (Fairclough, 1992). These discourse practices include historical context data drawn from

significant events that took place around the development of the new curriculum. These historical events shaped the social and political climate in which the new curriculum and related policies were developed, and include: official apologies; the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission final report and recommendations; shifts in official policy related to Canada's historical treatment of Indigenous people; collaboration with advocacy groups, and academic and other critiques of these events and processes.

Ethnographic Data Analysis

In chapter seven I offer findings and analysis of curricular discourses using this method of ethnographic study of secondary data collected from government documents, media, and other public discourses. As the analysis offered in chapter seven elaborates, the ways that reconciliation is being imagined in public spaces has implications for the efficacy of new curricular inclusions and represents shifting norms regarding colonialism in Canada. That there is to be a relationship between education and reconciliation is a notion shared by most who commented on this process in Canada is evident. However, the nature of that relationship is not yet clear. While the government documents used in this study are not strictly curricular, they are normative, authorized publications concerning teachers' approaches to educational matters, as well as Ministry of Education position papers on concepts and notions that undergird the curriculum. Once the data pool was collected, I read each document for representations of reconciliation, in terms of both its meaning and the nature of the problem it is thought to remedy. From this reading, themes emerged confirming the participation of four main stakeholder groups: the B.C. Ministry of Education, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,

teachers in B.C., and critical Indigenous perspectives. These stakeholder groups articulate different aspirations for reconciliation, as well as different and competing notions of the nature of the problem that reconciliation aims to address, and collectively contribute to the discursive terrain in and through which the latest curriculum in B.C. is being implemented. I then coded this data according to themes that emerged: the TRC and schooling; TRC Calls to Action and B.C.'s new curriculum; countering erasure; in the past; theorizing reconciliation; #myreconciliationincludes; and reconciliation and the B.C. Ministry of Education. As my aim is to produce a snapshot of the public discourse generated in response to the current era of reconciliation, and that in which the new curriculum sits, this method of analysis was appropriate and sufficient to produce general interpretations of reconciliation in Canadian public discourse.

Chapter Five: Curriculum Content Findings and Discussion

Curriculum Introduction and Overview

In this chapter I offer the findings of my data analysis of the most recent B.C. curriculum. I begin this chapter with an overview of the new curriculum, and include illustrations to familiarize the reader with its layout, of which all subject areas and grade levels are similar. I then offer an overview of the Social Studies curricula by grade – 8, 9, and 10 – in order to provide a the reader some familiarity of the general subject areas taken up in each. These sections are mostly descriptive, and included as preparation for the curricular inclusions data analysis that follows. I then offer a description and analysis of the new curricula for grades 8, 9 and 10 by category, as organized by my analytical tool. These categories are: Common Identity and values; Progress and development; Economic development; Diversity/Representations of the Other; and National histories and myths. I found that almost all the competencies and content of the new curriculum could be categorized using the same five themes. Finally, I offer a section titled Contemporary Issues, in which I present and analyze the data that I found didn't easily fit into, challenged, or exceeded the scope of my five analytical categories.

The 2015 draft curriculum is organized by grade and subject area. It is extremely streamlined, with the Social Studies curriculum for each of grades 8, 9, and 10 comprising only one page. Each grade-level curriculum references the three core competencies that are prioritized across all grade levels – Communication, Thinking, and Personal and Social. Each curricular document is further organized by Big ideas. Big Ideas are the overarching

themes to which the detailed competency and content expectations are related. These Big Ideas set the tone for the rest of the curriculum.

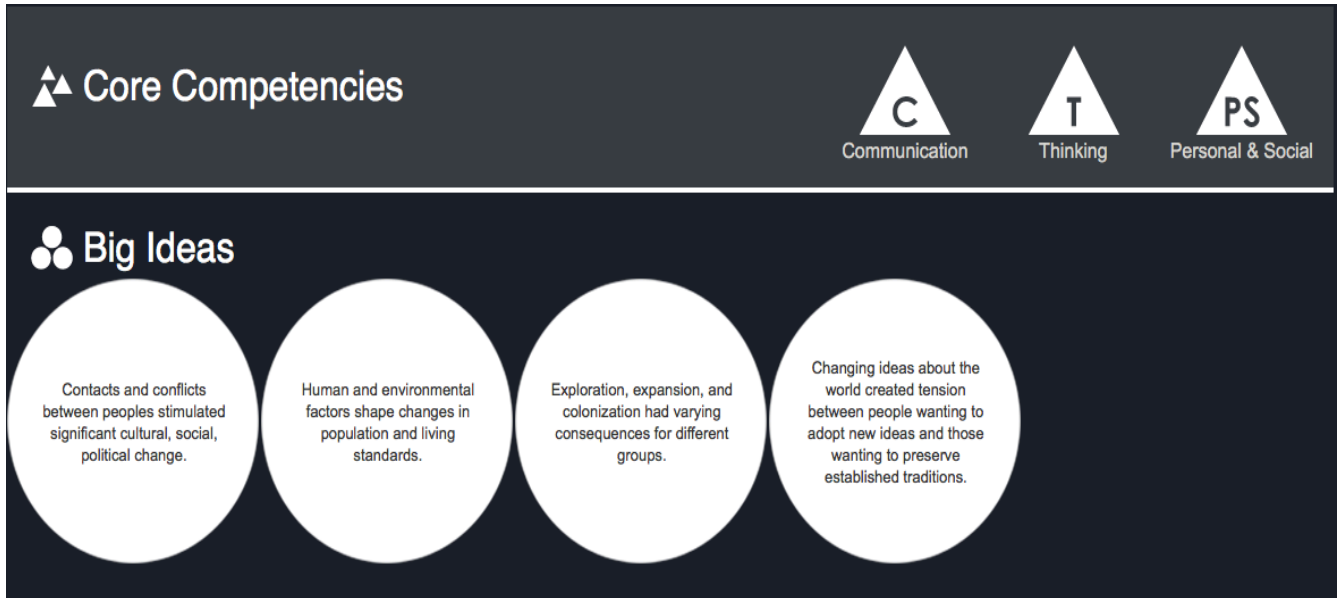


Figure 2. Social Studies 8 Core Competencies and Big Ideas

Each grade level curriculum signifies the prescribed learning area for the grade as a general scope of inquiry. Each curriculum is then sectioned into Curricular Competencies, further described as *Students are expected to be able to do the following*, and Content, further described as *Students are expected to know the following*. Each grade includes between 6 and 10 curricular competencies and content areas.

Learning Standards - 7th Century to 1750 Show All Elaborations

Curricular Competencies

Students are expected to be able to do the following:

- ▶ Use Social Studies inquiry processes and skills to ask questions; gather, interpret, and analyze ideas; and communicate findings and decisions
- ▶ Assess the significance of people, places, events, or developments at particular times and places (significance)
- ▶ Identify what the creators of accounts, narratives, maps, or texts have determined is significant (significance)
- ▶ Assess the credibility of multiple sources and the adequacy of evidence used to justify conclusions (evidence)
- ▶ Characterize different time periods in history, including periods of progress and decline, and identify key turning points that mark periods of change (continuity and change)
- ▶ Determine which causes most influenced particular decisions, actions, or events, and assess their short-and long-term consequences (cause and consequence)
- ▶ Explain different perspectives on past or present people, places, issues, or events, and compare the values, worldviews, and beliefs of human cultures and societies in different times and places (perspective)
- ▶ Make ethical judgments about past events, decisions, or actions, and assess the limitations of drawing direct lessons from the past (ethical judgment)

Content

Students are expected to know the following:

- ◆ social, political, and economic systems and structures, including those of at least one indigenous civilization
- ◆ scientific and technological innovations
- ◆ philosophical and cultural shifts
- ◆ interactions and exchanges of resources, ideas, arts, and culture between and among different civilizations
- ◆ exploration, expansion, and colonization
- ◆ changes in population and living standards

Figure 3. Social Studies 8 Learning Standards

To complement these streamlined, one-page curricula, there are also versions of each grade-level and subject area curriculum available *with elaborations* which add several pages of key skills, key questions, sample activities, and sample topics that further describe the competencies and content suggested for each grade, offering additional suggestions and guidelines for teachers. For example:

Learning Standards - 7th Century to 1750 Show All Elaborations

Curricular Competencies

Students are expected to be able to do the following:

- ▶ Use Social Studies inquiry processes and skills to ask questions; gather, interpret, and analyze ideas; and communicate findings and decisions

- Key skills:
 - Select a relevant problem or issue for inquiry.
 - Use comparison, classification, inference, imagination, verification, and analogy to clarify and define a problem or issue.
 - Compare the advantages and disadvantages of various graphic forms of communication (e.g., graphs, tables, charts, maps, photographs, sketches).
 - Demonstrate an ability to interpret scales and legends in graphs, tables, and maps (e.g., climograph, topographical map, pie chart).
 - Compare maps of early civilizations with modern maps of the same area.
 - Select an appropriate graphic form of communication for a specific purpose (e.g., a timeline to show a sequence of events, a map to show location).
 - Represent information fairly and cite sources consistently.
 - Select appropriate forms of presentation suitable for the purpose and audience (e.g., multimedia, oral presentation, song, dramatic performance, written presentation).
 - Demonstrate debating skills, including identifying, discussing, defining, and clarifying a problem, issue, or inquiry.

Content

Students are expected to know the following:

- ◆ social, political, and economic systems and structures, including those of at least one indigenous civilization

- Sample topics:
 - feudal societal structures and rights (e.g., in Europe versus Japan)
 - Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Europe
 - diffusion of religions throughout the world
 - collapse of empires
 - labour management
 - gender relations
- Key questions:
 - What was the status of women in various societies during this period of history?
 - How were political decisions made during this period of history?
 - How was wealth distributed in societies during this period?

Figure 4. Social Studies 8 Learning Standards with elaborations

The impacts of the new curriculum design are explored in detail in the following chapter, and for the purposes of this chapter these illustrations serve to provide the reader with a general orientation to the curriculum layout.

Curriculum Overview by Grade

In this section I offer a description of each curriculum by grade level. This grade level description offers an overview of the learning standards, curricular competencies, and content to provide an exploration of each learning year, and to see how the different aspects of the curriculum are combined by grade prior to the application of my analytical framework and the investigation of the particular curricular competencies and content by category that follows. The application of my analytical framework pulls each competency

and content area out of the context of the whole curriculum, which allows me to assess the similarities and differences in the production of these values over time. This preliminary overview offers a contextualized description of these competencies and content areas within the scope of the whole curriculum to better understand the data as it shows up at both a macro and micro level.

Grade 8

The Learning Area for the grade 8 Social Studies curriculum is 7th Century to 1750. There are four Big Ideas for grade 8: Contacts and conflicts between peoples stimulated significant cultural, social, political change; Human and environmental factors shape changes in population and living standards; Exploration, expansion, and colonization had varying consequences for different groups; Changing ideas about the world created tension between people wanting to adopt new ideas and those wanting to preserve established traditions. There is no additional description offered for these guiding concepts, or about how they are intended to relate to the competency and content learning areas.

There are eight Curricular Competencies listed for grade 8, each describing the skills students are expected to develop related to analysis, significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, perspective, and ethical judgment (Province of British Columbia, 2015g). Through these skill areas, the curriculum offers key questions or sample activities for teachers to develop lessons. The number of sample activities and key questions vary. There are six content areas for grade 8: social, political, and economic systems and structures, including those of at least one indigenous

civilization; scientific and technological innovations; philosophical and cultural shifts; interactions and exchanges of resources, ideas, arts, and culture between and among different civilizations; exploration, expansion, and colonization, changes in population and living standards (Province of British Columbia, 2015g).

The predominant theme of the grade 8 curriculum is modernization. As will be examined through the elaborations in more detail in the section to follow, the era from the 7th century to 1750 emphasizes social, cultural and political challenges faced by people in pre-modern societies, on a very wide range of innovation, advances, and revolution, and presents modern civilization as the “solution” to pre-modern societies (Province of British Columbia, 2015g). This curricular approach mirrors a familiar European and North American conceit that claims that “discovered” societies in the so-called new world needed modernizing and civilizing.

Grade 9

The Learning Area for the grade 9 Social Studies curriculum is 1750 to 1919. There are four Big Ideas for grade 9: Emerging ideas and ideologies profoundly influence societies and events; The physical environment influences the nature of political, social, and economic change; Disparities in power alter the balance of relationships between individuals and between societies; Collective identity is constructed and can change over time.

There are eight Curricular Competencies listed for grade 9, each describing the skills students are expected to learn related to analysis, significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, perspective, and ethical judgment (Province of

British Columbia, 2015h). There are elaborations for each curricular competency that offer key skills, sample activities, and key questions with which to develop lessons. As in the grade 8 curriculum, the number of sample activities and key questions vary. There are seven content areas for grade 9: political, social, economic, and technological innovations; the continuing effects of imperialism and colonialism on indigenous peoples in Canada and around the world; global demographic shifts, including patterns of migration and population growth; nationalism and the development of modern nation-states, including Canada; local, regional, and global conflicts; discriminatory policies, attitudes, and historical wrongs; physiographic features of Canada and geological processes (Province of British Columbia, 2015h). As noted with regard to the grade 8 curriculum, the theme of modernization continues through the grade 9 curriculum with content area focus on revolutions, the development of the modern nation-state, and a contemporary perspective on historical wrongs. Like the grade 8 curriculum, there is a global perspective taken to most content areas, though there is some specific focus on Canada.

Grade 10

The Learning Area for the grade 10 Social Studies curriculum is Canada and the World: 1919 to the Present. There are four Big Ideas for grade 10: Global and regional conflicts have been a powerful force in shaping our contemporary world and identities; The development of political institutions is influenced by economic, social, ideological, and geographic factors; Worldviews lead to different perspectives and ideas about developments in Canadian society; Historical and contemporary injustices challenge the

narrative and identity of Canada as an inclusive, multicultural society (Province of British Columbia, 2015i). These Big Ideas help to clarify how issues related to colonialism and discrimination are taken up in the new curriculum. As will be examined in greater detail to follow, it is significant to note that different perspectives and ideas about developments in Canadian society are attributed to different worldviews, a framing that emphasizes cultural rather than political incompatibility, and that is pervasive throughout the curriculum. Also noteworthy is the fourth Big Idea, which mentions both historical and contemporary injustices, though it is significant to note that there are no contemporary injustices included in the sample topics or key questions that follow. Injustice is presented as a historical issue, and as resolved through the use of liberal mechanisms, including recognition, apologies, social action, and strengthened rights for Indigenous peoples and racialized minorities. For example – *Truth and Reconciliation Commission report and calls to action (e.g., access to elders and First Peoples healing practices for First Peoples patients; appropriate commemoration ceremonies and burial markers for children who died at residential schools)* (Province of British Columbia, 2015i).

There are eight Curricular Competencies listed in the grade 10 draft curriculum, each describing the skills students are expected to learn related to analysis, significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, perspective, and ethical judgment (Province of British Columbia, 2015i). There are elaborations for each curricular competency that offer key skills, sample activities, and key questions with which teachers can develop lessons. And, like in the previous two grade areas examined, the number of

sample activities and key questions vary. There are ten content areas for grade 10: development, structure, and function of Canadian and other political institutions, including First Peoples governance; political and economic ideologies and the development of public policy; changing conceptions of identity in Canada; Canadian autonomy; domestic conflict and cooperation; discriminatory policies and injustices in Canada and the world, such as the Head Tax, the Komagata Maru incident, residential schools, and internments; international conflicts and cooperation; human-environment interaction; economic development and Canada's role in a global economy; and truth and reconciliation in Canada (Province of British Columbia, 2015i).

Curriculum Findings by Category

In the following section I report on data I collected from Social Studies grades 8, 9, and 10, and coded according to the elements of Canadian national identity that emerged from the secondary historical literature analyzed in chapter two. I approached data theming and organization using the analytic framework previously described in the methodology chapter that was developed using the broad themes of national values of Canada's foundational era (pre-Confederation – 1960s/70s) identified in the secondary historical literature. This framework identifies five key themes: a. Common identity and values; b. Progress and development; c. Economic development; d. Diversity/Representations of the Other; and e. National histories and myths. I found that almost all the competencies and content of the new curriculum could be categorized using the same five themes. In the case of theme a: Common identity and values, I added two additional sub-headings to better categorize and attend to focus areas of the

curriculum: imperialism and colonialism and loyalism and dissent. Using this framework, I sorted data from the new curriculum into each of these five themes. Data were also categorized according to data source: 1.) foundational, which refers to the data collected from the secondary historical literature examined in chapter two; and 2.) grade 8; 3.) grade 9; and 4.) grade 10 2015 draft curricula. Data coding revealed that almost all the data collected from the new curriculum could be sorted into these five themes. This finding reveals the consistency of the broad values used in the production of Canadian nationalism and national values through time. I also found that, while the broad categories constituent of national values remain consistent, the particular values and content that comprise those categories have shifted significantly. In the following section I describe the values and content that comprise each category in the new curriculum and describe how they are the same or different from the values and content found in foundational era curricula. With this description, I am interested in how the particular values of Canadian nationalism shift to reflect the political climate and priorities of the day, while still adhering to the same broad categories, and thus reify the centrality of the settler colonial state and its liberal architectures. Overall, I found that the production of national values in this context represents simultaneously both continuity and change. Once as much data as possible was sorted into these five themes, I found what was left over were data related directly to the stated aims of the new curriculum to incorporate the history and legacy of colonization in Canada, including the residential school system, racist colonial legislation, including the Indian Act, and Canada's discriminatory treatment of Indigenous peoples and racialized minority groups, as well as some contemporary

environmental issues that, while related to both Progress and Development and Economic Development, do not fit easily in any other categorization. I have grouped this data last, in a category titled Contemporary Issues. In the following sections I offer a description of my findings by theme.

Common Identity and Values

Grades 8 and 9 make almost no mention of identity, perhaps because the subject areas and learning outcomes of those grades deal with historical eras – 7th Century to 1750 and 1750 to 1919. Titled: Canada and the World – 1914 to the Present, grade 10 is another story, and includes several mentions of Canadian identity and productions of membership and belonging, reflecting the widely held historical view that Canada established itself as a sovereign nation – separate from Britain – during World War I, largely due to its war contributions. Whereas, historically, during the foundational era, Canadian students were told what Canadian nationalism meant, instructed in the particular values and traits that comprised Canadian national identity, and indoctrinated into the beliefs held by dominant culture (Stanley, 2003), today national identity is introduced as a question – e.g., *Is there a Canadian identity?*⁹ – Questions such as these invite students to consider the specific characteristics of Canadian national identity, without challenging the general conception of national identity. Rather than critically examine the power relations that determine nation-state membership, it seems this question encourages students to conclude there is more than one possible Canadian identity, and thus confirm the plurality of the Canadian nation-state. While this shift from

⁹ All text presented in italics in discussion of curricular inclusions in is directly quoted from the 2015-2018 B.C. high school social studies curriculum.

explicit instruction to personalized and negotiated meaning of national identity reflects contemporary acceptance of cultural pluralism, it also participates in what Calderon (2014) refers to as “discourses of nationality”, those that present national identity construction as both natural and inevitable (314). In this way, national identity instruction appears less fixed and more fluid, while simultaneously confirming the centrality of state-based national identity.

The inclusions related to common identity and values consistently present Canadian national identity as progressive – e.g., *How has Canadian identity changed or stayed the same over the past 100 years? - What might Canadian identity look like in the future?* – Questions such as these elicit answers about progress and development, as students are encouraged to examine the increased inclusivity of the Canadian national identity over the last several decades. Through this examination, the modern state, and its liberal instruments – such as human rights and multicultural legislation – are produced as progressive solutions to historical discrimination, rather than as their creator. The modernist logic used here presents the modern nation-state as an adequate response to the injustices found in earlier societies, even to injustices in earlier versions of itself. In this way, the modern state is produced as a different kind of political unit, rather than as the latest incarnation of a particular political ontology. The grade 10 curriculum suggests that contemporary Canadian values are inclusive of diversity – e.g., *What are the most important aspects of how Canada’s multicultural policy came about, and what were the short- and long-term consequences?* – and that the modern state is responsive to calls for increased rights and recognition. Perhaps liberalism’s greatest conceit, and one that

appears throughout this curriculum, is the notion that the liberalism itself possesses the tools and the will to accommodate and absorb both difference and dissent. Critics of liberalism argue instead that legislation and discourses that center notions of rights and recognition work to confirm colonial frameworks and deny Indigenous sovereignty (St. Denis, 2011, Coulthard, 2014).

The interaction of individuals and groups in the production of national identity is highlighted in the grade 10 curriculum, which asks – *How do art, media, and innovation contribute to a shared, collective identity?* – While the idea that collective identities are produced rather than fixed stands in contrast to earlier approaches, questions such as these seem to suggest that common experiences and socialization will lead to common values and a sense of belonging. The concept here worth noting is the suggestion that it is through participation in public works of art, media, and innovation that individuals are brought into a shared, common identity, with implied consequences for those who do not. In this way the notion of a shared national identity is set up more recognizably as the outcome of participation in dominant culture practices, which one is presumably already comfortable with. The other side of this idea is the suggestion that works of art, media, and innovation are necessarily available and/or intended for public consumption and/or participation in a public narrative. In Canada, like in other similar countries, the theft and appropriation of works of art and culture from non-dominant groups – particularly Indigenous groups – has a long history. (Baloy, 2016). While outright theft may now be less common, contemporary discourses are increasingly aware and critical of cultural appropriation, and resistant to the subsequent risks of erasure that Indigenous theory

and settler colonial studies indicate. As Schick (2014) describes, the production of a shared, common, multicultural identity of this kind brings with it the erasure of difference (94), confirming the centrality of the state and reducing the coherence of Indigenous and other non-dominant articulations.

In the new curriculum, students are asked to consider what they think about national identity, to think about national identity as produced rather than static, and as changing through time. The new curriculum reiterates the notion that national identity is fluid and produced, rather than static and fixed, and also suggests that Canadian identity can be made inclusive through – and is reflected in – arts and culture, for example:

Nature of Canadian identity: Revitalization of Indigenous arts; Media and art (e.g., establishment of C.B.C. radio and television, Group of 7, Massey Commission, National Film Board, CRTC, Canadian content; Scientific and technological innovations; Sports and international sporting events (hockey, Olympics, summit series). These representations of a modern, local, Canadian national identity are substantively different from those of the foundational era that promoted an imperial British Canadian national identity, and current values aim to produce a Canadian national identity that is reflective of a diverse population and inclusive of that diversity. Contemporary productions of identity also intend to be inclusive of Indigenous peoples, as exemplified through the inclusion of Indigenous arts. The inclusion of Indigenous peoples through arts inclusion exemplifies Canadian inclusivity of diversity on cultural terms that are compatible with Canadian multiculturalism, without attending to less congruent aspects of Indigenous-Canadian relations, like those of land and resources, moves that attempt to characterize national

identity as cultural rather than political expression. Processes of this kind exemplify settler colonial techniques of erasure and replacement, as they seek to absorb Indigenous peoples into mainstream society, while simultaneously reducing the status of settlers as colonizers (Wolfe, 2006; Wildcat, 2016).

Throughout the grade 10 curricular inclusions related to identity, many questions are framed so broadly and open-endedly that it is difficult to discern their intent and leaves one to wonder how teachers might approach them pedagogically— e.g., *To what extent are Canadians' perceptions of Canadian identity similar or different from non-Canadian perceptions?*—On one hand, this question does seem to enable the consideration of multiple perspectives, yet also seems to suggest knowledge of non-Canadian perspectives. How might students come to have this knowledge or perspective? Questions like this offer open-ended prompts for students to consider multiple points of view, and consider different perspectives and experiences that would impact perceptions of Canadian identity. Yet, the issue that arises from such open-ended approaches is that student experience with subject matter of this kind can differ widely according to variables including their particular teacher and their knowledge and beliefs, the climate and culture of their schools, and the priorities and perspectives reflected from their districts. In short, while open-ended questions that consider multiple perspectives are included, the efficacy of their instruction remains uncertain. Overall, the character and production of national identity and national values have shifted substantially since the foundational era, but the centrality of national identity and values as a key component of educational content remains. By including Canadian identity as an

open, fluid concept, the new curriculum suggests that identity is progressive and produced through the cultural life and expression of a diverse population of Canadians. Yet, while the language used to describe the nature and condition of national identity has modernized, the effect of instruction in matters of national identity remain the same, as modern state citizenship is confirmed as the only recognizable political membership, one capable of containing a multiplicity of lesser-order memberships and identifications.

Imperialism and Colonialism

During the pre-Confederation era and Canada's early decades as a nation-state, British imperialism stood in for the not-yet-developed national identity (Van Brummelan, 1983). As discussed in chapter two, during this era Canadian school children were taught to think of themselves as British subjects, to have loyalty to the monarch, and to think of Canada as an extension of the British homeland. Not only was British imperialism promoted through schooling during this time, it was incorporated into the fledgling national identity, such that the two were indistinguishable. Throughout the foundational era, colonial expansionism was celebrated as evidence of British superiority and as the natural expression of civilization. This remained the case for decades and reflected Canada's ongoing commitment as a loyal British colony and quasi-independent state. At the time of the Second World War, Canada began to assert more political autonomy, perhaps most notably by withholding its official declaration of war for several days after Britain's declaration, and first holding a special session of Parliament to make an independent decision. Nonetheless, British loyalism and imperialism remained core values in Canada well into the twentieth century.

Of the grades 8, 9, and 10 Social Studies key questions, there are a total of 24 inclusions related to imperialism and colonialism, with sixteen referencing imperialism and colonization directly, and eight that reference legislation, treaties, and interactions between Europeans and Indigenous peoples. Firstly, of these, a small few imply that there are negative consequences of imperialism – e.g., *What lessons can we learn from the loss of languages due to imperialism? – Imperialism and colonialism and continuing effects on Indigenous people in Canada and the world; Impact of treaties on First Peoples (e.g., numbered treaties, Vancouver Island treaties) – Impact of the Indian Act, including reservations and the residential school system.* These questions point to the negative impacts of colonialism on Indigenous peoples and offer significant teaching opportunities to introduce students to past and present impacts of colonialism. Used in combination with the teacher resource packages designed by FNEC and FNSA, such curricular inclusions could provide students and teachers with opportunities to examine the ways that colonial legislation impacted Indigenous land and resource control and management, cultural membership and wellbeing, and the intergenerational effects of the residential school system, among others. It is reasonable to think that such inclusions offer potential for affirmative remedies for injustice in school settings.

Secondly, more often inclusions of this type are framed in such a way that students are encouraged to consider both negative and positive outcomes of imperialism, or to consider the ways in which colonialism has negative or positive outcomes for different people and groups – e.g., *In what ways has the colonization of Canada made life better or worse? And for whom?* –Rather than account for historical

wrongs committed against Indigenous peoples as a step toward reconciliation, as curriculum documents say they intend to do, these inclusions suggest moral ambiguity surrounding colonial policies and practices. This moral ambiguity is evident in questions that ask, for example – *Were American and Canadian/British policies toward First Peoples an example of pre-twentieth century genocide?* – While I note that such a question would not have appeared in earlier curricula and thus signifies an improvement of sorts, the framing of this question, and the lines of inquiry it suggests raise concerns. Most significantly because it sets up a straw man argument of sorts by focusing the attention of inquiry on legal or moral definitions of genocide, rather than on the intention and impact of colonial policies and practices. The framing of this question also works to place genocidal colonial policies in the nineteenth century, which would suggest that potentially genocidal policies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries ought not be considered, and helps produce the modern state as having solved the problems of earlier eras. Unless it is agreed that the answer to this question is *yes*, without equivocating over what constitutes genocide, American and Canadian/British policies toward Indigenous peoples had the aim of crippling Indigenous family and political structures, erasing Indigenous cultures, and assimilating Indigenous peoples into dominant culture, and ought be examined as such.

And thirdly, some inclusions related to imperialism and colonialism are framed in ways that seem to encourage students to consider the positive outcomes of colonial expansionism – e.g., *What were the motivations for imperialism and colonialism during this period?* – *Which explorer had the greatest impact on the colonization of North*

America? – To what extent was the Scramble for Africa a time of progress or decline? –

Inclusions such as these will be more familiar to scholars of national values in curriculum historically, through which students are encouraged to consider the contributions of colonialism to European civilization, and taught of the ‘necessity’ of progress. By distinguishing the positive outcomes of colonialism for imperial societies, from the negative outcomes suffered by Indigenous and other non-European societies, these inclusions suggest that there are rational explanations for imperialism, such as the progress of European societies, industrial development and global modernization, and that these advances in some way explain, and serve to justify, imperialism’s negative impacts.

Considering these three kinds of inclusions related to imperialism and colonialism, we are left to wonder how questions that pursue justification for colonial practices will affect the impact of questions designed to explore its consequences. For example, if students are encouraged to rationalize colonialism with questions that ask – *What are the most significant reasons for colonial expansion? –* How might this impact their interpretation of questions that ask – e.g., *Was the Indian Act an unfortunate but well-meaning mistake or was it a shameful abuse of power? –* While there are inclusions in the new curriculum that take up the consequences of colonialism, especially with respect to Indigenous peoples, the inclusion of questions that re-center a European colonial perspective arguably limit their impact.

Loyalism and Dissent

While there are no curricular inclusions explicitly related to loyalism or dissent in the grade 8 or 10 curricula, there are a cluster of related curricular inclusions in the grade 9 curriculum, learning area 1750 – 1919 – e.g., *Why did Baldwin and La Fontaine succeed where Mackenzie and Papineau failed?* In case, like was the case for me, a refresher of high school social studies is helpful for understanding the comparison produced in this question, William Lyon Mackenzie, an Anglophone from Upper Canada, and Louis Joseph Papineau, a Francophone from Lower Canada, were leaders of the Rebellions of 1837-1838, two failed armed uprisings against elite rule that were motivated by frustrations with the slow speed of political reform. Ten years later, Anglophone Robert Baldwin and Francophone Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine famously bridged the French-English divide and, through the slow course of reform, brought in responsible government and an end to elite rule in 1848. The question above encourages students to follow a line of inquiry that suggests Baldwin and La Fontaine succeeded because they worked within – and thus strengthened – the legitimate political channels that would become representational democracy in Canada. Mackenzie and Papineau failed, it is suggested, not because they had a different goal – they in fact also sought responsible government – but because positive change is not achieved through violent uprising, and in this case, it is suggested, it may have even slowed the pace of reform (Buckner, 2013). This question reproduces justifications for Canada’s ongoing colonial relationship with Britain by reminding students that Canadian political progress and autonomy are best pursued through polite request to the Governor General and approval from the Crown, rather than through a rebellious demand for independence and political autonomy, such as that of the

American War of Independence. In this way, the curriculum continues to reinforce the superiority of Canadian loyalism over the much-feared politics of the United States as originally introduced in Confederation-era curricula. Also of note in these inclusions is that questions about rebellion appear out of context and disassociated from social events of the era, appearing as accidental ruptures in the order of time and place. Presented in this way, leaders of rebellions are portrayed as misguided, individual agents, and not as representatives of socio-political movements.

Similar questions in the grade 9 curriculum ask – e.g., *Did the French Revolution result in positive change for the French people? Why or why not? – Did the American Revolution result in freedom, liberty, and happiness for people in the colonies? Explain why or why not?* – These questions reinforce the notion that, while desires for increased political freedoms can produce rebellion and some measure of freedom; rarely can such movements produce outcomes that are beneficial for the population. This cluster of inclusions related to dissent in the grade 9 curriculum is particularly interesting in light of the heavy emphasis on loyalist values during Canada’s foundational era. These curricular inclusions suggest that a consistent commitment to loyalism continues to inform notions of Canadian national values even in the most current curriculum. The inclusions related to rebellion and revolution draw attention to the tensions that result from, rather than advances accomplished through this kind of political organization – e.g., *Did the 1837-38 rebellions advance the cause of political sovereignty from Britain in Upper and Lower Canada? – Was Louis Riel a patriot or a rebel?* – Like the question about Baldwin and La Fontaine, Mackenzie and Papineau above, these inclusions related to dissent seem to

encourage students to negatively assess political rebellion and revolution in favour of more moderate political reform. While the rebellions under investigation in these examples are historical in nature, these inclusions are likely to have the added effect of negatively colouring students' perceptions of contemporary political protests in Canada that go beyond established political channels, including, but not limited to, Indigenous sovereignty movements, Indigenous land and resource protests, Québécois nationalist movements, and environmentalist protests of capitalist resource management and development. Inclusions of this kind further comment on appropriate modes of dissent for Indigenous and non-dominant groups, limiting appropriate expressions of dissent to those compatible with liberal mechanisms, when it is the settler/white hegemony of liberal mechanisms itself that such movements intend to challenge. By insisting that political dissent occur on the state's liberal terms, the state effectively delimits the scope of the political and categorizes other expressions of dissent as criminal.

Progress and Development

An imperial imperative of progress and development drove the settlement of the territories that comprise the Canadian state. Canadian society was developed to facilitate the extraction of natural resources and expand industrial capabilities, and its establishment held the promise of the culmination of Western modernization (Van Brummelen, 1983). In early Canadian schooling notions of progress and development had a distinctly Canadian colonial character, representative of Canada's distinct economic resources (Conrad, 2011). Through fur and timber exports, as well as through cultivating wilderness into productive agricultural land, everywhere settlers looked, the territories

that comprise Canada represented rich and fertile possibilities. During the Confederation-era, those seeking to expand the country's economic progress and development used common schooling to their advantage, promoting individual betterment and contribution to society as one's civic duty, emphasizing how through hard work and dedication one could participate in the promise of a great nation (Van Brummelen, 1983). Through the necessity of progress the settlement of the Canadian state was presented as the peak of European colonial prowess, and was thought to justify the removal and/or assimilation of non-European peoples.

In the grade 8 curriculum, learning area 7th Century to 1750, students encounter numerous inclusions related to progress and development. In all instances, questions are framed as comparisons, and students are encouraged to consider both strengths and weaknesses of different innovations. However, both strengths and weakness are presented in ways that are compatible with the general framework of modernization – e.g., *Should the printing press be considered a more important turning point in human history than the Internet? Explain why or why not – Which had more impact on the world, Indian Ocean trade or the Italian Renaissance?* – This kind of comparative framing sets up a question that appears open for interpretation, but actually limits responses to those compatible with the necessity of progress. Other inclusions are more transparent regarding their sympathies with notions of progress and development – e.g., *How did technology benefit people during this period of history?* – While technologies such as the printing press and the Internet definitely do represent turning points in human history, these questions introduce them as examples of progress and development removed from

the contested social, political and economic contexts in which they occur and without mention of related relations of power that affect access to such technologies. While this assessment might seem unfairly critical of what is after all a high school curriculum, the character of these inclusions point to the integral role of notions of progress and development in Canadian values. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the idealization of progress and development – appearing benign and in the common interest – is often utilized as a rationalization for colonial violence against Indigenous peoples in pursuit of land and resources, or for the exploitation of the labour of those from racialized minority groups. While it is within the purview of teachers to encourage students to take these questions up in ways that assess the drivers of technology and its consequences, such curricular inclusions are not supported in such a way in the curriculum.

While examining these inclusions I was struck by how overall the grade 8 curriculum presents the 7th century to 1750 as a time in need of modernization, such that the examples offered imbue a sense of innovation as a way of release from the pre-modern past, for example: *Characterize different time periods in history, including periods of progress and decline, and identify key turning points that mark periods of change*, followed by innovations that, while significant in their eras, are all but eclipsed by the march of Western developmentalism and the narratives of Western history, e.g., *Arab world, Ibn Battuta, Islamic Golden Age (e.g., the diffusion of arts and mathematics); Zheng He and cartography*. As a whole, I found the presentation of examples of progress and development in the grade 8 curriculum to be profoundly depressing. The general

atmosphere of this curriculum sets up the period under investigation, 7th century to 1750, as a sort of dark age, and introduces issues in ways that set up their solution through the emergence of the modern state. For example, in the grade 9 learning area – 1750-1919 – *forced and unforced migration of people; diseases and health; urbanization and the effect of expanding communities; environmental impact (e.g., resource and land use)*. At no point is the notion of progress itself examined for its consequences upon people, societies or the environment. For example, in this curriculum inclusions related to the Industrial Revolution seem to encourage students to consider how technological innovation impacted societies e.g., *In what ways did the Industrial Revolution transform societies? – Did the first Industrial Revolution in Britain result in an improvement in living standards for most people? – Which development produced greater change: the Second Industrial Revolution or the First Industrial Revolution*, though in all cases the focus seems to be on positive changes brought about by the Industrial revolution in Europe, without mention of the role of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, enslaved and indentured labour in the Americas, or the colonization of Africa, South and North America in fueling the engine of European industrialization. Set in its wider historical context, the Industrial Revolution might be presented as a more complicated issue than one only of development and growth. In effect, the absence of related inclusions that address imperial power relations within this wider context produces the European Industrial Revolutions as ahistorical and conceptually distanced from issues related to the consequences of imperialism and colonialism, thus revealing the complicity of values that esteem progress and development with the settler colonial values that underpin the

Canadian state. Overall, the curricular inclusions related to progress and development in the grade 8 curriculum emphasize the benefits of modernization in the absence of context and consequence.

The content area related to progress and development in the grade 9 curriculum is called: *political, social, economic, and technological revolutions*, and includes the sample topics: *American, French, Industrial, Haitian, Red River Resistance, Northwest Resistance, advances in science and technology, industrialization, new methods of transportation: railway, steamships, cars, and aircraft*. It is interesting to note that no distinction is made between nationalist movements that resulted in statehood – *American, French* – and those that confronted imperialism with heavy consequences – *Haiti* – and those that were initially successful and later overturned – *Red River Resistance, Northwest Resistance*. In each case, the victor of the revolution or resistance is the modern nation-state, reaffirming its status as the culmination of progress and development.

The grade 9 curriculum contains only one key question directly related to progress and development – *To what extent did industrial capacity determine the outcome of conflicts from 1870-1931?* – This is an interesting question considering the time frame under study in this learning year – 1750 to 1919 – is a historical era characterized as ‘New Imperialism’, which refers to the colonial expansion of European powers, the United States and the Empire of Japan during this period. Set in this context, it is interesting that the question asks about how industrial capacity determined the outcome of conflicts, considering industrial capacity was and is arguably much more

responsible for creating conflicts. This question seems to reinforce the notion that might equals right and justifies imperial expansionism through the teleological logic of modernity.

Inclusions in the grade 10 learning area – 1919 to the Present – focus on the modern nation-state, international organizations, mechanisms and cooperation, following the lessons learned from the League of Nations, WWI, economic protectionism, and the Great Depression. Content areas emphasize the relationship between Canada and the world – e.g., *How relevant is the need for management of Canadian content in the global digital world?* – and frame investigations of progress and growth from a global perspective through the lenses of international standards – e.g., *What are the significant events, individuals, or organizations that have influenced national or international policy?* - *Standard of living and inequalities: UN Sustainable Development Goals, Human Index Report* - In this curriculum, the modern state and the international system of states represent the standard of success of progress and development, e.g., *What are the significant events, individuals, or organizations that have influenced national or international policy?* As is evidenced in other sections, the curriculum consistently presents liberal mechanisms, national legislation and international conventions as evidence of human progress and development. Overall, through this reading, the integral role that the ideology of developmentalism plays in production of the modern nation state is revealed, such that the state is produced as both the end and the means of the necessity of progress. Even while the curriculum includes topics and questions that assess

different moments in human development, the linear, forward motion toward the modern state is unchallenged.

Economic Development

Closely related to progress and development, economic development, and the unique features of the new colonial Canadian economy were key components of national identity in the foundational era. Much like elements of progress and development, the bounty of the North American territories represented a wealth of resource economies – fur, timber, minerals, and fish – as well as massive swaths of fertile land for agricultural settlement. For settlers of this era, turning the vast lands of the North American continent into profitable industries was valorized as the conquering of untamed wilderness by and for European civilization. The notion that these lands were previously uncultivated served to justify the mistaken idea that they were uninhabited and ripe for the taking. In addition to natural resource industries, the Canadian territories also represented unbounded potential for manufacturing industries, including the railway and steamships. Through the height of the imperial era in North America, Canada represented the epitome of national economic potential to the Crown and colonial leaders (Van Brummelen, 1983). As was examined in chapter two of this dissertation, the centrality of these natural resources and industries to Canadian national identity were reproduced through history, geography and English lessons that celebrated pioneerism and agriculture and Westward exploration and expansionism.

While a distinct economic identity was an early feature of Canadian national identity, there is little mention of national economics in the new 2015 draft curriculum.

There is only one key question related to economics in the grade 8 Social Studies curriculum that examines the learning area 7th century to 1750 – *How was wealth distributed in societies during this period?* – The framing of this question is compatible with notions of economic development, by which students will learn of the pre-modern past as an economic era characterized by primitive economic arrangements including those between landowners and serf labourers, monarchies and peasants, and the corresponding strict hierarchical social structures. While perhaps only implied in this kind of question, its exploration also suggests the comparison of the pre-modern and the modern generally, with modernity heralding the economic liberties thought to be brought about by the favourable conditions of liberal democracy and international cooperation. Questions of this kind construct a notion of the past as a time of unfairness and uncertainty: While pre-modern economic arrangements were often unfair and uncertain, the implication of such a question is that these conditions have been resolved through the fairness and certainty of free market capitalism. The centrality of modernism, liberalism and capitalism to Canadian identity are thus confirmed through such productions of pre-modern eras.

The role of economic development in Canada's national identity is similarly confirmed in the grade 9 curriculum, with suggestions that the nation-state as we know it might not have been possible without industrial development: *What evidence is there to support John A. Macdonald's argument that British Columbia would be better off joining the United States if the transcontinental railway was not built?* And overt attention paid to the impact of physical geography – and related resource economies – on national and

regional identity: *What effect has the physical geography of Canada had on Canadian and regional identity?* Physical geography and natural resources are produced simultaneously, such that students learn about different regions of Canada for their physical and economic features simultaneously, e.g., *Physiographic features and natural resources in Canada; Compare and contrast physical features and natural resources in different regions of Canada; Connections between Canada's natural resources and major economic activities*, and reproduce the ideals of colonial expansionism that view the natural world as an economic bounty to be controlled and exploited. Conrad (2011) observed that during the late nineteenth century Canadian national boundaries were produced through notions of economic distinctiveness tied to regional resources, and while the language has changed somewhat, the contemporary curricular inclusions related to physical geography and regional identity achieve the same result – that of reproducing the “naturalness” of the Canadian state and its territorial boundaries.

The first of three curricular competencies related to economic development in the grade 10 draft curriculum is: *Use Social Studies inquiry processes and skills to ask questions; gather, interpret, and analyze ideas; and communicate findings and decisions*, and offers as a sample topic: *Assess the significance of people, places, events, or developments, and compare varying perspectives on their significance at particular times and places, and from group to group (significance)*, and one of five suggested key questions reads, *To what extent have First Peoples influenced the development of economic and political policy in Canada?* Set in terms of assessing significance, I am not sure how questions such as this are intended to be taken up. Perhaps it is about

recognizing Indigenous resistance to unfettered development and its impact on national policy, though I am not sure. It seems this question suggests, first, that Indigenous peoples are problems to be solved through economic and political policy, and/or second, that economic and political policy are appropriate and satisfactory ways to address Indigenous challenges and dissent. Given the context, it is also likely that there is a modernist trope underlying this section, through which students learn how much more accommodating government has become through the last few decades, perhaps in response to Supreme Court decisions that uphold Indigenous sovereignty and land rights. In terms of how this kind of inclusion produces national identity, this question is in line with the narrative that runs throughout the grade 10 learning area – 1919 to present – that emphasizes modern internationalism and its mechanisms as solutions to past injustices. Other inclusions related to economic development in grade 10 stress Canada's participation in the international economy, adherence to its principles, and its status as a modern state, e.g., *Economic development and Canada's role in a global economy; Fundamental economic concepts: taxation; inflation; nationalization; debt and deficit, stimulus; employment levels; National economic programs and projects: stimulus programs, infrastructure projects; Free trade agreements and economic organizations: NAFTA, Trans-Pacific Partnership, WTO; Offshore labour and capital; Leveraging economic relationships for social and political purposes: apartheid sanctions, tied aid, arms embargoes, asset freezes, import/export control, technical assistance prohibition.* Through these inclusions students learn of the global agreements that support free trade and capitalist development.

Diversity/Representations of the Other

During the foundational era, representations of the Other were often used in the production of a particular characterization of Canadian national identity. As discussed in chapter two, as early as the first authorized textbooks, depictions of non-British people, culture and traditions were included to reproduce the notion of British superiority. Early productions of the Other included those of Americans, who were depicted as traitors to the British Empire and disloyal to the monarchy and presented in stark contrast to the esteemed qualities of British loyalists in Canada. Confederation-era anti-Americanism also emphasized the immorality of slavery, and emphasized the differences between British and American attitudes and practices concerning slavery – though without mention of British advantages that were gained through the rampant colonization over much of the world. American dissent against British rule and American republicanism were considered inferior to time-honoured British traditions of order and justice (Prentice, 1977). Overall, Americans were depicted as untrustworthy and uncouth, and Canadians distinguished themselves as the inheritors of British civilization (Van Brummelen, 1983). Foundational era productions of Canadian national identity were also produced in opposition to French values, with history books disparaging the popular uprisings of The French Revolution and resulting republic, as well as of French culture, religion, and absolutism, and blamed France for negatively influencing the Americans.

As was also discussed in chapter two, in addition to distinction from France and America, early Canadian nationalism was also produced as distinct from common colonial conceptions of Indigeneity. In the earliest texts, Indigenous peoples were depicted as lawless and savage, existing in a state of nature, and therefore in need of civilizing (Van Brummelen, 1983). Even though pre-colonial fur traders and explorers had relied on Indigenous peoples for survival, textbooks made no mention of Indigenous knowledge, socio-economic or political systems, depicting them instead as war-like and dangerous, or immature and in need of paternalistic protection. In both instances, Indigenous peoples were represented as a feature of the untamed wilderness who needed to be brought into the maturity of British – and thereby Canadian – civilization (Van Brummelen, 1983; Carleton, 2011).

Each negative representation of the Other served to reproduce the perceived superiority of the dominant Canadian national identity, one founded on British ideals of civilization. Through logics of assimilation, the production of national identity during this era sought to reconcile difference – national, racial, linguistic, and cultural – into the common fabric of Canadian nationalism based on a homogenous European norm. Canadian enfranchisement was open to all who accepted the privileged British/Canadian values, such as loyalism, democratic participation and civic mindedness, Christian moralism, private property, the labour theory of value, and permanent settlement. Representations of Canadian nationalism have changed considerably over Canada's 150-year history, reflecting the nation-state's phases of nationalism, from overtly imperial and homogenous, through some accommodation of bilingualism and biculturalism, to more

robust multicultural accommodations of cultural pluralism. In more recent decades Canadian national identity has become more culturally inclusive and aims to reflect diversity. National values that once simply tolerated cultural diversity now boast diversity as one of the country's great attributes. However, national narratives remain strict about what counts as culture, and what kind of diversity is acceptable. As has been discussed elsewhere, cultural diversity is acceptable when it is in line with Canadian liberal values.

The grade 8 Social Studies curriculum has only a few inclusions related to diversity and representations of the Other, but those few are in line with what one might expect from a contemporary Canadian approach to cultural pluralism that aims to recognize the different world views and attributes of various cultures— e.g., *What do different systems of mapping and cartography indicate about the cultures from which they emerged?* While there is some attention paid to cultural differences and resulting technological advances, there is also evidence of the ongoing suggestion of the hegemony of Western empiricism – e.g., *What sources of information from this period are the most reliable?* – The predominant focus of inclusions of diversity in this curriculum is comparative in focus, encouraging students to consider how non-dominant groups have been included historically in different cultures – e.g., *How are different groups represented in various cultural narratives?* – *What was the status of women in various societies during this period of history?* – *Diffusion of religions around the world* – *Gender relations.*

The grade 9 curriculum carries on in much the same vein, using cultural diversity and historical differences in cultural diversity as content through which to teach students

to assess significance and multiple perspectives as competencies – e.g., *Assess the significance of people, places, events, or developments, and compare varying perspectives on their historical significance at particular times and places, and from group to group* – This framing is consistent with Canadian logics of cultural pluralism. Several of the sample inclusions and key questions are framed to encourage the consideration of multiple perspectives within Canada – e.g., *Compare/contrast events considered by English-Canada, French-Canada, and First Peoples scholars to be the most significant during this period – Role-play negotiations between a wide range of stakeholders involved in the decision to build a new mine or oil pipeline – What perspectives do different groups (e.g., environmental groups, people employed in the forest industry, First Peoples, urban and rural populations) have on the use of natural resources?* – Yet, it is interesting that in each case that involves Indigenous perspectives the issue at stake is framed as a controversy between competing priorities or values – and therefore rendered a matter of cultural difference – while avoiding mention of land title rights, access to and control of resources, and legal sovereignty. These inclusions are consistent with Canadian frameworks of cultural diversity that incorporate differences determined to be cultural and overlook or exclude political differences that involve challenges to Canadian sovereignty or socio-economic hegemony. Such inclusions depict Indigenous group opposition to developments such as mines, pipelines, and the exploitation of natural resources as a cultural issue by reproducing and reinforcing the settler-created mythology of Indigenous peoples as protectors of the land resistant to

development, and omit inclusions of Indigenous opposition as challenging state sovereignty to make land use decisions on unceded territories.

There are also a few inclusions of issues of diversity related to immigration, and more specifically, to voluntary migration, e.g., *Why immigrants (including East and South Asian immigrants) came to B.C. and Canada, the individual challenges they faced and their contributions to B.C. and Canada; Historical reasons for the immigration of specific cultural groups to Canada (e.g., Irish potato famine, Chinese railway workforce, WWII refugees, underground railroad, Acadians, western settlement campaign, gold rushes); Did immigrants benefit from emigrating to Canada?* – In each of these inclusions the focus is on the benefits for voluntary migrants coming to Canada, and produces the opportunities found in Canada as solutions for problems encountered in other parts of the world. Yet, this analysis is detached from consideration of global imperialism and its historic consequences around the world that precipitated flows of migration, even while the same British heritage touted as upholding civility and good government and that founded the modern Canadian state attended to the genocide of the Irish in the 1840s and the forced migration of the Acadians in the mid 18th century. In each instance, Canada is produced as a modern, inclusive solution for diversity without accounting for colonial occupation and settlement in North America, or impacts of imperialism and conquest globally. Ultimately this production reifies the knowledge system compatible with Canadian hegemony, a narrative that attributes Western progress to European revolutions of science, industry, and politics and excludes mention of forced and indentured labour, slavery, colonization of North America or the world.

There are several inclusions related to diversity in the grade 10 curriculum, most of which attend to matters of diversity in Canada. These inclusions predominantly present non-dominant group issues and legal struggles through a narrative of progress and development, demonstrating the legislation and liberties afforded to non-dominant groups and the liberal mechanisms put in place to arbitrate and protect these rights, e.g. *To what extent has Canada's multicultural policy been successfully implemented? - Women's rights; women's suffrage, Persons case; Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW); contraceptives and abortion; LGBTQ+: same sex marriage; decriminalization of homosexuality; LGBTQ+ civil liberties.* All of these topics are introduced in the absence of an inclusion about patriarchy or normativity. Such inclusions, while appearing to represent diversity, omit analysis of the dominant values against which non-dominant values are produced. Other inclusions focus on systemic racism and discriminatory treatment of non-dominant and vulnerable groups, e.g., *Racism: immigration policy and restrictions or exclusions for specific groups (e.g., Jewish and Roma); Chinese Exclusion Act; WWII internment of Japanese Canadians, Italians; Indian Act, residential schools, voting rights for First Peoples, reserves and pass system, Sixties Scoop, foster care, and the White paper; destruction of Africville; Intellectual and physical challenges: employment and inclusion rights; health and institutionalization (forced sterilization, electric shock treatment); stigmas and (mis)perceptions,* that are then followed up with what are referred to as *responses* to such discrimination, and that group state-based and popular responses to discrimination and injustice together, e.g., *Responses: human rights tribunals; Bill of Rights and Canadian Charter of Rights and*

Freedoms; Supreme Court cases and changes to legislation; international declarations; anti-racism education and actions; protest and advocacy movements; Indian Brotherhood; Brown Paper and Red Paper; Oka Crisis; Idle No More; Shannon's Dream.

Throughout these inclusions there is consistent commitment to Canadian liberal pluralism as an adequate response and solution to discrimination. The inclusion of content areas and competencies that focus on multiple perspectives positively takes up the implied validity of multiple perspectives, but does so within a pluralist framework that reinforces the boundaries of the political.

National Histories and Myths

As discussed in chapter three, the teaching of national histories and myths arguably pervades all aspects of public life and public schooling. From statues and monuments erected to commemorate heroes and martyrs and the faces of political leaders on dollar bills, to flags adorning buildings and classrooms and school assemblies to recite *In Flanders Fields* for Remembrance Day, histories and myths are told and retold in the daily reproduction of the nation (Billig, 1995). The teaching of history was a central component of education in Canada's foundational era, and served to link life in the British colony to the imperial center through a shared sense of the past (Axelrod, 1977). Teaching history in Canada involved teaching European origin stories, with roots in the political and social systems of Ancient Greece and with linguistic roots in Greek and Latin. Such origin stories worked to establish Britain – and, by association, Canada – within the Western intellectual tradition. Within this national narrative, British systems of law and order are presented as the culmination of Enlightenment and civilization, generating a

sense of legitimacy for the colonization of non-Western territories. In the North American colonies that would become Canada, national mythology celebrated the culture of pioneerism and expansionism that was necessary to populate and settle the territories. Schoolbooks told the tales of explorers facing the dangers of unsettled lands to encourage a sense of honour in the new industries of the colonies like the fur trade, and the Westward expansion of agricultural settlement. These industries and the settlers' perseverance against the wilds of nature were presented as key to the secure establishment of the colonies and future national development. As explored in chapter two, such accounts were presented as if they were impartial, objective narratives, and omitted accounts of Indigenous experiences during the early era of colonial contact. Indigenous peoples were included as aspects of the untamed and natural environment, ripe for enculturation in to civilized society. After the Second World War, Canadian history lessons shifted from predominantly British to include more generally European historical perspectives, as well as more inclusion of distinctly Canadian perspectives. This shift has continued into the modern era, and contemporary history education through Social Studies coursework is much wider in scope, both geographically and temporally.

The learning area for grade 8 Social Studies is *7th Century to 1750*, and the predominant theme throughout this curriculum is change. Overall, the grade 8 curriculum is a broad survey of the time period under investigation, with topic areas covering European feudalism, the Crusades, Reformation and Counter Reformation, Renaissance, and Enlightenment. Students are encouraged to, for example, – *Analyze whether an event was caused by underlying systemic factors (e.g., social unrest,*

economic decline) or by an unpredictable event (e.g., disease, natural disaster) – through sample questions such as – How did religious institutions respond to scientific, technological, philosophical and cultural shifts? – How did the Black Death cause the end of feudalism and the Middle Ages in Europe?

Of a total 26 suggested topics for historical analysis in the grade 8 curriculum, there are only four inclusions that indicate a non-European culture for study – *The Americas, Mesoamerica, Columbian Exchange, and Silk Road* – but there are no sample or key questions included related to these cultures and phenomena, leading me to conclude that this grade is designed to focus on European history. This is interesting because it raises concerns about how well the new curriculum achieves the weaving through of Indigenous history and content. With sample topics like – e.g., *Social, political and economic systems and structures, including at least one Indigenous civilization – Interactions and exchanges of resources, ideas, arts, and culture between and among different civilizations* – it seems that there are enough offerings in the curriculum for teachers who want to take up this subject area, but for those who want to design a course based even exclusively on European history, this is possible too.

The learning area for grade 9 Social Studies is 1750 to 1919, and so historical investigation in this learning year can reasonably be expected to include a focus on the establishment of the Canadian nation-state. Whereas I might have expected this subject area to include pre-Confederation contact and British- and French- Indigenous relations leading up to Confederation, I found it interesting that such topics, i.e., *impact of treaties on First Peoples (e.g., numbered treaties, Vancouver Island treaties), impact of the Indian*

*Act, including reservations and the residential school system, interactions between Europeans and First Peoples, the Scramble for Africa, Manifest Destiny in the United State, and such key questions, i.e., What were the motivations for imperialism and colonialism during this period? What role does imperialism and colonialism from this period have on events in present-day Canada and around the world? – are included under the content area titled *The continuing effects of imperialism and colonialism on indigenous peoples in Canada and around the world* and not under the content area: *Nationalism and the development of modern nation-states, including Canada*. Such a framing instructs students to understand colonization as a feature of the past, rather than a current and ongoing condition and descriptor of settler-Indigenous relations. In this case, there is a significant distinction being made between a subject area that treats the legacy of imperialism as a global phenomenon and a subject area that takes up the development of the modern nation-state with no mention of colonization. Grade 9 does also include a content area called: *Discriminatory policies, attitudes, and historical wrongs* that includes topics about Canada’s discriminatory policies and practices. However, while this topic area is historical, its emphasis on discrimination and historical wrongs exceeds the scope of National Histories and Myths, and makes it a topic for analysis as a new curricular inclusion. Therefore, I have categorized it as such and will analyze it in a later section titled Contemporary Issues.*

There is only one key question related to history in the grade 10 curriculum - *Whose stories are told and whose stories are missing in the narratives of Canadian history?* – This reflects the dedication of the grade 10 curriculum to historical and

contemporary injustices, topics that also expand the scope of inquiry beyond that of the foundational era. These topics include the perspectives of women, persons with disabilities, and those of non-dominant social classes, racial and ethnic heritages, and religions, in addition to those of Indigenous peoples. As these topics also exceed the scope of National Histories and Myths, they too will be analyzed in greater detail in the Contemporary Issues section.

While the inclusions analyzed above relate to history generally, there are only three inclusions that relate directly to Canadian national histories and myths in the new curriculum, two in grade 9 – *What is the true date of Canadian Confederation? Explain your reasoning* – *Was John A. MacDonald an admirable leader? Explain reasons for your answer* – and one in grade 10 – *Whose stories are told and whose stories are missing in the narratives of Canadian history.* – That there are very few inclusions in the new draft curriculum directly related to national histories and myths in the way that they are included in the foundational era, led me to realize that the historical lens I bring to analyses of such productions in the foundational era would not have seemed historical at the time. What appear as national histories and myths from the vantage point of modernity did not appear so one hundred and fifty years ago. What this signifies are the ways that the stories we tell about ‘what Canada is’ are contemporary in nature, and thus most aptly represented by a reading of this curriculum as a whole in terms of the stories it tells about how students are encouraged to think about their country. Overall, through this curriculum Canadian children and youth learn that notions of diversity and inclusivity are central to the Canadian experience, whether or not such experiences are realized.

They learn that through the necessity of progress, societies and cultures develop, becoming more and more technologized, until, as the curriculum itself warns, students need be prepared for a future that is beyond our own understanding or prediction. They learn that the problems of liberalism are resolvable through the theory and instruments of liberalism itself, such that no other political organization is easily imagined. They learn all of these things about the Canadian nation-state alongside this curriculum's attempts to respond to mistakes and discriminations represented as historical – proof that it is through these purportedly moderate political channels that real reform occurs. What this accomplishes is the clear demarcation of an outside of the modern political order that is, in fact, only possible as part of the inside itself, thus revealing the totality of the modern political experience.

Contemporary Issues

After sorting the curriculum into the five major categories of national identity for analysis identified in the foundational era, there are a number of curricular content and competency learning areas left over that cluster into additional categories: Non-dominant group social and political issues; Indigenous social and political issues; Canadian discriminatory policies and practices; Environmental and economic issues; Truth and Reconciliation. These issues are related to issues of diversity as described in the previous section, but they are distinct in that they exceed the narratives offered in familiar liberal pluralist narratives, and they aim to shift agency to more robustly consider the agency of historically marginalized people and perspectives.

There is only one inclusion that fits this category in the grade 8 curriculum: *What would have been the impacts if the Indigenous peoples of the Americas had been immune to small pox and other diseases?* I find this question stunning, and have absolutely no idea how teachers might approach such a topic. From one perspective, this question seems to attempt to mitigate European and colonial responsibility for importing and spreading disease – as well as failing to provide adequate medical care for infectious diseases – and implies diseases were naturally occurring phenomena rather than part of European colonialism and expansionism. And from another perspective, and perhaps the most likely intended meaning, this question seems to imply that there might have been another possible outcome of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and European colonizers had fewer Indigenous people been killed by disease, that might have impacted the development of the country, though whether this is suggested as a positive or negative impact is unclear. I am not sure if students are encouraged to consider how this relationship might have been more contentious or more equitable had Indigenous populations not been decimated by disease. I wonder also if students are being encouraged to consider alternatives to the settler colonial state. What is perhaps most striking is that students are being asked to conjecture at all. There are no surrounding inclusions that pose questions about the import of disease from Europe to North America that encourage students to understand how European contact impacted Indigenous peoples in this sense, even though such facts are widely known and accepted (Woolford, 2009). Woolford (2009) argues that the spread of disease, and the resulting decimation of Indigenous populations “opened vast areas of land to European settlement and

exploitation” (83). Further, through the removal of Indigenous populations from the spread of disease, the discursive power of the notion of *terra nullius* gained strength, which served to legitimate European colonization (Woolford, 2009). Considered in this way, curricular inclusions that encourage speculation rather than study of the role of disease in European colonialism work to confirm settler colonial narratives. There is mention of the impact of disease on European societies – *How did the Black Death cause the end of feudalism and the Middle Ages in Europe* – though the nature of the question in this case is fact-based and historical, rather than speculative.

In the grade 9 curriculum, there are several competency and content inclusions related to discriminatory policies and practices in Canada, e.g., *Discriminatory policies and injustices in Canada and the world, such as the head tax, Komagata Maru incident, and WWII internment; Head tax and other discriminatory immigration policies against people of East and South Asian descent; Discriminatory policies toward First Peoples, such as the Indian Act, potlatch ban, residential schools; Responses to discrimination in Canada*. As well as inclusions related to social discrimination faced by non-dominant groups, e.g., *Societal attitudes toward ethnic minorities in Canada (e.g., Chinese railway workers, Sikh loggers, Eastern European farmers, Irish potato famine refugees); Social history; Gender issues; Suffrage; Labour history, workers’ rights; Discrimination against German Canadians during WWI*. These inclusions attend directly to the claims of the new curriculum that aim to teach more accurate versions of history that include discrimination in Canada. While these inclusions are new, they also remain committed to liberal pluralist mechanisms as the modern solution to past injustices. As a result, while

the inclusions related to discrimination are new, their framing within a narrative of progress and development, with the modern Canadian state as the more liberal and progressive, remains consistent, e.g., *How might specific examples of past incidents of inequality (e.g., head tax on Chinese, internment of Japanese, residential schools, suffrage, discriminatory federal government labour practices related to gender and sexual orientation) be handled today under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms?*

The grade 10 curriculum is designated to specifically address the history and legacy of residential schools in Canada, and so it is supplemented with an *Indian Residential Schools and Reconciliation Teacher Resource Guide* developed by the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC). In the B.C. curriculum there is one content area called *truth and reconciliation in Canada*, with three sample topics: *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada; Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report and Calls to Action; National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation*. These inclusions reflect ministry commitments to teach about Canada's discriminatory treatment of Indigenous peoples and the assimilative aims and devastating consequences of the residential school system.

The other new category of inclusion in the grade 10 curriculum involves land and resources, and introduces three types of environmental relations: economic-environmental; human-environmental; and ideological-environmental, e.g., *Relationships between environment and economy; Climate change: causes of climate change: distribution of risks associated with climate change; Land and resources: conflicts with*

resource management and supply; conflicts with land use and ownership (e.g., Aboriginal title and consultation vs. collaboration). These inclusions encourage students to consider multiple perspectives regarding human-land relations, yet still operate within the framework of the liberal nation state. Issues related to land are at the core of Indigenous challenges to the Canadian state, and are taken up in more detail in chapter seven.

As this chapter has shown, the most recent curriculum in B.C. can be characterized as one of both continuity and change. While the specific values may be different, and while there are progressive inclusions evident here, this chapter has illustrated how national values and a dominant national identity continue to be produced. This chapter has also revealed the ways in which Canada's liberal political order serves to reinforce the hegemony of settler/white society. In order to better understand both the underlying values and the intentions related to national identity that are involved in schooling in B.C., and as they exist outside of the actual grade level and subject area curricula, in the following chapter I offer findings and analysis of the curriculum's foundational ideas as presented in curricular documents. Reading these Ministry of Education position papers and normative, authorized publications in this context reveals that there are enduring values and assumptions that underpin schooling in B.C. As the next chapter will elaborate, these values bring consequences for aims of transformative educational change.

Chapter Six: Curriculum Foundational Ideas Findings and Discussion

Curricular Aims and Intentions

In this chapter I offer an analysis of some of the foundational ideas of the new curriculum. While not originally intended for analysis apart from the curricular content, it quickly became clear that a coherent analysis of the curricular content data would both draw from and inform a reading of this contextual foundation. Furthermore, the new curriculum architectures bring in particular frameworks for educational outcomes that have a bearing on the possibilities for transformative change. In particular, the inclusion of particularly liberal notions of the ideal citizen as a foundational element of the new curriculum represents a significant production of Canadian national values. In this section I provide analysis of some of the key aims and intentions of the new B.C. curriculum as outlined in Ministry of Education official documents and statements to the press. Through this analysis, the educational beliefs and assumptions of the main stakeholders and that undergird the curriculum become evident and will aid in the curricular discourse analysis that follows.

The Introduction to British Columbia's Redesigned Curriculum (Province of British Columbia, 2015e) document published by the B.C. Ministry of Education points to the

rapid speed of change in the highly technologized world today. A central aim of the new curriculum is to prepare students for what is characterized as an unpredictable 21st century future. The new curriculum anticipates that in the new workplace of the 21st century it will be more important that students know how to learn and how to access information quickly, rather than retain specific, potentially out-dated content.

Government documents that support the new curriculum suggest that this will be achieved through a shift in pedagogy, away from teacher-centered or direct instruction, and toward student-led, inquiry-based and project-based learning. What this seems to mean is that students will learn foundational skills – defined as reading, writing, and numeracy – within the context of inquiry projects that they help design based on their individual interests. There is less focus on the instruction and retention of facts of knowledge, and more focus on teaching students the skills they need to seek out the knowledge that is applicable to their learning. What these changes mean for curricular design and pedagogical approach is a shift away from prescribed learning outcomes that position the teacher as “the sage on a stage”, and toward flexible, fluid, student-led learning in which the teacher is “a guide on the side.”¹⁰

This focus on student-led learning in the new curriculum was emphasized in early government presentations to the media. In September 2015, CBC News reported a statement from the Ministry of Education as saying “students from kindergarten to Grade 9 will kick off the transition to the new curriculum, which ... offers flexibility while focusing on the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic” (B.C. Teachers to get training,

¹⁰ The sage on the stage/guide on the side dichotomy is a recurring colloquial trope in professional education discourses.

2015). That flexibility means students can learn about core subjects while doing projects related to their own interests. In the same article, incoming B.C. Minister of Education Mike Bernier is reported as saying the new curriculum aims to connect students with the collaborative and critical skills they need to succeed (B.C. Teachers to get training , 2015). The Globe and Mail further reported Bernier as saying the curriculum “will also build the critical thinking, collaboration and communication skills vital for higher education and the work force” (B.C. Teachers to get training , 2015). This shift to student-led, project-based learning is believed to best support the development of critically engaged students, and this shift is reflected pedagogically with an increase in teacher flexibility. And media reports suggest that the new curriculum helps students meet these changing conditions through “a focus on sound foundations of literacy and numeracy, while supporting the development of citizens who are competent thinkers and communicators, and who are personally and socially competent in all areas of their lives” (Province of British Columbia, 2015e).

The Educated Citizen

At the heart of the new curriculum design is the notion of “The Educated Citizen,” the idea of which dates back to the 1988 Royal Commission on Education, and is described in the *Introduction to British Columbia’s Redesigned Curriculum* document as those “who accept the tolerant and multifaceted nature of Canadian society and who are motivated to participate actively in our democratic institutions” (Province of British Columbia, 2015e). The role of schools is to “assist in developing citizens who:

- are thoughtful and able to learn and think critically, and can communicate information from a broad knowledge base
- are creative, flexible, and self-motivated and have a positive self-image
- are capable of making independent decisions
- are skilled and able to contribute to society generally, including the world of work
- are productive, gain satisfaction through achievement, and strive for physical well-being
- are co-operative, principled, and respectful of others regardless of differences
- are aware of the rights of the individual and are prepared to exercise the responsibilities of the individual within the family, the community, Canada, and the world” (Province of British Columbia, 2015e).

Along with what are generally desirable skills and aspects of character that are difficult to fault and seem likely to produce positive impacts on students and school communities, “the educated citizen” includes specific mention of Canadian rights and responsibilities. In Canada, individual rights include: fundamental freedoms of: conscience and religion; thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedoms of speech and the press; peaceful assembly; and association, as well as Mobility Rights, Aboriginal Peoples’ Rights, Official Language Rights, and Multiculturalism, among others – and responsibilities include: obeying the law; taking responsibility for oneself and one’s family; serving on a

jury; voting in elections; helping others in the community, and protecting and enjoying our heritage and environment, among others (Government of Canada, 2016). Such rights and responsibilities can be understood as representing the central values of mainstream Canadian society. However, the instruction of Canadian rights and responsibilities in schools seems to assume that these values are compatible with the personal, family, and community values held by students, or that the included rights to multiculturalism, language, or sex and/or gender equality, or Indigenous rights – most often practiced as multicultural or diversity education in schools – are adequate to account for any incompatibilities.¹¹ It is the production of such mainstream or dominant culture values in schools that have led to the development of multicultural, diversity, antiracist, anticolonial, and Indigenous education. The inclusion of criteria that support such national values in curricula have consequences for other curricular inclusions that intend to account for historic and contemporary injustices levied against non-dominant groups and individuals.

Curriculum Prescriptivity and Teacher Preparedness

The structure of the new curriculum – which includes more and less integral components – points to the now familiar concern running throughout this analysis that asks whether or not, or in what ways, different teachers and schools will take up the new curriculum and its supporting documents, and what the impact of this variation will be for students province-wide. At the outset, it is immediately clear that the streamlined

¹¹ Omitted from most discussions of this type are economic rights, and the ways in which corporate and other economic interests are routinely placed above the individual rights and responsibilities as they are discussed here.

curriculum provides very little required structure for teachers. Beyond broadly stated curricular competencies and content learning areas, there is very little substantive teaching material or pedagogical approach offered to teachers. The curricular competencies and content learning area elaborations offer a range of suggested questions and/or lines of inquiry for teachers to follow, but none are mandatory, nor is it set out in the curriculum how such questions and/or lines of inquiry ought to be taken up. While this curricular structure allows for teachers to tailor content and pedagogy to meet the diverse needs of their learners, as well as to make content and pedagogy appropriate for their learners' geographical and philosophical world views, it also assumes teacher preparedness and competency to work with very little professional support. From the perspective of this research, a lack of preparation and prescriptivity is of concern, for the main fact that variances between teachers' understandings and accounts of Canada and settler-Indigenous relations will bring unequal educational exposure and instruction for students. However, some would say that this lack of prescriptivity is a very good thing, and that the Ministry should not be in the business of telling teachers "how" to teach, but simply indicating the "what." However, while allegedly reducing pedagogical prescriptivity, the new curriculum promotes personalized, inquiry-based approaches.

While the lack of prescriptivity is heralded as an innovative aspect of the new curriculum, and one that intends to allow teachers increased flexibility to the needs and conditions of their students, it also raises concerns about the ways in which and/or whether or not teachers will choose to take up curricular content. On one hand, the lack

of mandated content raises questions about how different teachers in different places might interpret and choose to instruct the curriculum in different ways, leaving students with varying levels of exposure to and engagement with each of the learning areas. This variation has the potential to significantly impact efforts to incorporate historically marginalized perspectives and excluded histories across the curriculum. In spite of ministry level efforts to integrate historically excluded content and the development of curricular and resource options to integrate this content into classrooms, without mandated content, it is possible that students will receive varied exposure to such topics, depending on the teacher they are assigned. This is especially the case as it concerns content related to historically marginalized histories and perspectives, with many teachers reporting a lack of preparedness to teach about topics with which they are not well-versed, particularly the residential school system and Canada's discriminatory treatment of Indigenous and racialized minority groups (Drinkwater, 2017). It stands to reason that in some cases teachers may opt to avoid uncomfortable content as a result, and with the flexibility of the new curriculum they are able to do so. While this may be a familiar issue for scholars of curriculum studies, and a familiar debate about centralization vs. teacher autonomy in schooling, the issue takes on a new relevance in light of calls for the role of education for reconciliation.

The new curriculum includes competency and content learning areas related to issues such as colonization, imperialism, discrimination, and genocide, but there are no definitions offered for key words such as these, nor links to appropriate sources of definition, nor are there descriptions of intended learning outcomes for these deeply

contested and political topics. As a result of the lack of definitions, there is an assumption that teachers either know the meaning of these key words, the contexts in which they occur and to which they refer, and that teachers possess the theoretical knowledge and specialization required to teach on problematic and deeply contentious issues. The same problem has been identified in character education, leading researchers to question the consensus of meaning and efficacy of instruction (Boyd, 2010). At this early point of analysis, it seems prescient to suggest that teacher education – both initial pre-service teacher education and ongoing professional development – will have a significant role to play in achieving the aims of the new K-12 curriculum, due to the fact that teachers – like settler-Canadians generally – hold myriad different understandings of colonialism past and present in Canada, and that efforts for reconciliation through education require that students learn a more robust account of Canada’s history and treatment of Indigenous peoples.

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, in many instances the new curriculum includes open-ended questions that appear designed to encourage discussion and deliberation. Yet, such open-endedness also suggests that different teachers – with different worldviews and experiences – will take these questions up in different ways. The ways that teachers choose to engage sensitive topics, or not, will determine the depth and breadth of exposure for students. For example, the grade 9 Social Studies curriculum asks – *Were American and Canadian/British policies toward First Peoples an example of pre-twentieth century genocide?* – While the inclusion of questions of this character may be new for B.C. and present important opportunities to teach about

colonialism in Canada, the curriculum does not specify how such questions ought to be addressed, or how teachers will be supported to address these questions. As a result, the concern arises that students will encounter these issues differently, depending on the teacher they are assigned. As a result, while the curriculum aims to reduce the province's top-down control and increase teacher flexibility, there arise real concerns over the dangers of relativism that may arise in the absence of adequate and/or universal preparation. In the absence of a provincially authorized 'truth' concerning questions of Canada's colonial past and present, teachers with varying points of view may instruct their students in different ways. If students are encountering different answers from their teachers to questions related to colonialism, genocide, and historical discriminations, this puts into question the efficacy of progressive curricular inclusions. Rather than contributing to transformative or affirmative change, curricular inclusions of this nature could be used to challenge the contemporary climate of reconciliation.

Colonialism and Marginalized Perspectives

A much-publicized aspect of the new curriculum is its revised inclusion of previously excluded and marginalized perspectives. As has been discussed in detail in previous sections, Canada and British Columbia have historically excluded, or included in derogatory or demeaning ways, the perspectives of Indigenous and racialized minority peoples, as well as the experiences of such individuals and groups with the Canadian state. Due in part to the extensive media coverage of the work of the TRC and other advocacy groups, public perception of Canada's mistreatment of Indigenous people and racialized minorities is shifting, with more Canadians expressing openness to

acknowledging and atoning for such mistreatment. In educational matters this is evident in the number of schools, districts and provinces investigating ways to incorporate such perspectives into curricula and classrooms. In B.C., the inclusion of such content is touted as being at the center of the curriculum redesign.

The new curriculum includes content related specifically to mistreatment of Indigenous, Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian peoples in British Columbia. In 2016, CBC News reported that with the new curriculum “the ministry has committed to including more Indigenous content – with a special focus on the history and legacy of residential schools – as well as new content dealing with the experiences of South and East Asian immigrants to the province” (B.C. students to write fewer, 2016). While there has been much press about the ways that the new curriculum is a response to the TRC’s Calls to Action by including a more accurate account of Canada’s system of residential schools, these inclusions are part of a broader set of inclusions that attend to historic mistreatment of non-dominant groups in the new curriculum, specifically, according to the Globe and Mail newspaper “other racist government programs, such as the Chinese Head Tax” (Meissner, 2015). “The new curriculum... does not shy away from Canada's dark and racist history” (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015), said then-Education Minister, Peter Fassbender, and “has content on the historical experiences of South and East Asian immigrants” (New B.C. curriculum includes, 2015).

These inclusions are intended to encourage the development of Canadian liberal values in children and youth. A ministry statement is quoted as saying “teaching students about the past discrimination minority groups faced in this province...allows students to

develop their competency skills and encourages them to value diversity, care for each other and stand up for the rights of others and themselves” (Meissner, 2015). The competency skills referred to here are the Core Competencies that, “along with literacy and numeracy foundations and essential content and concepts are at the center of the redesign of curriculum and assessment” (Province of British Columbia, 2015c). Among the Core Competencies are those of the Personal and Social, “the set of abilities that relate to students’ identity in the world, both as individuals and as members of their community and society” (Province of British Columbia, 2015c). Curricular inclusions that take up past injustices encourage students to recognize the plurality of the Canadian population and are compatible with principles of Canadian multiculturalism that deal with this diversity through the celebration of cultural pluralism. Multiculturalism and its related politics are carefully structured logics that delimit that which will be considered cultural, from other realms of public life, such as that of the political and/or economic. This framing is significant for non-dominant culture groups for the ways that diversity is discussed in cultural terms, through the recognition of diverse arts, customs and celebrations, all of which are easily brought into the fabric of multiculturalism and celebrated in the public sphere. Omitted from cultural framings are the much messier, less congruent, and more significant economic and political terms on which non-dominant groups – most significantly Indigenous groups – challenge the dominant status quo. In this way, dominant culture can be seen to be accepting of diversity in cultural terms, while denying diversity on economic and political terms. Dominant Canadian society is generally happy to include and celebrate Indigenous art and dance, while being

much less happy to include or accommodate demands for recognition of political self-determination and land and resource rights. Multiculturalism and the politics of recognition and reconciliation seek to absorb difference into the fabric of Canadian nationalism. Through processes of cultural pluralism, Canada can celebrate its diversity while also sidelining challenges to its sovereignty (Coulthard, 2014).

The new curriculum in B.C. also intends to embed Indigenous content at all grade levels and across subject areas. On June 17, 2015 the Globe and Mail quoted a Ministry of Education statement as saying “Aboriginal history, culture and perspectives have been integrated across subject areas and grade levels in B.C.’s new curriculum” (Meissner, 2015). Commenting on Indigenous-Canadian relations, Fassbender said, “a single course would not have been sufficient and that this curriculum revamp will give teachers a great deal of latitude to insert the material into their teachings throughout the years” (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). In September 2015, CBC News reported the new curriculum has “Aboriginal perspectives integrated at all grade levels, and includes the history and legacy of the residential school system” (New B.C. curriculum includes, 2015). While the scope and purpose of this research is not to assess how well or not the new curriculum accomplishes this goal, as there is evidence of attempts to incorporate this material in all grades and subject areas: notwithstanding, whether through content or pedagogy the character of these inclusions requires further examination. In addition to the dedicated residential school system learning areas in grades 5, 10, 11 and 12, the new curriculum elaborates how Indigenous perspectives are incorporated across grade levels and subject areas through supplemental resources including the First Peoples

Principles of Learning and the Learning First Classroom Resources. These resources have also been developed by FNEC to respond to “a need to incorporate unappropriated First Peoples’ perspectives across the curriculum... as well as the Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, including the call to integrate Indigenous Knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms and build student capacity for intercultural understanding, empathy and mutual respect” (First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNEC), n.d., Learning first peoples: Classroom resources). The First Peoples Principles of Learning read as follows:

- *Learning ultimately supports the well-being of the self, the family, the community, the land, the spirits, and the ancestors.*
- *Learning is holistic, reflexive, reflective, experiential, and relational (focused on connectedness, on reciprocal relationships, and a sense of place).*
- *Learning involves recognizing the consequences of one’s actions.*
- *Learning involves generational roles and responsibilities.*
- *Learning recognizes the role of indigenous knowledge.*
- *Learning is embedded in memory, history, and story.*
- *Learning involves patience and time.*
- *Learning requires exploration of one’s identity.*
- *Learning involves recognizing that some knowledge is sacred and only shared with permission and/or in certain situations.*

In September 2016, the Terrace Standard published an article describing how the new B.C. curriculum “embeds Aboriginal perspectives and ways of learning” (Lieuwen, 2016). In addition to “incorporating the Aboriginal worldview into the content for all students.” the article emphasizes that the curriculum is also “embedding nine “First Peoples Principles of Learning” into the classroom approach of teachers in every subject” (Lieuwen, 2016). The First Peoples Principles of Learning have been developed by FNEC to represent Indigenous pedagogy and perspectives on learning that are to be incorporated into the implementation of the new curriculum. Even with this collaboration, these inclusions raise questions about how successfully provincial education will be able to incorporate Indigenous pedagogy. The article reported Agnes Casgrain, Director of Instruction for Aboriginal Education in the Coast Mountains School District, as saying “the nine principles, some of which match known best practices in education, were gathered by a B.C. curriculum team and are a summery [sic] of the learning approaches in Aboriginal societies. These [nine principles] are the ways Aboriginal students learn, but it is good for everybody” (Lieuwen, 2016). The article goes on to list each of the nine principles and offer elaboration on their implementation. This article is interesting for how it presents the embedding of pedagogical principles derived from Indigenous pedagogy and their immersion into the curriculum. The article emphasizes the congruency between Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches to teaching and learning, and the ability for non-Indigenous pedagogy and the students to smoothly integrate Indigenous perspectives. For example, the first Principle of Learning states: Learning ultimately supports the well-being of self, family, community, the land,

the spirits and the ancestors. The elaboration that follows reads, “this is about developing students to be healthy and contribute to the world and their communities and to respect the land. Everything we are teaching is going to be about making good people who function well in the world and contribute to the world... it’s always coming back to land and community.” The perspective offered in this article stresses the compatibility of Indigenous and non-Indigenous conceptions of self, family, land and ancestors, and glosses over the incompatibilities that underlie conflicting approaches to family and community responsibilities, land and resource management, and territorial sovereignty. It seems that this article, and the approaches it represents, stresses the compatibility of values and culture with a focus on common elements. Yet these compatibilities only last as long as cultural practices remain separate from socio-economic or political practices. For example, while students are encouraged to “respect the land,” they are not encouraged to question Canada’s colonial possession of it.

Such discussions of Indigenous principles of learning also raise some conceptual concerns. What is unattended to is the incongruence between such pedagogical principles and curricular content. Readers are left to wonder how the embedding of such principles will work if or when incongruent principles arise, for example, continuing with the example of land from above, Indigenous conceptions of sovereignty are fundamentally challenging of/to state-based sovereignty. The sentiment expressed in this article further exemplifies the need for education of non-Indigenous teachers in Indigenous pedagogy and perspectives beyond a list of principles. As an example of how to incorporate Indigenous pedagogy, the teacher interviewed in the article offered an

anecdote describing how several years ago, as she was teaching children to sort objects into living and non-living categories, an Indigenous student brought her attention to their difficulty categorizing a rock. The student understood the teacher considered the rock to be non-living, but the student struggled “because according to his culture there is a belief about the spiritual world... everything has a spirit. So, to incorporate his beliefs, a new category was made for the rock” (Lieuwen, 2016). The incongruity of Western, or empirical, and Indigenous, or spiritual values in this example points to the need for teachers to be prepared to acknowledge worldviews alternative to their own, and to incorporate multiple ways of understanding the world. Yet, this example seems to point to a deeper incongruency left unattended to, one that Michael Marker (2018) describes as “the contrasting Aboriginal and Settler ontologies of landscape and ways of being in places” (454). Baloy (2016) has also identified attempts to silence incongruous Indigenous perspectives in educational settings: “In Leslie Robertson’s ethnography of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in Fernie, B.C., she describes a grade 5 social studies test that asks students to define ‘heritage, history, ancestor, totem pole, Haida, tipi, igloo, culture, belief’. Students were also asked to write a story using the words chant, courage, harpoon, pride, ritual, shaman, and soul. Robertson questions the absence of politically relevant words like ‘land’ or ‘treaties’ or ‘colonialism’ or ‘racism’, and states, ‘[i]t is not surprising that many in the youngest generation recognize [Indigenous] people only at powwows’” (Baloy, 2016, 214).

This chapter has examined curricular documents that contribute underlying values upon which the curriculum rests. These documents reveal explicit commitments to

liberal norms including citizenship and multiculturalism, which, while expected in a subject area such as Social Studies that includes Citizenship Studies, are at odds with Indigenous challenges to the state and bring to bear significant limitations to curricular inclusions that aim to de-center the Canadian state and its dominant norms. This chapter has also presented the potential problem of relativism among teachers, their understandings of the past, and their instruction of potentially contentious issues, all of which show that uncertainties remain around whether or not there can be said to be an agreed upon 'truth' of Canadian history. As the next chapter explores in greater detail, the incongruencies between various stakeholders' interpretations of reconciliation and the nature of the problems it aims to address will greatly impact the positive impact of related curricular inclusions

Chapter Seven: Curriculum Discourses Findings and Discussion

Mainstream discourse in Canada frames reconciliation as a positive and possible response to the colonial policies and practices that have characterized Canadian-Indigenous relations. This framing shapes the official national narrative about Indigenous-Canadian relations and extends into provincial, regional, and local contexts. However, an examination of governmental, media, and social media discourses reveal an array of interpretations of reconciliation, and of the nature of the problem reconciliation aims to address. In this chapter I offer findings and discussion that examine what kind of problem reconciliation is thought to address by different stakeholders, and what avenues are suggested for its pursuit. Drawing from the contemporary literature reviewed in chapter three of this dissertation, the analyses offered in the following section consider how settler colonial ideologies are produced in and through B.C.'s new curriculum and surrounding discourses. As the literature reviewed in chapter three demonstrates, there are considerable shortcomings of dominant approaches to multicultural education and citizenship studies that limit the impact of inclusive and additive curricular inclusions that aim to support diversity. As that chapter also illustrated, there are considerable consequences for inclusive education that result from omitting an analysis of settler

colonial conditions in educational contexts. This chapter picks up this discussion, and considers the condition of settler colonialism in B.C.'s educational climate.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Schooling

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission final report and recommendations expresses the belief that schooling has a key role to play in reconciliation work. As discussed in detail previously, *Legacy* recommendations six-12 and *Reconciliation* recommendations 62-65 of the TRC final report Calls to Action (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) refer directly to education, with both calls to improve educational outcomes for Indigenous students, and with calls to improve the education of all Canadians in matters related to colonialism generally, and the residential school system in particular. In order to begin to reconcile for the era of residential schooling, an accurate account of Canadian history needs to be taught in schools, and Canadians need to understand the impacts of assimilative policies and practices on Indigenous people and communities. The inclusion of historically excluded content and perspectives in the new B.C. curriculum is meant to attend to aspects of provincial and national history previously omitted from mainstream schooling. In addition to the incorporation of Indigenous content, history, and perspectives into the new curriculum at all grade levels and subject areas, the curriculum is to be supplemented with teacher resource guides developed by the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC) and the First Nations Schools Association of British Columbia (FNSA). FNESC and FNSA have developed Indian Residential Schools and Reconciliation Teacher Resource Guides for grades 5, 10, 11 & 12, the learning years that are intended to include specific instruction on the history

and legacy of the residential school system. According to the FNEESC website, the production of these resource materials are their "response to the call by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada for education bodies to develop age-appropriate educational materials about Indian Residential Schools" (First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNEESC), n.d., Learning first peoples: classroom resources).

Such educational inclusions are among the first of their kind in Canada. CBC News reported that "B.C. stands out as a province taking action," according to Charlene Bearhead, Education Coordinator for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, "point[ing] to things like teacher training and resource development by organizations like the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNEESC) and the B.C. Teacher's Federation (BCTF)" as evidence of B.C.'s leadership (Bellrichard, 2015). CBC News reported that Bernier "called the gathering of nine separate B.C. education organizations in support of the new curriculum 'historic,' as some have been long-time government adversaries. Teacher, trustee and superintendent organizations attended the news conference Monday to announce the new plans" (Teachers endorse training plan, 2015). These responses to calls for educational resources that support reconciliation and collaborations between the provincial government and Indigenous stakeholder groups signify increasing cooperation and a new era for inclusive education in B.C., and ensure that Indigenous perspectives about residential schooling will be included alongside the new curriculum. While the focus of this dissertation is the production of national values in the new curriculum, it is important to note the work of Indigenous education groups in producing resources to improve the education of all students in issues related to

Canada's residential school system. While the curriculum under study here reveals the continuity of the production of values that privilege settler colonial knowledge systems and structures, resources developed by Indigenous education groups contribute to the plurality of knowledge in B.C. schooling and increase the likelihood of diversifying national values to be more inclusive.

TRC Calls to Action and B.C.'s New Curriculum

This curriculum comes along at a time of reconciliation, which brings certain aims. Stated broadly, these aims are to improve the education of Canadians regarding colonialism and the residential school system in an effort to increase Canadians' investment in the reconciliation process. The idea is that through increased understanding of governments' and churches' tactics of assimilation, cultural genocide and intergenerational trauma, Canadian students will appreciate the need to account for the past and improve relations for a more equitable future. The unveiling of B.C.'s new curriculum coincided with the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report and recommendations in June 2015, which stress the importance of education in terms of both improving academic outcomes for Indigenous students, and improving the understanding of all Canadian students about colonization generally and the system of residential schooling specifically. While the new curriculum in B.C. had been in development long before the release of the TRC report, statements from the B.C. Ministry of Education demonstrate attempts to connect the two and present the new curriculum as a response to the recommendations of the TRC. In June 2015, CBC News quoted former-Minister of Education, Peter Fassbender, as saying, "the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission really showed us the urgent need we have to move forward in a very positive way” (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). In the same article, CBC News quoted a B.C. Ministry of Education statement as saying; the curriculum “is a response to a call for action coming out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission” (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). Yet the veracity of these claims is questionable because, while the timing is definitely advantageous for B.C. to announce its new curriculum, the curriculum was years in the making. Despite this inconsistency, it is repeatedly suggested that the new curriculum is responding directly to the TRC final report. In June 2015, the Globe and Mail reported “the changes [to the B.C. curriculum] are part of the B.C. government’s response to 94 recommendations in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s report of the residential-school system” (Meissner, 2017).

In June 2015 and the months following, the new curriculum in B.C. was reported in dozens of articles in major Canadian news outlets. This flood of reporting focused on the curriculum as a response to the TRC recommendations. The news headlined how the “new B.C. school curriculum will have an aboriginal focus” (Meissner, 2015) and described how the curriculum “has Aboriginal perspectives integrated at all grade levels, and includes the history and legacy of the residential school system” (New B.C. curriculum includes, 2015). While specific instruction about residential schools is to begin in grade 5, “the changes for kindergarten to-Grade-12 students include lessons that focus on aboriginal history and culture, and will be implemented provincewide [sic] by 2016” (Meissner, 2015). The Globe and Mail reported Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation Minister John Rustad as saying “the curriculum classes we are looking at are all about

giving students a fuller understanding of our history in Canada, there are many things that have happened in the province of British Columbia people are not aware of,” and that “the classes will give students a more complete understanding of the province’s history with its Aboriginal Peoples and strengthen reconciliation efforts” (Meissner, 2015). Media reports stress that the new curriculum is intended “to be a step towards reconciliation,” with more instruction on Indigenous culture and history (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). Topics will include discrimination, inequality, oppression and the impacts of colonialism. While Rustad calls for the teaching of a more robust history, his sentiment still assumes, does not question, and rearticulates colonial possession of Indigenous peoples within the settler province.

The important role for education in the reconciliation process is emphasized in comments made Indigenous leaders reported in June 2015: “Canadians must believe in the need for reconciliation with Aboriginal Peoples to repair the damage caused by residential schools” (Truth and Reconciliation report brings calls, 2015) underscoring that educating Canadians about the damage done and the need for reconciliation is the first step. The Globe and Mail reported First Nations Summit Grand Chief, Ed John, as saying “following the release of the commission’s report last month that too few Canadians, especially children, are aware of the residential school experience...you might want to learn about Prince Charles and the Queen, that’s good, but you should also want to know about your own history in this province, and we don’t see enough of that in terms of the relationship between First Nations and the public” (Meissner, 2015). This comment highlights the connection between what is taught in schools and the values and attitudes

students take with them into the world. John draws attention to the important role of history education and the perpetuation of national myths. As has been examined in the previous chapter, how well the new curriculum attends to historical relations between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples and racialized minorities will impact how future generations conceive of Canada and their national identity. John's comments also draw attention to the profoundly political character of curriculum and education, shining light on how curricular exclusions and silences have been complicit in maintaining unequal Indigenous-settler relations. Many Canadians are unfamiliar with Canadian policies of assimilation, including residential schools, and without this knowledge it is easy for Canadians to ignore the lasting impacts of these practices. CBC News reported former Minister Rustad, as saying "the changes will better reflect the full history of aboriginal (sic) peoples" (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). This sentiment was echoed by Fassbender, who said, "we will be sharing the truth of what happened," he said, in regard to residential schools, "you can't have reconciliation unless you understand what the truth behind it is" (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). These comments highlight that one intention of the new curriculum is to educate Indigenous and non-Indigenous students alike about the history and legacy of residential schools, and suggests that reconciliation requires this education.

In the midst of an era of official apologies for the residential school system that many thought were meaningless without action, media reports surrounding the TRC recommendations stress the importance of knowing and remembering the past, healing as a nation, and changing the future in the pursuit of reconciliation (Truth and

Reconciliation report brings calls, 2015). Bringing the history and legacy of residential schools to national attention signified a victory for those involved, giving voice to those long silenced by Canada's ambivalence toward the health of Indigenous people and communities. TRC Commissioner Marie Wilson emphasized the need for changes to fill the gaps in Canadian education, and asked "how frank and truthful are we with Canadian students about the history of residential schools and the role our governments and religious institutions played in its systemic attempt to erase the cultures of aboriginal people?" Justice Murray Sinclair, chair of the TRC, said, "Reconciliation is not an aboriginal problem – it is a Canadian problem. It involves all of us" (Truth and Reconciliation report brings calls, 2015).

For both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, it is also hoped that improved understanding of past traumas and their legacies will help youth appropriately attribute responsibility for current and lasting consequences to the policies and practices that inflicted these injuries, rather than to the individual sufferers. "For aboriginal students," Fassbender said, "this will give them an opportunity to be able to better understand some of the challenges they see in their communities. You don't know where you're going unless you know where you came from. To have all of our young people understand some of the tragedies that took place will begin to help enhance the healing process" (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015). Fassbender also said, "through the revised curriculum, we will be promoting greater understanding, empathy and respect for aboriginal history and culture among students and their families" (Meissner, 2015). This is hoped to improve relations in Indigenous families and communities that continue

to suffer the consequences of cultural isolation and inter-generational trauma, and to improve the understanding and concern of non-Indigenous students. Such a shift could have considerable impact on the ways that Canadians attribute blame for personal and social dysfunction that further negative stereotypes and reproduce racist distortions of Indigenous people. These goals are important to a study of national values in curriculum because they highlight the significance of settler colonial narratives in the production of Canadian national identity. These narratives are prevalent throughout the history of education in Canada, from specifically derogatory depictions of Indigenous peoples as either savage or child-like in Canada's foundational era, to the near exclusion of Indigenous peoples from more contemporary accounts (Van Brummelen, 1983; Carleton, 2011; Baloy, 2016).

In August 2015, CBC News quoted residential school survivor, Louise Lacerte, who has worked in education for 30 years as saying: "There was an era where we weren't allowed to...share the information or the experiences that we encountered within those schools...So now I think it's turned around where our children's children can start understanding why we are the way we are" (Residential schools, reconciliation on curriculum, 2015). Inclusions of this kind challenge dominant narratives – in this case racist narratives that attribute Indigenous social issues to personal and community failings rather than to the cycle of systemic dysfunction resulting from colonial practices including residential schools. These changes hope to equip Indigenous youth, and all youth, to identify and deconstruct patterns of colonial violence and challenge stereotypes.

Countering Erasure

As has been examined in previous chapters, over the last century and a half the settler colonial Canadian state has pursued an agenda of erasure of Indigenous peoples and cultures. In educational settings this shows up through the inclusion of Indigenous societies depicted as uncivilized and primitive. These depictions, in contrast to modern society, suggest Indigenous people are part of the natural landscape and in need of cultivation to modern maturity. As a result, Indigenous people have been largely omitted from educational materials, or included in ways that reinforce this narrative. Carleton (2011) observed that “textbook discussions of indigenous peoples are often treated as an ‘undesirable interruption of the narrative’, usually included in brief introductory chapters describing the “Discovery of the Americas” or outlining the geography and natural resources of Canada” (104). Baloy (2016) and Carleton (2011) both note that after an initial introduction in which Indigenous people are presented as an aspect of the landscape to be settled, they are removed from the narrative, only to reappear much later - usually depicted as engaged in modern adaptations of traditional activities- or as relic, or in story, signifying the benevolence of settler colonialist assimilation over the alternative of extinction. Calderon (2014) further notes that social studies textbooks are “central delivery mechanisms of normative historical narratives that promote a particular type of American national identity, inexorably linked to settler colonialism (315). The new B.C. curriculum aims to pursue reconciliation by encouraging collaboration between public schools and schoolteachers and Indigenous elders and knowledge holders (Elders in Metro Vancouver schools, 2015). By inviting elders and knowledge holders into

schools, Indigenous perspectives are brought into classrooms as agentic, contemporary, and living, in contrast to many textbook representations that depict Indigenous peoples as part of a dying, traditional culture.

In the Past

An emerging theme in B.C.'s curricular reconciliation discourse is the tendency for Ministry officials, spokespeople, journalists and curriculum designers to refer to colonialism, discriminatory practices, and racism as events and attitudes *in the past*. In September 2015, Fassbender referred to the “ongoing legacy” of the residential school system, as well as “the impacts of colonization” (Elders in Metro Vancouver schools, 2015), implying that the effects of colonization may be ongoing, but that colonialism itself has ended. Settler colonial and Indigenous theorists stress that colonialism is ongoing – a structure, not an event – and that colonialism continues to shape the Canadian settler colonial state and Indigenous-settler relations. Rhetorical attempts to create an ideological distinction between the colonial past and the reconciliatory present (Coulthard, 2014) are repeated in the discourse, while simultaneously producing Canada as an inclusive, diverse, liberal state. For example, a ministry statement from June 2015 says, “teaching students about the past discrimination minority groups faced in this province ... allows students to develop their competency skills and encourages them to value diversity, care for each other and stand up for the rights of others and themselves” (Elders in Metro Vancouver schools, 2015). This statement insists not only that

discriminatory practices are *in the past*, but also that ongoing challenges faced by Indigenous people and racialized minorities are residual effects of historic injustices, rather than resulting from ongoing colonial structures and practices. The depiction of colonial practices as *in the past* impacts the ways both settler and Indigenous students understand Canada, as well as past, present and future possibilities for Indigenous-Canadian relations. In countries like Canada, in the absence of an actual shift in rule, a perceived shift is manufactured by creating the impression of a temporal shift (Coulthard, 2014). By acknowledging historical injustices, current regimes distinguish themselves and the present political era from previous administrations and policy agendas, while the settler state is preserved.

While it is important to revise Canadian education to teach historical colonial policies and practices – including the residential school system – the kind of transformative educational reform sought by proponents of education for reconciliation would require students to understand contemporary Canada as a settler colonial state, complete with ongoing colonial structures. Without this context, students risk misunderstanding how colonialism continues to shape the Canadian state. At stake in incorporating content related to colonialism in Canada in the new curriculum is the risk of presenting discriminatory attitudes and practices in ways that suggest the era of colonization is over and disagreements can be adequately responded to through politics of reconciliation. This depiction further suggests that contemporary Indigenous grievances are commensurable with liberal mechanisms and state-based sovereignty and that they can be adjudicated and resolved through the logics of pluralism and

recognition, stripping away the saliency of the political challenges posed by Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. While this curriculum is representative of attempts to improve the teaching of history, as well as representative of significant collaborations with and contributions from Indigenous stakeholder groups such as the First Nation Education Steering Committee and the First Nations Schools Association of British Columbia, it is yet to be seen how these inclusions will impact the teaching of Canada more broadly.

Not all officials seem clear on the intentions of the new curriculum, about what meaningful inclusion of Indigenous knowledge and history might look like in curriculum, or about how curricular inclusions might work to improve Canadian students' understanding of colonization and its legacy. In June, 2015, CBC News quoted Rustad, as saying "there'll be an opportunity to learn a little bit about indigenous plants and animals...there might also be opportunities around concepts of environmental stewardship...to go along with history of residential schools and other components of our interactions over the years" (Aboriginal history, culture coming, 2015).

Theorizing Reconciliation

Over the last decade, reconciliation has been evoked as a remedy to the problems associated with unequal Indigenous-Canadian relations in a settler colonial state. In Canada, a reconciliation movement has emerged, motivated in part by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This movement conceives of reconciliation not only as an acknowledgement for past wrongs, but also as a set of priorities and values to guide future Indigenous-Canadian relations. Coulthard (2014) suggests that in Canada "we have

witnessed this relatively recent “reconciliation politics” converge with a slightly older “politics of recognition,” that promotes the institutional recognition and accommodation of Indigenous cultural difference as an important means of reconciling the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state” (106). In response to prior decades of organized Indigenous resistance that gained traction during the 1970s, Canadian Indian policy shifted from explicitly assimilationist to “one that is now reproduced through a seemingly more conciliatory set of discourses and institutional practices that emphasize [Indigenous] recognition and accommodation,” while remaining staunchly colonial (Coulthard, 2014, 6). Reconciliation politics employ liberal pluralist models of recognition that provide the means through which states seek to reconcile historic wrongs. “Although the courts favour reconciliation through the recognition of rights, they have consistently found that Aboriginal rights, whatever their content, are subordinate to the sovereignty of Canada” (Coulthard, 2014, 32). State sovereignty refutes claims of Indigenous sovereignty presented as equal to that of the state. The liberal logic of state-based sovereignty assesses Indigenous sovereignties as occurring within the formally recognized sovereign authority of the modern state, whether pre-existing or not, by the right of colonization and conquest – and therefore as subordinate expressions of sovereignty. Canadian-Indigenous relations are framed as internal and thus domestic concerns to be negotiated and remediated through the instruments of the Canadian state, rather than as inter-national problems.

Coulthard (2014) describes the politics of recognition as “the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to reconcile Indigenous

assertions of nationhood with settler state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state” (3). This definition brings clarity to the central assumption of recognition politics that asserts the commensurability of Indigenous assertions of sovereignty and the state. Claims of nation-to-nation relationships through liberal pluralist models of recognition are suggestive of equality, while securing settler sovereign authority. Through this logic Indigenous sovereignty is adjudicated by Canadian courts and offered recognition by the Canadian state, rendering it of a lesser order than the state-based sovereignty that is recognized and authorized internationally.

Politics of reconciliation first arose as a response to conflict resolution in societies undergoing formal transitions from authoritarian regimes to more democratic organization, such as that in South Africa. However, transitional justice movements of this kind take on a different meaning and intention when applied in sites like Canada that are not undergoing this kind of transition (Coulthard, 2014). In such cases, “state-sanctioned approaches to reconciliation tend to ideologically fabricate such a transition by narrowly situating the abuses of settler colonialism firmly *in the past*” (Coulthard, 2014, 22). The depiction of discriminatory policies and practices as in the past permeates reconciliation discourses in Canada, echoing through calls for the acknowledgement of ‘historical injustices’ and for ‘teaching the truth of history’. In such situations, processes of reconciliation – acknowledgement and apology – are made for *past* actions, leaving ongoing colonial practices in place. This is very much the case in Canadian reconciliation discourse, which has also been exemplified through an examination of curricular

inclusions for reconciliation in the previous chapters. In the Canadian context, reconciliation discourse centers on the residential school system – a comfortable example from a settler colonial perspective of an assimilationist policy that is indeed in the past as the last of these institutions has closed – and restricts situating the residential school system within the much wider policy agenda of assimilation and exclusion that continues to shape Indigenous-settler relations. In schools, students learn about the mistakes made by previous administrations, while leaving contemporary policy safe from analysis. An example of contemporary policy that pursues a similar colonial agenda is the child welfare system that continues to remove Indigenous children from their families at alarming rates (Bennett and Blackstock, 2002)

#MyReconciliationIncludes

The following description of a social media phenomenon shines a light on concerns that might go unexamined in the mainstream discourse surrounding the new curriculum and unincorporated into curricular content. In the days leading up to the final event of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in late May, 2015, and the release of the TRC's final report, the hashtag #MyReconciliationIncludes erupted on Twitter. CBC News reported that Christi Belcourt, a celebrated Michif (Metis) visual artist and author, started the hashtag with a tweet that read: *#MyReconciliationIncludes acknowledgement of the attempted "genocide" of Indigenous Peoples. Starvation policies were more than "cultural."* The hashtag quickly took off and contributed to a collective platform for public expression that revealed how reconciliation was being imagined outside the mainstream public discourse. Belcourt soon tweeted several more comments using her hashtag,

including: *#MyReconciliationIncludes an end to the phrase ‘Canada’s Native people’ and the understanding that we are sovereign Nations.*

Soon hundreds of people were using the *#MyReconciliationIncludes* hashtag to contribute their hopes and concerns about reconciliation in Canada.¹² Trendsmap Canada tweeted that *#MyReconciliationIncludes* was trending upwards on Twitter before the end of the day May 29, 2015, reflecting the widespread participation of users in this online discourse. Many of these tweets raise concerns about depictions of colonialism as an aspect of the past: *#MyReconciliationIncludes changes to settler education. All Canadians need to know about past and present forms of colonization; #MyReconciliationIncludes recognizing that an apology is not enough; that “sorry” does not address ongoing violence and dispossession; of colonial policies beyond residential schooling that are not included in the new curriculum: #MyReconciliationIncludes the return of all the land taken for farmland in Treaty 3 & all fisheries immediately turned over to the Anishnaabeg; #MyReconciliationIncludes a different form of governance for Canada, where Indigenous Nations lead and have veto over development; of an education related to treaty obligations that is not included in the new curriculum: #MyReconciliationIncludes acceptance of treaty obligations by every settler and immigrant; #MyReconciliationIncludes a treaty card for every settler and immigrant to remind them of their treaty obligations; #MyReconciliationIncludes K-12 education imbued with the Spirit and intent of Treaty;* and some that express concern about the

¹² The examples offered here are only a few of those tweeted on May 29, 2015. There are thousands of tweets that use the *MyReconciliationIncludes* hashtag between May 29, 2015 and November 3, 2016.

liberal mechanisms of reconciliation: *#MyReconciliationIncludes not equating reconciliation with shutting up & toning down my rage in order to make white people feel better; #MyReconciliationIncludes not thinking that reconciliation has an end.* These public expressions reveal the limitations of reconciliation when imagined as attending to only past injustices, or when it is assumed that liberal mechanisms are adequate for mediating Indigenous-Canadian relations, as well as the great gulf that exists between official or popular mainstream conceptualization of Canadian-Indigenous relations in the era of reconciliation and non-dominant, Indigenous conceptualizations. If the competing articulations offered in these Twitter statements and the mainstream views offered in the media don't agree on the nature of the problem that reconciliation aims to address, it is unlikely that they will reach mutually satisfactory solutions.

Reconciliation and the B.C Ministry of Education

Reading around the new B.C. draft curriculum including supporting documents, position papers, and references, I was guided by Donald's (2013) suggestion that we look to the role and use of language related to *the bringing in* of Indigenous and non-dominant cultural knowledge and histories. An almost taken-for-granted aspect of a curriculum for reconciliation is the *bringing in* of previously excluded and marginalized perspectives, but Donald draws our attention to notice what the words used in the discourse around curricular imperatives tell us about the relationship between the landscape of Canadian schooling and non-dominant cultural knowledge and what he calls specific spatialized language. Donald (2013) argues that the language used in discourses concerned with bringing Indigenous knowledge into the Canadian classroom has much to

tell us about Indigenous-Canadian relations. As examples, Donald offers an etymological analysis “of the two main words used...*incorporate* and *infuse*, as in ‘it is important to incorporate Aboriginal perspectives into the unit on ecology’”, and offers the following etymologies:

incorporate (v.) late 14th c., “to put (something) into the body or substance of (something else),” from Late Latin *incorporatus*, past participle of *incorporare* “unite into one body,” from Latin *in-* “into, in, on, upon, (see *in-* + *corpus* (genitive *corporis*) “body.”

infuse (v). early 15c., "to pour in, introduce, soak," from Latin *infusus*, past participle of *infundere* "to pour into," from *in-* "in" (see *in-* + *fundere* "pour, spread." Figurative sense of "instill, inspire" first recorded 1520s (Donald, 2013).

Donald (2013) notes that both words are verbs – action words – that indicate the process of absorbing a smaller or less powerful element into a larger or more substantial body. This discursive process produces a normative objective to absorb something smaller or less substantial into something bigger and more robust without attending to how the less powerful element will be sustained once brought in. This analysis highlights a central problematic in efforts to attend to Indigenous curricular concerns; that is, how to bring in Indigenous knowledges and histories in ways that are not merely additive to Canadian narratives and the Western traditions from which they derive, and that are also able to withstand erasure as incorporated elements of a new national narrative. Donald offers these examples to posit that the language used in this discourse is revealing of a national narrative constructed through colonial frontier logic based on a national myth in which

settlers in Canada braved hostile conditions, weather and natives, fortifying themselves and the British civility they brought with them behind impenetrable walls (Donald, 2009). The myth of settler survivalism is and has been monumentalized through the restoration and celebration of forts, and the ubiquitous use of fort as a place name throughout the country. Donald (2009) offers that in the contemporary context of attending to the inequity of Indigenous-Canadian relations, the conversation is framed in terms that are reproductive of the inside/outside of the metaphorical fort, in which the contemporary settler, having established and fortified the walls of the bastion, now welcomes the disarmed and therefore less threatening Indigene to come in. This example also reveals how matters of culture can be accommodated without making the settler uncomfortable, while economic and political matters cannot.

There is much attention being paid in both educational policy documents and the media of the importance of moving beyond the add-and-stir approach to Indigenous issues in provincial curricula to approaches that weave Indigenous issues throughout curricula. Left under-examined so far is what is meant by intentions to *weave through*, how this differs from previous approaches, and whether or not it can be accomplished without assimilation. While it might be logical to assume that the curricular content being added to will change as a result of the addition, what is less clear is whether the existing curriculum will be altered in ways that are able to make explicit the production of normative power relations and decenter the privilege of normative priorities and values. If additive, the process runs the risk of Indigenous erasure and the indigenizing of settler society. As was examined in chapter three, the indigenizing of settler society refers to

how settler colonial societies seek to remove Indigenous peoples and nations from the land and replace them as the native inhabitants, adorned with appropriated Indigenous accouterments (Baloy, 2016). Reading policy documents related to the new curriculum I paid special attention to mentions of reconciliation and inclusivity to see how well the documents support the claim that Indigenous perspectives have been incorporated, as well as the language used to attend to the inclusions.

Aboriginal Education

The *Aboriginal Education* document in B.C.'s new curriculum offers a rationale for improving the way in which Indigenous people, perspectives, histories and concerns are presented in B.C. classrooms. Historically, Indigenous peoples were largely omitted from curricula, or included in ways that were racist and discriminatory. The *Aboriginal Education* document notes that even while curricular reforms over the last decades have brought improvements and there are more classroom resources that include more references to Indigenous people, "resources began to include some information *about* Aboriginal people but not how Aboriginal perspectives and understandings help us to learn about the world and how they have contributed to a stronger society."

This document uses the term *embed* three times: "the province is attempting to embed Aboriginal perspectives into all parts of the curriculum in a meaningful and authentic manner"; "As curriculum content embeds Aboriginal knowledge and worldviews, how students will be assessed will naturally include the same understandings and knowledge"; "Teams put great effort into embedding Aboriginal knowledge and worldviews in authentic and meaningful ways." The term *include* is used twice: "looking

to include Aboriginal expertise as all levels”; and, “There is a large body of research that supports the inclusion of Aboriginal content for all students.” The term *integrate* is used four times: “An important goal in integrating Aboriginal perspectives into curricula is to ensure that all learners have opportunities to understand their own cultural heritage as well as that of others”; “Over the past decade, curriculum has integrated Aboriginal content into courses and grade levels”; “This means that from Kindergarten to graduation, students will experience Aboriginal perspectives and understandings as an integrated part of what they are learning”; “There are also Royal Commission recommendations as well as provincial, national, and international agreements that set the foundation for the integration of Aboriginal perspectives in the education transformation.” The *Aboriginal Education* document suggests readers “See curriculum guidelines and design principles in *Enabling Innovation: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment and Exploring Curriculum Design*,” so I turned next to these two documents.

Enabling Innovation: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment

While referred to this document from the *Aboriginal Education* document, the first mention of Indigenous peoples or concerns comes on the fourth page in a list of “issues that need consideration as curriculum decisions are made.”

First Peoples: Curriculum writers need to consider the First Peoples principles of learning. The Ministry needs to ensure that First Nations ways of knowing are respected in all curriculum areas.

The only other mention of Indigenous people or perspectives in this document is in a list of actions underway, which asks “how best to further incorporate Indigenous knowledge and perspectives in curriculum and assessment.”

Exploring Curriculum Design: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment

The *Exploring Curriculum Design* (Province of British Columbia, 2013b) document begins with the following introduction:

This document describes the progress to date of B.C.’s curriculum transformation and outlines the next steps. It builds on the information presented in *Enabling Innovation: Transforming Curriculum and Assessment*. The document is intended to encourage dialogue and discussion about student learning in British Columbia. Your feedback is invited.

The document uses the term *integrate* three times: “Integrate Aboriginal worldviews and knowledge”; “The integration of Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge in the curriculum serves as an important step to begin to address misunderstanding of Aboriginal cultures”; and “Integrate Aboriginal worldviews and knowledge.” The term *inclusion* is used once: “The inclusion of Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge specifically in the Guiding Principles for New Curriculum is based on the understanding that Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge are a part of the historical and contemporary foundation of B.C. and Canada.” And the term *embedded* is used once: “The group agreed that the First People’s Principles of Learning should be embedded throughout the Arts Education curriculum and consideration should be given to media arts as a separate area within Arts Education.”

B.C.'s Education Plan: Focus on Learning January 2015 Update:

The *B.C.'s Education Plan* (Province of British Columbia, 2015b) document makes no mention of Indigenous peoples, perspectives or related curricular concerns, or those of racialized minorities.

First Peoples Principles of Learning

There is a section on the Ministry of Education website called *Aboriginal Education*. The home page details the ministry's approach to Indigenous education, including funding details for the K-12 system (63.9 million for 2014-15 school year) and a link to a funding policy document that details spending. This funding is earmarked for Indigenous students, to support their academic achievement. The home page also links to an Aboriginal Education Resources page and the First Peoples Principles of Learning. The *First Peoples Principles of Learning* document was developed by the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC), and the introduction reads: "The First Peoples Principles of Learning are affirmed within First Peoples communities and are being reflected in the development of all K-12 curriculum and assessment. First identified in relation to English 12 First Peoples, the First Peoples Principles of Learning generally reflect First Peoples pedagogy. The term "First Peoples" includes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples in Canada, as well as indigenous peoples around the world." The First Peoples Principles of Learning are introduced as "First identified in relation to English 12 First Peoples, the following First Peoples Principles of Learning generally reflect First Peoples pedagogy." The document concludes with, "Because these principles of learning represent an attempt to identify common elements in the varied teaching and learning

approaches that prevail within particular First Peoples societies, it must be recognized that they do not capture the full reality of the approach used in any single First Peoples society.”

In this chapter I have elaborated how reconciliation is being imagined in public discourse and how these processes are impacting educational reform in B.C. From this examination, several central themes emerge for further analysis. These include: the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives and history as part of the promotion of liberal values of diversity; the congruency of cultural inclusions and silencing of economic and political challenges; the delimiting of examinations of colonization to the past, generally, and to the system of residential schooling, specifically; the role of history education – both past and present – in the production of national myths and their impact on the production of subjectivities; and, the role of education in the production of stereotypes and racism. I will revisit these themes in my concluding chapter, bringing them into dialogue with the themes that have emerged from my examination of the new B.C. curriculum in the previous chapters, in which I have analyzed how mainstream education is making space for and incorporating marginalized knowledges and perspectives, and how curricular inclusions that intend to contribute toward reconciliation are impacting the production of national values.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

This dissertation is animated by an interest in the relationship between schooling and national identity formation. In particular, I am interested in how national values as they show up in schooling reflect particular national narratives. The new curriculum in B.C. is part of a wider discourse that claims to attend to historic injustices and their legacies and contribute toward reconciliation in Canada. In contemporary Canada, national politics have shifted from an era of explicit assimilation, to one of cultural recognition, and, most recently, toward an era of reconciliation (Coulthard, 2014). Mainstream discourses surrounding these politics suggest that this most recent era of reconciliation signifies a transformative shift away from cultural hegemony, toward an era of cultural plurality and inclusivity, while others argue that this shift is no more than the latest phase of liberal assimilation. This chapter offers an analysis of the new curriculum set in the context of an era of reconciliation in Canada. I examine how national values are being produced, and how these values are consistent with or challenging to long-standing dominant national narratives predicated on European cultural hegemony.

Throughout this dissertation, I have examined how reconciliation is being thought through the logic of liberalism, with particular limitations, and the consequences of these limitations on curricular inclusions. Imagined through a liberal lens,

reconciliation is framed in terms congruent with rights and recognition. This imagining has given rise to a vocabulary with which to talk about the colonial past that is compatible with discourses of recognition, inclusion and diversity, and non-threatening to the Canadian liberal identity or the Canadian state. This new vocabulary is comfortable for dominant culture, presenting colonial injustices as in the past and comfortably atoned for through the politics of reconciliation. Reconciliation of this kind doesn't disrupt the nation-state, or problematize on whose land it is supposed to occur. From critical indigenous theorists, we hear calls for radical nationalism (Alfred, 1999; Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Simpson, 2014; Coulthard, 2017) and confrontation to colonial authority, but these calls are sidelined from and silenced in the mainstream imagining of the era of reconciliation. Attending to this silencing is critical for thinking through what is included in the imagining of reconciliation, and what is excluded. Liberal reconciliation accommodates cultural diversity and identity, making space for markers of cultural belonging and expression, on terms that are commensurable with cultural pluralism. The limits of liberal reconciliation reinforce colonial structures and systems, with consequences for the ability of state-based education to respond to decolonization. Simpson (2014) cautions against assuming, or believing that the colonial project is complete – and indeed, through value-building processes evident in curricula it is clear how state-based national identity is in a continuous state of production/reproduction.

My research reveals what seems to be a legitimate effort on the part of curriculum developers to include Indigenous perspectives and histories. There certainly are more inclusions of this kind than in earlier curricula, and the character of these

inclusions reflects increased acknowledgment of discrimination and oppression in settler-Indigenous relations. In addition, the inclusions aim to incorporate Indigenous perspectives and knowledges, which has the potential to shift the character of inclusion from a deficit model that exacerbates negative stereotypes to a more inclusive and empowering model. These improvements are also evidenced in the Ministry of Education's collaboration with the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC), and through support for the development of Indigenous-authored resource guides and lesson plans, as well as in the flexibility offered to teachers and schools in the new curriculum to tailor learning areas and teaching opportunities to meet the unique needs of student groups. These collaborations further include goals set by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and therefore contribute to wider goals for education in reconciling past injustice. What remains are questions about whether or not these inclusions are disruptive to, or reinforcing of prevailing national narratives. In the discussion that follows, I will consider these questions in more detail.

Affirmative vs Transformative Change

At times during this research I've been frustrated by the sense that I am repeating familiar observations, those that recognize that Canada is a liberal, settler colonial state; that politics of multiculturalism are assimilationist and exclusionary; that public school curricula are reproductive of dominant culture values. Yet, in my university teaching practice I am just as often reminded of the vast disparities in perspectives and attitudes toward diversity, equity and colonization in Canada. Encounters with pre-service teachers are both encouraging and disheartening, as some are critically aware of

these issues and take seriously their roles as educators in furthering transformative remedies to injustice, and others, many others, are comfortable with the status quo, comfortable celebrating the diversity of Canada's cultures, and comfortable with their privilege (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005). These differences in teacher attitudes could be compounded by the so-called flexibility of the new curriculum that is scaled down to such a degree that teachers have significant control over the issues that are presented and the manner in which they are examined. As my research has shown, other than the mandated instruction on residential schooling in grades 5 and 10, the curriculum is flexible enough for teachers to develop courses that largely skip uncomfortable subject areas, or, even more significantly, the curriculum supports the examination of colonial policies as of the past, with legacies that are reconcilable through the liberal mechanisms of the state, which combine to facilitate uncritical engagements with such issues. With these ideological commitments, the role of schooling in securing dominant culture values is perpetuated even amidst a lot of talk about the potential for change in the new curriculum. There are two ways of assessing this risk: one would suggest that change for social justice is slow and incremental, and would consider the new curriculum an important step in increasing Canadian education about our colonial past and its consequences; the other would argue that social justice relies on the liberal values and mechanisms of the state and that the impact of such inclusions are therefore limited to affirmative change, and limit the potential for meaningful transformative change. Rather than incremental social justice or change that brings about a restructuring of relations including the hegemony of the state, it is possible to assess

both actions as meaningful, though for different purposes. At stake in the conversation between affirmative and transformative change is the risk of mistaking one for the other. While affirmative inclusions can and do increase equity, and often improve student outcomes, they are not restructuring of the causes of inequity. Without incorporating a critical analysis of social power relations, affirmative educational initiatives participate in the silencing of calls for transformative change. Critical diversity and Indigenous theorists urge caution around social justice movements that are not explicit about their theories of change. Too often social justice movements take up one aspect of inequity and seek to remedy it without assessing how the conditions in which it occurs produce unequal relations of power and privilege. Whereas liberal and pluralist approaches to diversity seek to reconcile inequity through increased opportunity and cultural empowerment, they stop short of challenging the systemic causes of oppression (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2009). To elaborate this concern, and to highlight the importance of recognizing the multiple and varied locations of colonialism, theorists draw attention to the preoccupations of educational research that benefits from deficit model narratives, such as the so-called achievement gap and attempts to remedy it through increased educational opportunities, without accounting for or remedying the social and economic conditions that produce unequal academic outcomes in the first place.

The prerogative and professionalism of teachers implementing the new curriculum is of critical significance. In addition to challenges posed by a high degree of teacher choice and flexibility in the curriculum, there are indications that teachers are underprepared to teach contentious issues. Few teachers have much education in or

previous exposure to issues related to racially discriminatory and colonial policy agendas in Canada (Bissell & Korteweg, 2016). Products of earlier eras of Canadian public schools themselves, few teachers received much education in the policies and practices related to residential schools, much less their role in Canada's wider colonial agenda during their own schooling (Godlewska, Moore & Bednasek, 2017). While some secondary Social Studies teachers could be specialists, many others will not have examined Canadian colonialism in depth during their undergraduate education. Yet the new curricular inclusions related to residential schooling and its legacy, most of which are listed in point form, assume a high degree of teacher knowledge in subject areas historically omitted from K-12 schooling and routinely left out of teacher education programs. For example, suggested topics of study in grades 8-10 include: *impact of the Indian Act, including reservations and the residential school system; interactions between Europeans and First Peoples; Manifest Destiny in the US; What were the motivations for imperialism and colonialism during this period? What role does imperialism and colonialism from this period have on events in present-day Canada and around the world?*—leaving me to wonder how teachers are expected to prepare themselves to teach this material.

While there are now some excellent, Indigenous-authored teaching resources, produced by FNEESC, available on topics related to residential schooling, teacher preparation remains limited. In June 2015, the B.C. Ministry of Education announced that one of six professional development days taken by B.C. teachers will be dedicated to Indigenous education, revealing both how little professional development time is allocated to teachers generally, and how little time will be allocated to the complex issues

of colonialism in Canada. It seems, in addition to learning the history and legacy of residential schooling, in order to develop the critical perspectives necessary to teach these issues adequately many teachers would also benefit from professional development that encourages critical self-reflection and an examination of settler and white privilege in Canada and the role of schooling in perpetuating this privilege. The same is true for issues related to racially discriminatory immigration policies. In consultation with Chinese Canadian communities across B.C., resources have been developed for use in grades 5 and 10 for the Ministry of International Trade and Minister Responsible for Asia Pacific Strategy and Multiculturalism, by Open School B.C., Ministry of Education (Province of British Columbia, 2015a). These resources, called *Bamboo Shoots*, acknowledge the contributions of Chinese Canadians and the historical injustices they faced. While these resources make a profound addition to the educational opportunities available to teachers, it is worthwhile to note that they are supplemental to the curriculum.

The flexibility of the new curriculum, and its adaptability to a wide variety of educational settings means that students in B.C. will encounter a multitude of educational possibilities and perspectives, depending on where they go to school and to what teacher they are assigned. Coupled with the diversity of teacher attitudes and aptitudes, student experience of the new curriculum will vary widely. While inclusions related to historical injustice are still somewhat new to the B.C. curriculum, it seems to follow that they will be best implemented when complemented by similar inclusions in both content and pedagogical method in teacher preparation programs. While many

faculties of education across Canada are expanding to include Indigenous Education departments, these departments alone cannot and should not be responsible for decolonizing Canadian education. In order to decenter hegemonic perspectives and narratives, adequate inclusion of Canadian colonial policy and examination of Canada's settler colonial condition needs to be integrated across the program curricula of teacher candidates for a comprehensive analysis.

Settler Colonial Productions of National Identity

Settler colonial theory is helpful for understanding countries like Canada, in which the colonizer has come to stay. While settler colonial theory is limited in that it re-centers settler subjectivity and settler norms, it also provides a useful framework for thinking through how settler colonial states like Canada produce different subjectivities: Canadian, Aboriginal, immigrant, refugee, etc. through liberal politics of recognition, and their consequences. In the new curriculum, Canadian national identity is produced through inclusions that focus on the fluidity of modern Canadian nationalism. The curriculum encourages students to consider, for example, - *How immigration and the arrival of new groups to Canada influence Canadian identity* – and – *How Canadian identity has changed over the last 100 years*. These inclusions offer tacit recognition of how Canada's now multicultural national identity was not always so. The curriculum moves away from the strict European nationalism of the imperial era by asking if – *There even is a Canadian identity*. This question suggests, rather than a single Canadian identity, there might be a plurality of Canadian identities, informed through particular cultural and community memberships, and brought together through the commonality of Canadian

multiculturalism. In this presentation, the specificities of Canadian national identity are framed as less important – and therefore requiring of less rationalization – and the generality of liberal multiculturalism is prioritized. The new curriculum demonstrates the ease with which Canadian national identity can absorb diversity and dissent. Constructing national identity as a fluid and ever-developing concept, curricular inclusions point to the impacts of immigration on Canadian identity, and to events that have influenced identity, e.g. – *What events, values, worldviews, actions have influenced Canadian identity?* – Yet, throughout, the curriculum reaffirms the centrality of the modern Canadian nation state, which has consequences for the possibilities of reconciliation. While reconciliation can be a powerful force for positive change, it is not clear that substantive change is possible without reconsidering the centrality of statist power.

Critical race and Indigenous theorists point to the tendency for curricula – even with some cultural inclusions – to fail to integrate an analysis of countries like Canada as settler colonial states. In the new grade 10 Social Studies curriculum there is a subject area titled *Racism*. The suggested topics include – *Immigration policy and restrictions or exclusions for specific groups (e.g., Jewish and Roma); Chinese Exclusion Act; WWII internment of Japanese Canadians, Italians; Indian Act, residential schools, voting rights for First Peoples, reserves and pass system, Sixties Scoop, foster care, and the White Paper; destruction of Africville* – Grouping together all these instances of racism might make sense from the perspective of offering teachers an array of appropriate topics to teach within the general category of racism, but the failure to distinguish between these very different productions of race and performances of discriminatory racialization leaves

out an analysis of settler colonialism in Canada, as well as an analysis of the relationship between racialized immigration policies and settler colonialism.

Indigenous people and nations have long refused Canadian politics of multiculturalism, resisting minority status in a European majority nation-state and asserted instead their pre-existing and distinct statuses as sovereign Indigenous nations (Grande, 2004; St. Denis, 2011). The grouping together of colonial policies of assimilation and exclusion and racist historical immigration policies attempts to reduce colonialism and racism to a singular issue. While Canadian colonial policy was and is racist, it also has a specifically colonial character. In addition to being racially discriminatory, the Canadian settler colonial agenda was and is predicated on the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands, the erasure of Indigenous identity, and the replacement of Indigenous societies with colonial Canadian society, which distinguishes it from discriminatory policies directed at racialized groups that immigrate to Canada.

Also absent from the curricular inclusions related to race is any mention of whiteness. That the study of racism most often involves “pathologizing those most directly affected by racism – namely non-Whites – rather than the perpetrators of racism – namely Whites” is well researched (Lund & Carr, 2010, 229). The absence of an examination of whiteness produces what Lund and Carr (2010) refer to as “the privilege to avoid acknowledging Whiteness within a White-dominated society [which] serves to alienate the racialized other even further” (230). If the rationale for these inclusions of Canada’s racist and discriminatory treatment of non-whites is to increase pluralism and enhance Canadian diversity, then the same inclusions need to examine the production

and privilege of whiteness to avoid further racialization and alienation of the non-white Other. Through this lens, the list of suggested topics under the subject area of *Racism* becomes even more problematic. In addition to lumping Canadian-Indigenous relations and colonial policies in with instances of racist immigration policies, the suggested topics also conflate instances of discrimination against groups that were historically racialized and have since been largely incorporated into notions of Canadian whiteness – Jewish, Roma, and Italian – with groups both historically and contemporarily racialized – Chinese- Japanese- and African- Canadian. The simultaneous erasure and production of whiteness as the non-racial norm in the new curriculum is reinforced with all discussion of race, ethnicity, and culture referring to non-white people and groups. Categorizing whiteness as the (non)racial norm and European as the ethnic norm, Canada is reproduced as a white, European nation of immigrants.

While the fluidity of whiteness as a socially constructed concept is not taken up in the new curriculum, the fluidity of Canadian national identity is, which works to de-racialize nationalism while confirming whiteness as the non-racialized norm against which racialism is determined. Following the curricular subject area dealing with racism is a subject area titled *Responses*. The suggested topics included as responses to racism include some political movements organized against the state and colonialism, including *the Indian Brotherhood, the Oka Crisis, Idle No More, and Shannon's Dream, and the Red Paper*. The other suggested topics for responses to racism in the same list include state-based and international responses to racist discrimination – *human rights tribunals, Bill of Rights and Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Supreme Court cases and changes*

to legislation, international declarations, anti-racism education and actions, protest and advocacy movements – making for an awkward grouping of issues, many of which could be considered alongside other instances of racism, rather than responses to racism. Clustering together instances of Indigenous political resistance to the state with state-based responses to political resistance implies that Indigenous and statist actors have perspectives and goals in common.

As suggested by mainstream multicultural education theories, the new curriculum attempts to increase inclusivity with the increased inclusion of non-dominant cultural content. In the case of B.C., previously marginalized perspectives and histories specifically include those of Indigenous peoples and Asian and South Asian groups. Multicultural education research shows that cultural inclusions of this kind improve inclusivity and educational outcomes for students from non-dominant culture groups. However, multicultural education theorists also argue that in order to disrupt unequal relations, such curricular inclusions also need to include an analysis of historical sources of institutionalized racism (Lund, 2012). While the new curriculum does include some historical sources of institutionalized racism – namely the residential school system, the Chinese head tax, Japanese interment, and the refusal of South Asian British subjects seeking immigration – it does not include an analysis of how these historical events are related to contemporary institutionalized racism. In fact, the new curriculum stops short of teaching about institutional racism, and instead asks students to consider – *Whether or not systemic racism continues to pervade Canadian society* – and does not offer questions that encourage an analysis of the manifestations of contemporary colonialism.

Modernity, Progress and Liberal Mechanisms

Unlike previous eras in which Canadian nationalism was affirmed through its origins in British imperialism, contemporary depictions of Canada are heavily focused on modern liberalism. Throughout the new curriculum Canada is presented as a modern liberal state, an identity that is emphasized through inclusions that focus on Canada's membership and participation in the international state system, e.g., – *Should the government of Canada use the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as a framework in Canada?* There are numerous inclusions in the new curriculum grades 8-10 that produce Canada as a pluralist nation-state that has learned from the mistakes of the past, and will continue to improve over time, with the use of liberal instruments, e.g. *In what ways have Canada's immigration and refugee policies in the past 100 years changed? – How successful has Canada's bilingual policy been and to what extent is it still necessary? – What aspects of the Canadian government's relationship with First Peoples regarding treaty and land use processes have changed or stayed the same during this period?*

With its inclusions related to Canada's colonial past, the curriculum suggests not only that discriminations against racialized minority groups are in the past, but further suggests that such discriminations would not be possible now, under the conditions produced by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The curriculum asks: *How might specific examples of past incidents of inequality (e.g., head tax on Chinese, internment of*

Japanese, residential schools, suffrage, discriminatory federal government labour practices related to gender and sexual orientation) be handled today under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms? – suggesting that the modern era is itself the solution to pre-modern racist discrimination, seeking to further the imagined ideological distinction between past and present.

There is evidence of reliance on the logic of progress and development, manifested in modern liberal mechanisms, throughout the new curriculum. In almost every instance of inclusion of past discriminatory policies against racialized minorities or Indigenous peoples, inclusions that encourage students to consider injustices of the past are followed by sample questions that encourage them to see liberal mechanisms as solutions, with an emphasis on international norms – e.g., *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms – To what extent has Canada’s multicultural policy been successfully implemented?* – The suggestion that post-1982 Canada is not capable of inequality further encourages students to see racism and discrimination as of the past and the liberal mechanisms as both the arbiter and protectors of rights.

Settler Colonial Moves Towards Innocence

In the revised B.C. curriculum document and the surrounding discourse there is evidence of what Tuck and Yang (2012) call settler moves towards innocence, which refer to both rhetoric and practice that attempt to reduce or remove settler responsibility for inequities and disadvantages experienced by Indigenous peoples resulting from colonization. Moves towards innocence may attempt to naturalize events or conditions to avoid responsibility, or may attribute responsibility to Indigenous peoples themselves

(Tuck & Yang, 2012). Avoiding responsibility for the impacts of colonialism and ongoing dispossession and oppression of Indigenous peoples, settler colonialism and liberal modernity reinforce the tendency to avoid analysis of systemic causes of inequity and instead attribute blame to individuals and groups that continue to experience the negative effects of colonialism and ongoing structural inequality. In the case of the new B.C. curriculum, the situation has some degree of complexity. On the face of it, many of the new curricular inclusions are intended to improve the knowledge of Indigenous and non-Indigenous students about the history and legacy of the residential school system, and this goal is supported by official government statements that repeat the importance of teaching what is referred to as ‘the truth of history’, and accurately attribute responsibility for challenges faced by Indigenous people and communities to their generational experience with residential schooling and its lasting legacy (Meissner, 2015). Viewed in this favourable light, curricular and discursive goals such as these appear to take responsibility for the impacts of colonialism and emphasize settler responsibility for the inter-generational trauma experienced by Indigenous families and communities. However, with its scope somewhat limited to residential schooling and its legacy, settler responsibility stops short of acknowledging other historical and ongoing impacts of colonialism. In so doing, the same discursive and curricular inclusions that claim to take responsibility for the impacts of colonization also accomplish settler-Canadian moves towards innocence that reduce the visibility of political, economic and land based challenges.

As previously discussed in chapter seven, the most obvious move towards innocence is exemplified in the continuous framing of discriminatory events as policy errors of the past, mistakes made by previous governments, enabled by a previous Canadian society, from which contemporary government and society have emerged, having learned lessons and been made better. In every example, modern Canada and modern liberal mechanisms are produced as ideologically distinct from and superior to previous incarnations, which suggests that modernity is the solution for pre-modern racism, discrimination, and colonialism. For example, a settler move towards innocence suggests that past policy, such as that which supported Canada's system of residential schools, was a misguided effort to assimilate Indigenous children into settler society, and that contemporary Canadian government and society have seen the error of the ways of the past and taken responsibility for past wrongs. There are curricular inclusions that suggest exactly this. As evidence, the official rhetoric supports the work and recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and inclusion of the history and legacy of residential schools in curriculum. This move towards innocence appears to accept responsibility, but actually attributes responsibility to a bygone era and colonial regime, while producing modern Canada and its mechanisms as the solution.

Framing discriminatory, racist, and assimilative policies as errors of the past allows settler society to apologize for practices that have had undeniably negative consequences for Indigenous and racialized peoples, while also avoiding critical analysis of contemporary discriminatory policy and/or the ongoing legacies of past policies that remain unresolved. While focusing on the impacts of residential schooling, the associated

policies and practices are analyzed in abstraction from the much more complicated set of policies, perspectives and practices that combine to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands and settle the Canadian state in their place. Rather than a one-off policy mistake guided by a well-meaning attempt to enculturate Indigenous children into the fabric of Canada, residential schooling was one technique in a tool kit of assimilative practices designed to erase Indigenous communities, cultures, land rights and governments in the pursuit of the settler colonial state (Miller, 1996). Official apologies and governmental efforts to incorporate the so-called truth of history into curricula frame these apologies and inclusions themselves as evidence of contemporary justice and of modern Canada's cultural inclusivity, effectively delimiting the scope of the conversation and evading critique of the state more generally. The context of this wider colonial policy approach to Indigenous peoples is significant for the fact that while residential schools have now all been closed and the government can acknowledge them as they are safely *in the past*, assimilative efforts to evade Indigenous land rights, and self-determination are ongoing. The neat and tidy inclusion of residential schooling in curricula suggests that problems are solved, or solvable, while aggressive assimilative policy continues. Moreover, such aggressive, assimilative policy is much more characteristic of Canada (Coulthard, 2014) than it is a one-off mistake, and therefore the framing of such assimilative policy as of the past distorts the character of Canada as a settler state. In this way, students learn that Canada *was* a colonial state and that colonialism has lasting negative impacts, but Canada *as* a colonial state is not examined. Of the settler narrative, Schick (2014) says,

Even though Canada is open to all comers, the recognition of difference is limited to that which does not threaten white settler domination. Nostalgia about the land and the emotional stories of homesteading are familiar tropes for narrating the histories of settler Canadians on the prairies. The tales of heroism and progress link settlers to a particular topographical site, the tales further legitimizing their emotional, moral and cultural occupation. Romantic and heroic tales of the many challenges met and faced by homesteaders renders white settlers as innocent and removed from the effects of colonization experienced by aboriginal others, the creation of aboriginal stereotypes notwithstanding (93).

The distinction produced between national identity and Canadian multiculturalism secures Canada as a white space, one in which white Canadians welcome in the non-white Other through liberal practices and mechanisms. The curriculum works to further confirm the notion that the character of national identity can shift through time, becoming increasingly inclusive through the ages, all the while without disrupting the European/white norms against which culture – and race – are determined. As it defines the relationship between Indigenous peoples and European newcomers, so does settler colonialism define the relationships among and between European settlers, racialized ‘immigrant’ groups, and Indigenous peoples. In Canada, liberal discourses of multiculturalism, such as immigration and cultural pluralism, attempt to describe these relations as based on tolerance and inclusivity, but when considered through the lens of settler colonial theory, we see how these relationships are constructed in ways that produce superior and inferior subject positions, as settler society produces the

Indigenous or racialized Other in negative relation to settler narratives of progress and development. There is a tendency for Canadians – and this new curriculum – to refer to Indigenous peoples within the borders of Canada as “Canada’s Aboriginals”, “Canada’s First Peoples” or “Canada’s First Nations”, which reveals the degree to which contemporary conditions of colonialism are glossed by so-called progressive politics of recognition and reconciliation. It is precisely such banal expressions of colonial possession and paternalism that are reproductive of settler colonial mentalities of occupation and ownership over the so-called new world and its Indigenous inhabitants. Such notions are at the root of myths about Indigenous immaturity mobilized to justify European colonization, and legitimated through Christian narratives and European myths that conceive of nature as a wilderness to be conquered and civilized. Such notions are at odds with and will undermine the potency of efforts to incorporate content related to Indigenous land rights, self-determination and sovereignty into school curricula.

The Limits of Curricular Inclusions

The new curriculum demonstrates the ease with which Canadian national identity can absorb diversity and dissent when it is included in terms that are compatible with liberal assumptions and values. It is possible to suggest that the success of the new curriculum is its inclusion of previously excluded historical events that reveal the racist attitudes that pervaded Canada for the past 150 years, which is a significant, if affirmative change. As my research has shown, these inclusions – of singular historical events, detached from a historical analysis of imperialism or global power relations, and abstracted from contemporary and ongoing structural and systemic inequalities – are

entirely compatible with the tenets of liberal multiculturalism. Multiculturalism accommodates diversity expressed in cultural terms, that is, distinct from the economic or political. Political theorist Hannah Arendt elaborated what is at stake for groups who misidentify issues as being of culture when they actually have critical legal and political consequences. In Arendt's context, Jewish citizens of Germany in the 1930s mistook early expressions of anti-Semitism as a social issue, failing at first to see how their aggressors viewed them as a fundamentally political problem to be addressed through the legal suspension of their civil rights. By the time Jewish people recognized that their discrimination had disastrous political consequences, their legal avenues for recourse as citizens had already been removed. In what is now Canada, settler-Indigenous issues have always involved legal categories and political restrictions, yet, for the last half-century the state has attempted to reduce the saliency of political and legal contests through discourses of inclusivity, diversity, and cultural plurality, leaving political and legal restrictions intact. The inclusion of social and cultural issues and exclusion of political and economic issues in the new curriculum further illuminates the kind of issues that are congruent with Canadian liberalism, and therefore included, and those that are not. On these terms then, the state and its institutions can welcome and celebrate cultural diversity while also refusing political and economic challenges. The new curriculum also reinforces the notion that historical injustices can be acknowledged and reconciled through liberal discourse and mechanisms, but alternative political and economic systems are less congruous. There are far fewer mentions of legal or economic challenges to the state in the new curriculum. Liberal political theory "allows for a

diversity of culture within a particular state by admitting the possibility of multiple national identifications,” but it is “less permissive with regard to polity and economy ... in assuming any subaltern group that is granted [recognition] will thereby acquire a subordinate articulation within a capitalist state” (Day (2001) in Coulthard, 2014, 35). Considered in this way we see how Canada is able to negotiate Indigenous rights as aspects of cultural plurality, while also refusing their sovereignty and self-determination (Wolfe, 1999; 2006). Cultural inclusions and recognitions are criticized for appearing to support Indigenous rights while actually reinforcing settler colonial hegemony (Neeganagwedgin, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

There are only six direct mentions of land in the data collected from the new draft curriculum. Of these, two are focused on treaties, e.g. – *What aspects of the Canadian government’s relationship with First Peoples regarding treaty and land use processes have changed or stayed the same during this period? – Impact of treaties on First Peoples (e.g., numbered treaties, Vancouver Island treaties)* – These inclusions provide almost no information or direction to teachers on how to take up treaty issues, make no connection between treaties and the reserve system that removed Indigenous communities from their lands and opened the country to settlement, and no clear distinction made between the numbered treaties of the prairie provinces and the much less formal or exhaustive so-called Douglas treaties of Vancouver Island. Further, there is no connection made between land issues, Indigenous dispossession, and legal challenges to the Canadian state. Indigenous political movements are included instead under the heading *First Peoples actions* which includes: *involvement in Meech Lake Accord, Oka Crisis,*

Gustafsen Lake, Ipperwash, Shannon's Dream (Attawapiskat), and Idle no more – or as *Responses to Racism* – in which they are listed alongside state-based legal action: *human rights tribunals, Bill of Rights and Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Supreme Court cases and changes to legislation, International declarations, anti-racism education and actions, protest and advocacy movements, Indian Brotherhood, Brown Paper and Red Paper, Oka Crisis, Idle No More, Shannon's Dream* – and make no explicit mention of colonial dispossession or land. It is also worth noting that there is no mention of or suggestion of critical examination of the role of treaties in the colonization of Canada, or of the failure of federal and provincial governments to honour treaty obligations. As was explored in the previous chapter about how reconciliation is being imagined in public discourse, several people who took to twitter to express what reconciliation means to them using the hashtag #Myreconciliationincluded identified treaty issues and obligations as central concerns. The new curricular inclusions related to treaties stop short of suggesting that as settlers all Canadians share in treaty obligations and how these obligations are centrally related to meaningful reconciliation. As a result, treaties are presented as historical documents, rather than contemporary agreements. These inclusions further exemplify how framing issues of colonization and discrimination as in the past make it more difficult to take up contemporary colonial practices.

Land is also referred to directly in two inclusions related to the Indian Act – *The Indian Act; Crown and federal government imposed governance structures on First Peoples communities (e.g., band councils); title, treaties, and land claims (e.g., Nisga'a Treaty, Haida Gwaii Strategic Land Use Decision, Tsilhqot'in decision)*. In this case, land

issues are included in a way that groups together evidence of progressive liberal solutions achieved through the instruments and judiciary of the state. The other three direct mentions of land are suggestive of ideological differences between European and Indigenous peoples: *Indigenous peoples' traditional organizational relationships within the community and to the land* (p. 3) and *Land and resources; conflicts with resource management and supply; conflicts with land use and ownership (e.g., Aboriginal title and consultation vs collaboration)* (p. 2) *What impact do political-economic ideologies have on human's relationship with land?* (p. 2). Each of these three inclusions frame European/Canadian and Indigenous attitudes toward land as ideologically different, rather than differently positioned with regard to colonial occupation. Such inclusions suggest Indigenous resistance to land development and resource distraction is premised on traditional land use and organization, rather than protesting of contemporary dispossession.

Implications and Conclusion

This final section discusses the implications of the data analyzed for this study, as well as how these analyses relate to the original research questions and areas for future research. Stated broadly, my research question asked: How is dominant nationalism produced in B.C.'s most recent curriculum, and in what ways is the character of Canadian nationalism produced in the new curriculum the same and different from national values produced through schooling during the founding colonial era? My research has shown that the B.C. Social Studies curricula for grades 8, 9, and 10 reproduce familiar national values identifiable in categories including: common identity and values; progress and

development; economic development; diversity and representations of the Other; and national histories and myths. When set against the values identified from the secondary historical data used to create these categories, contemporary values can be assessed as those of both continuity and change. Continuity in so far as they are mostly all easily placed in familiar categories, suggestive of the ongoing production of these particular themes within dominant nationalism, and change in so far as the specific values within these categories show the influence of more progressive forms of liberal cultural pluralism. Dominant nationalism is thus produced in the most recent curriculum through numerous curricular inclusions that allow students to learn what it means to be Canadian in the early twenty-first century. For example: *How has Canadian identity changed or stayed the same over the past 100 years?* – And – *Changing conceptions of identity in Canada*. Furthermore, students learn that limitations in Canadian pluralism reflect that liberalism's goals are not yet achieved, rather than that liberalism itself has limits, for example: *To what extent has Canada's multicultural policy been successfully implemented?* My two-fold central research question asked: How is reconciliation being imagined in the context of the new B.C. curriculum and surrounding discourse, and how does the inclusion of new content either alter or maintain the production of a dominant Canadian national identity? The data analyzed in this study reveals that reconciliation – as well as the nature of the problem reconciliation aims to address – is conceived of differently by different stakeholders. From a governmental perspective, reconciliation aims to account for specific past policies and practices that have been widely and officially acknowledged as being both colonial and discriminatory, key among them, the

residential school system of Canada. As my analysis has explained, the residential school system is a comfortable example for settler-Canadians because it is effectively in the past, a so-called mistake of a previous government, and one that can be apologized for without any impact to contemporary policy. Yet other stakeholders, particularly Indigenous peoples, conceive of reconciliation as involving more just and equitable relations between the Canadian state and Indigenous nations and dissolving colonial impositions. Such relations would involve shifting dominant notions of sovereignty to acknowledge the sovereignty of Indigenous nations, with implications for settler control over land and resources. Indigenous perspectives also emphasize the role of treaties and argue for all settler Canadians to know about and honour their treaty obligations. This research reveals the deep divide that exists between interpretations of reconciliation in Canada. While this goes on, educators in B.C. are implementing a new curriculum that purports to work toward reconciliation, even as its meaning remains elusive. And finally, considering how the inclusion of new content alters or maintains the production of a dominant Canadian national identity, my research and analysis have demonstrated how dominant national values can shift to accommodate more progressive liberal norms and increased cultural diversity while confirming the centrality and hegemony of the settler state.

There has been little research conducted on the condition of settler colonialism in schooling in North America. Most of what little literature there is comes from the United

States¹³, illuminating that similar issues exist in American schools and contributing useful theory and observation, but not helping us to better understand the condition in Canadian schools, the university programs that prepare teachers, or provincial ministries of education. Concerning theory, this research has contributed to a small but growing body of education literature that problematizes the condition of settler colonialism in Canada. Calderon (2014) noted the central role of Social Studies in the American settler colonial project, and this research offered in this dissertation helps to generalize her findings to Social Studies in North America. While this research has offered an analysis of the curriculum, its scope is limited in both subject area and grade level. Further study is needed to understand how values produced in other areas are reproductive of dominant values. Moreover, this study is limited to a document analysis. More study is needed to know how teachers are interpreting and implementing this curriculum in their classrooms, as well as its reception by student, from both dominant and non-dominant culture groups.

This research highlights the importance of teacher – and individual – education on issues related to settler colonialism in Canada. I think that the most effective way to shift the production of dominant national values produced through B.C. curricula would be to increase the course content on settler colonialism and white/settler privilege in both pre- and in-service teacher education programs. My research has shown how the most recent curriculum leaves much to the interpretation and discretion of teachers. Preparing

¹³ For an exception, see Carleton, S. (2011). Colonizing minds: Public education, the “Textbook Indian”, and settler colonialism in British Columbia, 1920-1970. *B.C. Studies*, 169, 101-130.

teachers with critical understandings of settler colonialism and privilege will impact how they read and teach the curricular content. If achieved, higher percentages of students will be exposed to such interpretations, thereby shifting dominant national values. As a result of this research I have come to understand that the most important barrier to equitable settler-Indigenous relations is settler self-denial. As long as settler Canadians are able to turn away from critical analyses of themselves and their settler colonial Canadian condition, attempts to remedy social inequity will be limited to those that rely on liberal mechanisms and re-center the Canadian state. Much is being said in Canada about nation-to-nation partnerships between the state and Indigenous nations, yet, to be meaningful, such partnerships must extend beyond cultural inclusions comfortable for settler society and allow a re-thinking of divisions of sovereignty and jurisdiction toward more just and equitable relations.

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