The Stories We Tell Ourselves:

Collective Memory and the Ontario Grade 10 History Curriculum

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Abstract

Collective memory, though fluid and evolving, plays a key role in strengthening a community's bonds and identity through a common past and values and shared commemorations. The tools and methods of reinforcing and transmitting a community's collective memory are varied and some are more obvious than others. One under-examined avenue of transmission and commemoration is the formal education system, and official curriculums in particular, despite their explicit role of teaching in a group setting. To better grasp this relationship, the portrayals of four military conflicts, WWII, the Korean War, and the October and Oka Crises, and the course's skills and goals were compared within three editions of the Ontario Grade 10 History curriculum and with public memory at the time each was issued. The connections revealed between curricular content and the wider public memory as well as changes to the community's overall collective memory support the role of the history curriculum as a means of transmission and commemoration and as a record of the community's collective memory at a specific point in time.

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Introduction

It is often lamented in the media and in general conversation that Canadians do not know enough about their own history. But unpacking that complaint is rarely easy or simple. Defining what is meant by 'history' is seldom straightforward. There are the facts and figures routinely relegated to history books, but there is also the everyday history that is remembered and commemorated by the general public which can draw from and follow the history books, but which can also diverge from them, omitting or exaggerating details. In either case, there is also the question of what is 'enough' when it comes to one's knowledge of history, and who gets to decide what events and details are important. A significant amount of people's historical knowledge comes informally from their environment, what is discussed in the media, in books and movies, sharing conversations and stories with others, and commemorative events like Remembrance Day. These historical remembrances and knowledge, maintained, refined, and passed on by members of a community, contribute to the collective memory of that community. However, there is also a formal aspect to the conveyance of historical knowledge, such as through schools and designated history classes. These components of the acquisition process are frequently seen as liable for a general lack of historical awareness or knowledge, often in conjunction with reminiscences that older courses were more comprehensive and effective. History courses do change over time, and not just because of the obvious new editions to 'history' as time passes. There are changes in what pre-existing material is included, different events and stories, and in how it is taught.

History content in the classroom is often guided by external materials, such as textbooks and approved curriculums. In Ontario, the later is developed and issued by the provincial

government to guide history classes across the province. A challenge arises, however, in establishing how an officially sanctioned outline and summary fits into the more organic collective memory. The curriculum could function as a basic reflection of the general public's accepted narratives, consolidating and formally and officially acknowledging what the public already remembers, believes and accepts as history and teaching that record to the younger generations. However, it could also be used as a method of influencing or altering the community's collective memory by introducing a new or adjusted narrative and promoting it as the proper or official version. Examining the changes in the portrayal of different events through the editions of the curriculum in contrast with changes in the representation of those same events within the broader collective memory yields insight into the dynamics of this relationship. It is fairly clear that the narrative presented within the Ontario high school history curriculum contributes to the transmission of an account of the community's collective memory that is intended to foster unity and a common identity. This thesis will argue, however, that the curriculum does not act as the initiating force for this account or for changes within it, and instead tends to echo and convey the narrative and history already accepted by and entrenched within the wider collective memory.

Conflicts

The military and the conflicts in which they participated, even before Canada formally came into being, form an integral part of Canadian history and identity and as such are important topics of inquiry within the study of Canadian history, memory, and identity. The use of such conflicts within this paper offers the additional benefit of facilitated identification and delineation with well established and known names and time frames. This paper will use World

War II [WWII], the Korean War, the October Crisis, and the Oka Crisis as examples of conflicts involving the the Canadian military. They represent both international and domestic conflicts and demonstrate a range of scales, from multiple years and global entanglement to a few months and a relatively small scope, and a variety of issues and outcomes. The selection of military conflicts was limited by the time period covered by the curriculum, beginning with WWI and ending with 1999, the year the first edition used was published. The conflicts chosen needed to have the potential to appear in every edition, so conflicts such as deployment to Afghanistan are covered in the 2013 edition, but they happened after the 1999 edition was printed.

Methodology

The primary texts examined are the 1999, 2005, and 2013 English editions of the Canadian and World Studies curriculum for Grade 9 and 10 in Ontario. The document contains the curriculums for the Grade 9 Geography course and the Grade 10 History and Civics courses. This curriculum is the document from which all Grade 10 history courses in Ontario are based, and is the common point for all classes regardless of the level of historical education or knowledge of the teacher. This paper will focus on a close reading of the Grade 10 History course, entitled Canadian History in the Twentieth Century in the 1999 edition and Canadian History since World War I in 2005 and 2013, with some material also drawn from the introductory material and glossary shared by the three courses.

The 1999 and 2005 editions are quite similar, both in content and in organization, with teaching points organized by theme. There was some expansion of the teaching and assessment guidelines in the 2005 edition as well as the addition of more examples within the course's teaching points, but the overall structure and content carried over through the revisions. A

significant change occurred with the 2013 edition with a pronounced expansion of the general and history specific introductions, particularly teaching and learning expectations. The organization of the history course also changed from being arranged thematically to first chronologically with secondary divisions by theme. The individual teaching points became generally broader with details and specification provided in the further expanded examples.

For this thesis, the editions will be compared based on the frequency and manner in which the four conflicts are addressed, including direct references to them, broader topics under which they could be mentioned, named individuals implicated in the conflicts, and the language used in those references. These portrayals and profiles will be compared with the general level and tone of public discourse and memory regarding the same conflicts in the years leading up to the release of each edition.

The references to and coverage of the four conflicts within the *Globe and Mail* newspaper are used as sample indicators of how the four chosen conflicts are treated and perceived within Canadian collective memory. It is a national newspaper (now in print and online) with a long history of reporting in Canada, is generally seen to be politically mostly in the centre and has an extensive accessible historical database. News coverage of each conflict was sourced for the three-year period leading to the release of each edition of the curriculum, 1997-1999 for the 1999 edition, 2003-2005 for the 2005 edition, and 2011-2013 for the 2013 edition. Since this paper focuses on a Canadian history course, the searches for WWII and the Korean War were also limited to include Canada or Canadian as a keyword. In addition to consideration of the basic quantity of results for each conflict, the resulting articles are examined for the aspects described of the conflicts, the context in which they are mentioned, the language

used, and the prominence of the conflict within the article and of the article itself overall.

The first chapter will focus on the concept of collective memory, especially its evolution and what effect it has on the community. Within that discussion, particular attention will be given to the role of schools and history curriculums in the development, maintenance, and transmission of a community's collective memory. Examination of the curriculum itself will begin in second chapter. Comparisons of the representations of WWII and the Korean War, between the curriculum and broader collective memory and between the different time periods, demonstrate the evolution in the specific aspects commemorated from a particular conflict, the ease of integration of certain elements into the collective and the challenges of others, and the role that past public responses, or lack thereof, to a conflict impact its place within current collective memory. The third chapter will continue with the other two conflicts, the October and Oka Crises, and comparisons across the time periods, as well as contrasting the two crises themselves, speak to the ways that the current environment can impact the memory of past events and that the remembered characteristics of events can differ within a community's collective memory and from the record. These two chapters will follow similar a similar pattern with an overview of the conflicts and some of their significance for Canada followed by an examination of the conflicts' profiles in public memory and a comparison of their presences in different editions of the curriculum concluding with a discussion of connections between the latter two. The final chapter will depart slightly from the previous two, since it continues with curricular content, but does not focus on specific conflicts. It will consider changes between the editions in the manner in which course material should be taught and the skills, rather than basic facts, that students are expected to learn, or more generally, how students and teachers are expected to engage with history and

memory beyond superficial memorization. Unlike the previous chapters, external sources for comparison with the curriculum content will come from more academic texts, since themes like learning styles and historical thinking are not often explicitly discussed in general public discussions of history and memory.

Terminology

Collective memory - the evolving ensemble of communal memories and history actively shared by a community and passed on to new and younger members, and which contributes to a sense of collective identity and unity

Course - the material to be covered within and the expectations for a subject to be taught within a particular timeframe, usually one semester

Curriculum - the physical document produced by the Ministry of Education outlining the expectations for students and teachers and the material to be covered in one or more courses

Example - most of the teaching points within the curriculum are supplemented with specific examples providing elaboration or direction for more general concepts

Sample Question - the 2013 edition has questions added following the examples in each teaching point suggesting ways that the material and concepts can be introduced and explored

Section - each strand within the editions of the curriculum is divided by theme

Strand - the overall history course is divided into segments, the 1999 and 2005 editions by theme and the 2013 edition by time frame

Teaching Point - specific topics to be taught as part of the course, arranged by theme within sections and strands

In examining the relationship between the Ontario high school history curriculum and the wider Canadian collective memory and how the former records and reflects the latter, this thesis seeks to demonstrate that changes in curricular content are a reaction to prevailing public attitudes and dialogues, rather than an attempt to guide or influence those conversations and perceptions. The role of official history curriculums with a community's collective memory and its processes is largely overlooked in academic literature, despite the curriculum contributing in several ways. Awareness of and a better understanding of the nature of this relationship could aid in understanding the broader function of official curriculums within the wider community, assist in predicting future changes to the curriculum, and establish editions of the history curriculum as snap shot of the collective memory of the community at the time.

Chapter 1 - Theory:

Collective Memory and Curriculum

One of the key factors contributing to the unity and identity of a community is a shared past. However, this common past is not sufficiently defined as the basic historical facts documented in some system of records, although documentation is a contributing element. This common historical thread interconnecting a community does not exist independently from the community itself. It is generated and transformed through the events and stories that the community collectively commemorates and imparts to new and younger members using various mediums and tools, including archives and documentation. One of the less examined mediums of commemorating and disseminating this collective memory is the formal education system and the pre-established curriculums that are used in the classroom. Beyond the anticipated transmission of expected information, which contributed to collective memory, schools and the curriculum can also convey values and aptitudes additionally factoring into collective memory. They further demonstrate the selective and evolutionary nature of collective memory and the potential for it to be manipulated.

Collective Memory

Coined by Maurice Halbwachs, collective memory refers to the process used by a particular social group to create meaning around significant events in the group's history and to interpret their past in within the context of their community (1992). Collective memory cannot exist independent of its group, which also provides the symbols used to convey and chronicle the memories (Zerubavel, 2011). The group is often the setting within which members interact with memories, acquiring, recalling, and delimiting their memories (Halbwachs, 1992). Within the

group, collective memory serves to situate the group and its members, both spatially and temporally, to help express who they are, where they have come from, and why their world is the way it is (Davis, 1995; Granatstein, 1998). The remembrance of past successes and failures and the knowledge, values, traditions, and ideas resulting from them contribute to this insight (Granatstein, 1998). Additionally, when an event is commemorated, it is rarely simply that event in isolation that is truly being remembered, but more often a series of events and interactions preceding and following the focal event which also contribute to the significance attributed to that event (Duckworth, 2015).

As the name suggests, engaging with collective memory is not an individual pursuit. Olick and Kansteiner each describe two similar variations of group memory, collected and collective, although Olick fits both under the umbrella label of collective memory and Kransteiner maintains them as separate categories to avoid confusion (Kansteiner, 2011; Olick, 2011). Collected memory is an aggregation formed by combining the memories of individual members of the same group; the individual is central even if events are remembered by a group and these memories can be studied using psychology and neurological insights (Kansteiner, 2011; Olick, 2011). For collective memory, the focus remains with the groups, which provide the frameworks, definitions, and divisions used to identify an event as significant and justifying remembrance, and cannot be understood with the same tools (Kansteiner, 2011; Olick, 2011).

Maintaining a group's collective memory requires a communal effort; it is not an individual or passive endeavour. Despite involving individual agency, acts of commemoration must be actively shared by members of the group for those acts to have a restorative or fortifying effect for that group's collective memory (Casey, 2011; Kansteiner, 2011; Zerubavel, 2011).

Rituals are one of the most obvious acts of commemoration, such as services and ceremonies, but any act that encourages group members to remember the past also functions as an act of commemoration (Connerton, 2011; Olick, 2011). Transmission or perpetuation of a group's collective memory can also contribute to the maintenance of the memory. There are numerous ways of dispersing collective memory, many of which can double as acts of commemoration, even if they were not explicitly intended as such, and the opposite holds true as well. Members can be exposed their group's collective memory though formal and informal mediums in a variety of settings, including family, school, broader communities, faith institutions, the media, and state institutions (Duckworth, 2015). Methods of transmission can include oral and written stories, monuments, movies, documentaries, museums, magazines, photographs, textbooks (Davis, 1995; Seixas, 2006; Wagner-Pacifici, 2011).

Tangible and material records are important beyond their function as tool of transmission. Collective memory is not stored solely within the minds of its group's members; the memories that form it are both interior and exterior in nature (Halbwachs, 1992). Individuals have their own inner memories of what they have experienced or been taught, but the brain has a limited capacity to remember and recall. External recordings can act as additional memory storage, cueing or triggering memories that are not as vivid or that have been partially forgotten (Olick, 2011; Seixas, 2006). This function operates for both individually experienced memories and for broader intergenerational and prosthetic memories, which are often intertwined and rely almost exclusively on external support or storage for both transmission or creation and for recollection (Olick, 2011; Sugars & Ty, 2014).

Although collective memory frequently relies on records which are usually considered to

be more reliable and stable than the often fallible human memory, collective memory is not a constant in its group. One of the functions of collective memory is to create continuity between the past and the present, helping situate the group and its members in reference to their history (Clark, 2007). However, the present is constantly changing, so the way in which it relates to the past also changes. All methods of remembering and recounting the past are shaped by the current realities and predominant thoughts of each era (Halbwachs, 1992; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). The frameworks used to interpret the past are drawn from the present and new information is understood in reference to what is already known (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). Changes in social, economic, or political aspects of the group or its environment can lead to different aspects of the past being highlighted, suppressed, or forgotten in response to current priorities. These alterations may be unconscious and intangible or they may be deliberate and concrete efforts to manipulate the past (Clark, 2007; Sugars & Ty, 2014). The influence of the present on the recollection of the past is, however, not total. Aspects of the past continue to permeate the present, in often subtle ways, even if they are not convenient or serve the present interests (Schudson, 2011; Sugars & Ty, 2014).

The communal nature of collective memory and its role in teaching a group's values and beliefs and positioning a group and its members, both contribute significantly to the development of group and individual identity. Collective memory and collective identity are closely linked, with many of the same transmission mechanisms used to perpetuate collective memory also sustaining identity, as well as collective memory contributing directly to identity (Eyerman, 2011; Halbwachs, 1992). What parts of and how the past is remembered teach what aspects of the past are important to the group and what has lead to the group's current reality. Continued

memorialization allows different members to better relate to each other and to past members through their common memory links and this unity is crucial to the functioning and survival of the group (Duckworth, 2015; Halbwachs, 1992). A divided group will have difficulty, if not be completely unable, to function internally within its own environment or externally with the other groups around it. Collective memory further contributes to inter-group interaction by guiding how groups view the other and how they see their own role on the wider scale (Cole, 2007; Duckworth, 2015). Past events and experiences can indicate what a group's previous or traditional actions and responses have been, and if those events or experiences are particularly meaningful for the collective memory, emulating those past behaviours can be a way of remembering and engaging with their past. This pattern can also hold true if the memories are significant in their opposition to the group's current reality, the present interactions may be in deliberate contrast to the past ones instead. In terms of collective memory, perception of and relation to other groups can be influenced by both past interactions and memories of the others and by differences or similarities in how other groups commemorate common memories, if they are included in their collective memories at all. The inter-generational influence of collective memory on identity is particularly evident when it pertains to a collective trauma. Traumatic or violent events are easily ingrained in memory and often have lasting consequences more obvious than those from more positive experiences. Especially if they are left unresolved or unaddressed, traumatic events can become a key focal point of memory and identity at both the individual and collective level (Duckworth, 2015; Alexander, 2011). Traumas can easily be passed on to the second and third generations after the one that experiences the trauma as part of the living and collective memory, after which point the traumas can still remain part of the collective memory,

still as salient, but maybe not as vivid and personal (Duckworth, 2015; Sugars & Ty, 2014).

Given the importance of collective memory for identity, unity, and orientation, and its susceptibility to current attitudes, it is unsurprising that collective memory can also be manipulated and used as a tool. Collective memory is quite powerful in what it can communicate, and it is primarily formed by group consensus. The popularity and sentimentality of memory and remembrance leaves collective memory vulnerable to being co-opted for hegemonic purposes by those holding power within the group (Confino, 2011; Sugars & Ty, 2014). Such co-optation may be unintentional; the result of the dominant narrative being adopted by or overshadowing other members simply because of the existing power differential. However, manipulation of a group's collective memory may be an intentional process. Maintaining control of the narrative within the collective memory can sustain existing power structures and political and social order, and control what of the past the rest of the group are aware (Confino, 2011; Foucault, 2011; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). Certain events or narratives may be highlighted or suppressed in order to increase or diminish the profile of different experiences or sub-groups within the larger one. Such alterations done with malicious or benevolent intent, although in the latter case some members may be ultimately hurt as a result.

Collective memory can be very productive in conveying ideology and supporting group building, cohesion, and unity, be it at the level of a nation, culture, or other group (Clark, 2007; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). The particular collective memory projected can be further used to maintain the status quo in the face of confrontation and to either enable or impede inter- or intra-group movement of members, such as between social classes (Duckworth, 2015; Halbwachs, 1992; Zerubavel, 2011). Collective memory also has strong potential as a source of legitimation,

justifying political actions or regimes or motivating participation in war and conflict situations (Duckworth, 2015; Foucault, 2011; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). From another perspective of conflict situations, collective memory has the opportunity to help resolve the conflict and heal and transform in its aftermath, acknowledging suffering and oppression and supporting truth telling (Cole, 2007; Duckworth, 2015). In certain cases, alteration of the collective memory can demonstrate efforts to erase or obscure unpleasant aspects of a group's history, often violent or guilt-ridden aspects (Duckworth, 2015).

However, a deliberate attempt to sway a group's collective memory, much like the process to develop a collective memory, is an extensive and intricate process. There are many different forces and influences involved in collective memory which mean that, despite desires to the contrary, changes within a group's collective memory cannot happen on a whim (Schudson, 2011). One of the other factors inhibiting impulsive or self-serving alterations to a group's collective memory is the fact that there are other members of the group also trying to adjust the collective memory (Schudson, 2011). This conflict can be direct opposition from an opposing attempt at influencing, but it can also be from the manoeuvring required to reconcile the different memories that emerge within a group as a result of diverse experiences and members and the nature of memory. There is not one unified, uniform collective memory, different groups may share similar recollections and sub-groups within the same broader group may have differing ones based on their own unique histories and compositions, even though they share in the group's umbrella collective memory. Just as individuals belonging to the same group have their own different experiences and even remember the same event differently, different groups or sub-groups have different experiences and recollections. Additionally, any time new individuals

join a group, there is new material introduced to the group's collective memory which must be reconciled with or spurned by the pre-existing material (Halbwachs, 1992). Any calculated attempt to influence the collective memory, be it by promoting or suppressing different aspects of the community's narrative, will not be easy nor have an immediate effect, inducing change on the multiple levels, groups, and aspects implicated in one community's collective memory is a complex and long term process.

Though different experiences and perspectives are active within collective memory, collective memory and the history that it often draws from are often mistakenly viewed as being constant and coherent. To non-specialists, or most of the general public, history is frequently regarded as an aggregation of facts, an unproblematic description of what has happened in the past (Osborne, 2012). Perceiving history as concrete and objective plays into the notion of a usable past, one that can be employed in the service of collective memory and group unity among other purposes. A usable past is a genuine requirement, but also implies the existence of a master narrative, a common record of the past which remains consistently superior to variations (Cole, 2007). This acceptance of an apparently irrefutable historical record yields a similar presumption for collective memory. Underlying collective memories focused heavily on the idea of a master narrative are the memories of often oppressed sub-groups, minority or majority, and the dominating collective memories can be reproduced for years or longer before they are questioned or challenged (Cole, 2007; Kansteiner, 2011). Letting the predominant collective memory remain unchallenged can be damaging to the stability of the group and well-being of its members, although challenging the dominant collective memory is not without its risks either. As much as a unified collective memory can benefit a group, denying recognition to peripheral

collective memories can undermine and fracture the same group's cohesiveness. Failure to recognize, or acknowledge as legitimate, past losses or injuries can prolong grief and impair the healing process and further risks creating new wounds (Duckworth, 2015). Such injustices and even less confrontational and more conventional differences between sub-groups, when denied from the collective memory, suggest an unwillingness to share share the group's past and the authority to dictate it, a stance that can easily precipitate measures of resistance (Opp & Walsh, 2010; Sugars & Ty, 2014). Resistance may take the form of opposition to the hegemonic narrative, attempts to re-write the past or integrate additional stories and perspectives, and can be peaceful or violent. Although it is not usually equated with the same significance as more tangible targets, the past can become, and often is, contested territory between groups or sub-groups (Zerubavel, 2011). Additionally, factions which feel that their perspective is under-recognized may simply leave the group and join another or establish their own.

As hazardous as denying aspects of the past can be, acknowledging them is rarely a painless or risk-free process either. History can be effective at masking unsavoury elements of past and the present, but it can also be used to expose things that some might wish, for a variety of reasons, would remain hidden and forgotten (Avery & Holmlund, 2010). Conflicts can arise when new or different information is presented which challenges the pre-established understanding of the past and the path that has lead to a group's current state. Even if the new information pertains only to a specific or small event, the implications can still be widespread, as challenges to one part of the narrative can call portions or the entirety of the larger narrative into question (Zerubavel, 2011). Challenges to these underpinnings can further fracture the individual or group identities which are based upon them. The destabilizing effect of alternate memories

can extend to the cohesion and unity of the group, even at a scale as large as a nation, calling into question the foundations upon which it is based (Osborne, 2012). Further division can occur if the acknowledgment of non-dominant memories and perspectives lead to claims for redress recompense, either for past and ignored wrongs or for injuries caused by the denial of the past (Avery & Holmlund, 2010). Such demands can cause division and opposition within a group, from those who do not think the compensation is sufficient or from those that think it is too much or should not be offered at all, but it can also, depending on how it managed, aid in the healing process and in the acceptance of the new memories. Even in situations which do not lead to compensation claims, attempting a more truthful recollection by resurrecting forgotten or repressed memories can re-open old wounds; just because those memories have been forgotten or suppressed does not mean that the injuries associated with them have healed (Nora, 2011). However, as with redress processes, the manner in which these memories are revived and integrated into the collective memory can minimize the damage caused and potentially speed the healing process (Cole, 2007; Nora, 2011).

Much like collective memory itself, disputing the dominant narrative in any form requires broad participation. Challenging a conviction that is held by many with lasting results is not a simple process. As mentioned, questioning the official narrative and asking uncomfortable questions is not an easy task, but is more likely to succeed with wider participation generating a supportable potential re-interpretation, rather than if championed solely by a single individual or a small group (Clark, 2007). Additionally, the two processes of integration of the new information and reconciliation of the different groups affected by the change would not happen sequentially. In a near symbiotic relationship, these processes need to happen nearly

simultaneously; integration and recognition of an alternative narrative can promote reconciliation, but a certain degree of reconciliation has to have occurred for groups to be receptive to the new narrative (Cole, 2007). Reconciliation of groups, and the associated integration, cannot effectively occur if only one or a few groups are involved in establishing a new narrative. Regardless of its size, the group pushing an alteration to the collective memory also needs to be heterogenous in nature. The process of integrating and reconciling new information will not be successful if it is isolated to one portion of the group, like the elites, but must instead be embraced by different internal sub-groups to be properly integrated in members' lives (Cole, 2007).

Despite the initial connotations that might be elicited by the term, memory, and collective memory in particular, is a very charged and conflict prone sphere. The transmission of memory from one to another, be it individuals, groups, or generations, is rarely a smooth process, but rather the focal point for competing perspectives and asymmetries (Sugars & Ty, 2014). In spite of, or perhaps because of, this competition, great importance continues to be placed on the maintenance and transmission of memory. This focus may be seen as excessive, but speaks to the fear of forgetting and of being forgotten. At a societal and cultural level, groups must cope with the vague delineations between memory, history, and selfhood and with the uncertainty of what the loss or diminishment of one will mean for the others (Sugars & Ty, 2014). Even at the individual and micro level, these concerns are present, and potentially more obviously so, in the stigmatization of memory loss conditions such as Alzheimers (Sugars & Ty, 2014). It is ironic perhaps, that a preoccupation with memory and remembering is driven so strongly by the desire to overcome forgetting, when the two are not mutually exclusive. Memory and forgetting are

closely intertwined and rely on the other for their own definition; forgetting is a failure to remember and memory is dependant on omissions (Sugars & Ty, 2014). A memory is important because it has been retained when something else has not. Not everything can be remembered, but neither can everything be forgotten, and when that choice is made it is important to recognize how it was decide, who got to make it, and how the results are passed on to others.

Canadian Perspective

The study of collective memory from a Canadian perspective has been relatively recent. Beginning in the 1980s in Quebec with the development of a central narrative from the Quiet Revolution and expanding in the mid-1990s into English speaking Canada through studies of folk culture in the Maritimes, the concept of collective memory steadily spread throughout the country's academic spheres (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). The study of collective memory in Canada was initially more conventionally focused, with academic historical and anthropological fields examining traditional historical understandings of collective memory, primarily the commemorative practices performed since World War I on themes including war, Canada Day, and Champlain (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). However, by the turn of the century collective memory in Canada had ceased to be purely the domain of history and anthropology and was appealing to a wider popular audience and fields of study such as film studies, media, literature, and art history (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012; Sugars & Ty, 2014). It was around the same time too, that the narratives and attitudes underlying Canadian collective memory began to shift. Despite often being labelled as boring, an erroneous claim according to Granatstein, Canadian history has also been characterized with a romantic quality, with the generally positive traditional narrative of the evolution from colony to country continuing as the primary official record (Granatstein,

1998; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012; Sugars & Ty, 2014). This narrative is not without a certain degree of diversity, but there is a susceptibility to adapt the past to suit the current environment, often highlighting bilingualism, multiculturalism, peacemaking, and a commitment to social justice (Granatstein, 1998; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). However, as with many dominant collective memory narratives, not all perspectives are equally represented. Interest in and attention to Canadian counter-memory has has gained momentum from a variety of movements and events. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988 drew more awareness to non-mainstream experiences and narratives, although it did still stay grounded in the national narrative (Sugars & Ty, 2014). The Aboriginal Healing Foundation founded in 1998 and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2008, both brought to the forefront the under- or mis-represented experiences of the Aboriginal peoples in Canada and specifically dealt with the topic of repressed memories, both at the individual and group levels (Sugars & Ty, 2014). The Canadian literary community, including Ondaatje, Atwood, Hill, and Wagamese, has also demonstrated an interest in Canadian counter-memory, delving into issues of memory, nostalgia, recovery, and amnesia among others and drawing their audiences' attention to these lesser known aspect of the past through their work (Sugars & Ty, 2014). There are ongoing efforts to integrate more of the so called counter-memories into the dominant national collective memory and narrative, through processes like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but as mentioned previously, changing a collective memory is neither an easy nor speedy undertaking.

Role of Schools

As mentioned previously, collective memory is transmitted through a variety of formal and informal mediums and institutions. The education system can be a crucial mode of

transmission and yet is often overlooked when the spread of collective memory or the different processes associated with it are analyzed (Cole, 2007; Duckworth, 2015). Elementary and high schools in particular are more frequently disregarded than universities. There is some debate regarding the teaching of history in schools versus universities, where points in favour of universities include greater student maturity, less direction and oversight on content and lower expectations of the instructor's self-censoring of their personal views and experiences, the latter two factors in particular being concerns at the elementary and secondary levels (Duckworth, 2015; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). However, not every individual goes on to university or to study history in university, but elementary and high school attendance is mandatory in Canada. History class in school may be many students' first, and sometimes only, systematic exposure to history and, at the high school level, it is the last such exposure guaranteed before entering society as an adult and engaging in activities like voting (Dominion Institute, 2009; Osborne, 2006). Additionally, when discussing the transmission of history and cultural memory, schools act as a crucial nexus between the different levels of a community (Duckworth, 2015). They can offer an outlook more easily tailored, and therefore made relevant, to the students, than is often offered by large-scale and impersonal experiences and knowledge presented by the larger community, such as at a provincial or national level, but within the school environment, students are also exposed to more perspectives than they would necessarily be exposed to in the family setting. This linking function of schools is also visible in the delivery of lessons that vary according to different classes, students, and teachers, but which are all based on a curriculum issued by the provincial or territorial government. Further debate exists surrounding the issue of pure history education versus interdisciplinary social studies, but within Canada one or the other is mandatory

for students per provincial and territorial regulations (Clark, 2007). Regardless of what form or label it is given, many students do not actively engage with history extracurricularly or pursue formal history studies past secondary school, so for many their exposure to the study of history in school may be their first and only (Osborne, 2012).

Beyond spanning between the micro and macro levels of a community, schools must also act as a bridge between the academic and the popular worlds of history. Canadians are exhibiting an increasing inclination to re-engage with the past, but there is also an awareness that the world of academic history is often inaccessible to the general public and that, in order to facilitate a re-engagement, the past needs to be available in a form that is accessible to a wider audience (Griffiths, 2000; Neatby & Hodgins, 2012; Sandwell, 2006). Public history's function is to present previously specialized historical research in a manner that is intelligible, informative, and interesting, and mediums such as museum and art exhibits, websites, and documentaries like Heritage Minutes are used to publicize history and make it appealing to the public (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012; Osborne, 2012). Schools are also a tool of the re-engagement process, exposing students, and potentially their families, to history and packaging it in a manner that is accessible to the students. This packaging process, if not expanded upon, can be a tool to instil children and youth with a pre-approved image of their community and its past (Cole, 2007; Osborne, 2000). In contrast, if expanded upon, the role of schools extends beyond the simple presentation of palatable information, students are intended to learn the skills continue the engagement process on their own. Students are superficially introduced to the past through public history, events like remembrance services that are usually celebratory and nostalgic in nature, but through their academic studies can become equipped to engage more deeply and analytically with history

(Osborne, 2012). Learning historical, critical, and reflexive thinking can ultimately allow students to engage with history as a disciplined form of inquiry (Duckworth, 2015; Osborne, 2012). Learning to think critically about what they are taught, history, and the world around them more generally is an important skill for students.

It is not 'just' history that students are taught in history class. The course material is not a simple survey or thorough overview of the the past, which might be ostensibly suggested, but is instead a range of information that has been intentionally selected to be taught to students for a purpose, often to the benefit of the students or broader society (Osborne, 2012). The material taught in schools is part of the national narrative, how the country envisages itself as a community, with a usable and often idealized vision of the past and a promising future (Cole, 2007; Duckworth, 2015). This common past and predicted future, as part of the broader collective memory, are expected to strengthen bonds within the community that hold the nation and society together (Osborne, 2012). The creation and fortification of these ties through teaching citizenship and engendering a sense of loyalty, unity, national identity, patriotism, civic engagement, and an acceptance of social norms and values, is one of the demands placed upon history education, particularly at the secondary level (Briley, 1997; Cole, 2007; Davis, 1995; Duckworth, 2015; Osborne, 2012; Osborne, 2006; Osborne, 2000; Robertson, 2005; Seixas, 2006). Schools can help with engendering and teaching those values, and do, but they are not the exclusive source of them, regardless of what might be desired, and must function in conjunction with the social forces surrounding them (Osborne, 2012; Robertson, 2005; Robertson, 1998). A second, often seemingly contradictory, expectation of history classes is to provide a critical view of history, including negative and unflattering aspects of history, and to teach critical and

historical thinking skills to students, including questioning what is known, how it is known, and why it is important (Cole, 2007; Osborne, 2012). As previously mentioned, learning to think critically and historically can be vital to students as they engage with their classroom material and with the wider world around them, even after they have left school, questioning the information they have been given, seeking alternative perspectives, and recognizing the potential for bias and stifled voices. However, critical thinking and learning do not have to be in opposition to the nation building and unifying goals of history education.

Teaching about less savoury aspects of the past, even those that paint the community or nation in a poor light can help students learn about dissent, oppression, injustice, empowerment, prejudice and bias, power dynamics, tolerance for diversity, human rights, and the underlying causes of conflict and violence (Davis, 1995; Duckworth, 2015; Osborne, 2012). These topics and themes can actually contribute to a greater degree of unity, citizenship, and social engagement among students. Many of them are key values and skills for democracy and social justice, and for those that are not, awareness of them is equally important (Duckworth, 2015). Not only will students absorb the information with which they are presented, but they will also integrate absences of information (Duckworth, 2015; Stanley, 2006). If the realities that students see or experience in their classrooms or in their extracurricular lives are not addressed, divisions and conflicts within the community may be perpetuated or exacerbated. This need for representation can be a challenge given the time constraints of history courses, but if critical thinking is sufficiently integrated into the course, students may be equipped to expand their learning beyond the classroom material. However, balancing critical thinking skills, negative aspects of a community's history, and fostering a sense of loyalty and unity within the classroom

setting can be challenging, potentially to the point of being a contradiction. Either of the first two, particularly if over-emphasized or not contrasted, have the capacity to significantly undermine the third. At the same time, omitting or under-representing them can have implications for the third's long term stability. The task of navigating and balancing these tensions is not limited to classroom teachers, but extends to those responsible for assembling the material, such as textbooks and curriculums, that are used in the classrooms and guide the teachers' lessons.

Teaching history presents many challenges, not limited to those discussed above, of balancing perspectives, bridging gaps, and teaching skills as well as facts. History class exposes students to a past that is not part of their own direct experience, and often not of their family members either, but lessons and material need to be related to the environment in which the students live, pertinent to and integrated with current events (Davis, 1995; Duckworth, 2015; Osborne, 2012). In this endeavour, using some of the themes listed previously can be useful in linking current and past events. Also, not only is the period of time and the material covered by the terms history and the past constantly expanding, but, as discussed, the collective memory is continually evolving, and by extension so is the associated national narrative and the historical material used to teach that narrative. Teachers have to adapt to the alterations to their personal understandings of history and the collective memory brought about by these changes while also presenting those same changes to their students, with little to no time in between. There is also a certain degree of self-censorship required when teaching history, especially at the elementary and secondary levels where students' critical thinking skills may not be as developed as at higher levels (Duckworth, 2015). Personal biases and experiences can influence what and how material

is taught and even in cases where personal background can make a teacher more engaging or make the material more interesting, it still runs a risk of overpowering the broader narrative and limiting the scope of study.

Role of the Curriculum

As little as schools are discussed within the transmission of collective memory, the role of pre-established curriculums are even less addressed. More often attention is paid to history textbooks, but in some cases they fulfill similar roles. They are both composed of a fairly consistent narrative framework and act as a guide for teachers and students. The narrative framework is occasionally criticized as too formulaic, but ultimately this structure is necessary for the level of mass communication expected from both mediums and the education system within which they are used (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012). Curriculums and textbooks are designed by someone other than individual teachers and are common across different classrooms and schools. The material included in these documents was deliberately selected by someone, or more frequently someones, as important stories and information which should be taught to students (Barton, 2006; Clark, 2007; Robertson, 1998). They act almost as a modern variation of the village storyteller, telling children and youth what the older generations believe they should know about their culture and community (Clark, 2007). For the most part they are composed as consensus documents, designed to reflect the concerns and knowledge of the time and to satisfy not only the audience of the education system, but also the wider public (Clark, 2007). Furthermore, these written guides to history are a physical place where aspects of a group's collective memory is stored and made accessible to the public, and as such, is subject to the same variations as the broader collective memory (Clark, 2007). When there are changes to the

collective memory, the guides for teaching it must also change to reflect the new reality. However, it is not necessarily a uni-directional relationship. Changes or additions to textbooks and curriculums can also be instrumental in establishing a new narrative (Cole, 2007). It is also worth noting that both curriculums and textbooks function within the collective memory as more than a means of transmission, they contribute to the overall collective memory as a documented representation and commemoration of part of a community's history.

Textbooks and curriculums are not totally interchangeable, however, in terms of design and function, at least within the Canadian sphere. There is no denying the ability of textbooks to impact political and social thinking and behaviour, but they are not intended to be political tools as is the case in other countries, such as North and South Korea (Cole, 2007). Canadian textbooks have never been rewritten under government direction to purposely obscure or omit information, as happens elsewhere (Clark, 2007). In Canada, textbooks fall mostly within the academic sphere, with little official governmental input. The ministries and departments of education issue guidelines, review textbooks, and make recommendations to school boards and teachers, but they do not direct the actual writing of them (Granatstein, 1998). Additionally, at least in Ontario, the development or revision process for curriculums involves significant public consultation (Ginsler, Y., personal communication, February 14, 2019). History textbooks are not immune to controversy, and despite any intentions during the creation, it is impossible to create a single, actually usable, document that includes all the information deemed important by an entire country and to present it in a way that is totally acceptable to the same group of people, which may account for the unsuccessful endeavours to develop a common comprehensive cross-Canada history textbook (Clark, 2007). This challenge might also partially explain having history

curriculums decided at the provincial and territorial level rather than the national, although this restriction does not eliminate those problems.

In contrast with textbooks, education curriculums originate with the ministries and departments of education of the different provinces and territories and have a stronger link to the political realm. Schools are inextricably linked with the state, and as, to varying degrees, governmental institutions they are susceptible to politics (Duckworth, 2015; Osborne, 2006). The curriculums are a very tangible indication of governmental influence in the education system, it is a specific group who has determined what is important for students to be taught and, to a certain extent, how. They may be unique in this representation, at least in provinces or territories, like Ontario, which no longer have provincial or territorial standard history exams (Osborne, 2012). As publications from the state, these formal curriculums may be subject to the political views of the different governments and their application can have long term political implications (Duckworth, 2015; Robertson, 1998). Variations in curriculums may also result from regional differences as provinces and territories endeavour to ensure that more local, and often relatable, history is recognized along with the national narrative. However, the curriculum is not developed exclusively by the government. As much as the actual teaching of the curriculum can be influenced by external factors, regional variations and significant anniversaries for example, so too is the development of a curriculum open to outside influences and not the closed system that would be required for it to represent the government's unique direction (Robertson, 1998). Even though the curriculum is ultimately published by the government, development or even revision of the curriculum is subject to a number of factors and influences (Hallman-Chong, 2014; Robertson, 1998). The revision and review process for

the Ontario history curriculum involves input from teachers, other educators, parents, students, subject experts, ministry advisory councils, faculties of education, universities, colleges, and workplace organizations (Ginsler, Y., personal communication, February 14, 2019). All these different groups can have their own slightly differing opinions regarding what should be included and highlighted within the curriculum and how it should be taught. This mixture of sources and opinions has the potential to yield a more comprehensive, or less biased curriculum, but it could also complicate the process and the end result by subjecting both to inter-group politics, in addition to the formal governmental ones.

Despite often being subject to politics, official or otherwise, having a formal curriculum originating from the government can also be beneficial. There is a consistent guide throughout the region, which can increase consistency in the transmission of the national and regional narrative and potentially diminish the challenge for teachers to balance their personal experience and knowledge with the larger narrative. However, the implementation of the curriculum in classrooms still varies between teachers (Stucek & Alphonso, 2017). In contrast with what might be assumed or expected there can be a significant range of foundational knowledge among history teachers, from solidly grounded to weak and fragmented, and the comfort level with the material will impact the depth of instruction, teachers who are uncomfortable with or nervous about teaching particular material may gloss over it or omit it entirely, possibly unintentionally (Alphonso, 2018; Briley, 1997; Haskings-Winner, 2010; Spencer, 2016; Stucek & Alphonso, 2017). Teachers may not use or follow the curriculum in the same manner, but it does offer a common baseline for all of them.

Additionally, when the government issues a history curriculum, that is an indication that

history is felt to be an important topic that should be taught to students, and the material and the way it is presented can be indicative of in what way history and the study of it are important. A focus on facts, dates, and names might suggest that history is being taught as a matter of routine. Deliberate acknowledgement and inclusion of the skills and values, as well as the knowledge, present in the history curriculum suggest recognition of the additional functions of a history course (Robertson, 2005; Robertson, 1998). Being able to think historically and critically about the past are essential to engaging with the present (Lutz, 2006). Furthermore, interacting with and remembering the past in a communal setting, as happens in history classes, is a key aspect of the collective memory process. They may not use that exact term, but the importance of memory and remembrance to the wider community is not overlooked by the Ontario curriculum (Ministry of Education [MOE], 2013; Ministry of Education [MOE], 2005). These skills and values would be present in a history curriculum, regardless of whether or not they were so intended (Barton, 2006; Robertson, 2005). Absolute neutrality is impossible when writing the curriculum involves selecting what should be included. The continued revising and re-issuing of the history curriculum is also indicative of an awareness of the role history education plays within the wider community. Not only do the events covered by 'history' keep expanding, but the present reality of the public keeps evolving too. A history curriculum does not necessarily re-created or re-invented, but revisions and updates can help keep it relevant to and useful for the community in which it is taught (Cole, 2007; Hallman-Chong, 2014; Starowicz, 1999). Changes can involve information, adding, omitting, or changing the way it is represented, or some of the broader aspects of the history curriculum, the values and skills transmitted, to be more in line with the current social reality (Cole, 2007; Robertson, 2005; Stanley, 2006).

Conclusion

A community's collective memory, how that groups conceptualizes, commemorates, and promulgates their history, is very fluid, both in its boundaries and evolution. It is rarely, if every static, shifting based on the composition and priorities of the members of the groups and some aspects may be common between very different communities, while the collective memory of sub-groups within the same community can vary in part from the broader one. Changes can be deliberately wrought, although it is time consuming and complex. Transmission and commemoration, both key components of maintaining collective memory, can take a variety of forms and quite often those forms fulfill both purposes. Schools and the curriculums taught within them, history in particular, fall into this category. Their transmission is both formal and informal, but also acts as a form of commemoration and remembrance, through the documented history and through students and teachers engaging with history as a group. However, both are also in precarious positions, being such a source of authority for the knowledge, skills, and values learned by students, while also being subject to the influences of many groups. Examination of the ways in which the curriculum has changed with different editions in relation to or in affiliation with trends and changes in the community's wider collective memory can illuminate the relationship between the two and the function of the curriculum within the larger system, serving as a means of documenting and transmitting that which is already accepted by the community or acting as a method of directing or altering the collective memory.

Chapter 2 - Wars:

World War II and the Korean War

Wars often occupy particularly poignant and conspicuous places within a community's history and collective memory. Many factors can contribute to this memorability. The duration and the size of the conflict, such as in the case of the World Wars, can readily correspond to occupying a comparable space in history and memory. Beyond the degree of the community's involvement and the the scope of loss and destruction, a war's salience for a community can be further influenced by the social, economic, and political changes it catalyzes. Wars additionally have the dubious feature of clearly defined groups; allies and enemies are formalized and solidified and the pool of experiences relevant to a community's collective memory may be accordingly altered. However, not all wars are remembered to the same degree or contribute in the same way to the community's collective memory and narrative; some have a stronger emotional resonance or more unifying characteristics, and others may be less memorable. Different aspects of the same war can also be remembered very differently, if at all depending on what they contribute to the narrative and emotional pull of the memory. Although both have notable historical significance for Canada, World War II and the Korean War are remembered differently both by the general public and within the curriculum specifically. The memory of WWII contains many characteristics beneficial to strengthening collective ties which are reflected in the curriculum. The less palatable, but not necessarily less important, aspects of the war are becoming more acknowledged within public discourse and the curriculum, although more slowly in the latter, and the same trend holds for the greater inclusion of a wider variety of perspectives within commemorations. Commemoration of the Korean War, in public or in

school, in contrast, continue to demonstrate the reasoning for the war being known as the Forgotten War.

The Wars and Their Significance

World War II (WWII) is well established in global history, a position secured in part by its length, severity, and extent. The war was a significant event for Canada in many ways, marking its shift to a greater and more independent role on the international stage. Unlike in World War I (WWI), Canada declared war separately from Great Britain and was officially neutral for one week after France and Britain declared war themselves (Stacey, 2015). Despite initial political disagreement and conflict within Canada regarding Canada's contribution and activities in the war, particularly in reference to conscription, ultimately the country was significantly involved and instrumental in the war, beyond what might have been expected of a country of its size and age (Stacey, 2015). Over a million Canadian men and women served overseas and Canadian units were active in battles in Dieppe, Hong Kong, Sicily, and Ortona (Stacey, 2015). As part of the D-Day invasion, Canada was assigned its own landing beach, Juno, and from there pushed on through France and Belgium, liberated part of the Netherlands and received the surrender of German forces on the northern front (Stacey, 2015). Canada's Air Force expanded drastically during the war, and Canadian airmen served in every active theatre during the war, with landmark involvement in Bomber Command for night raids over Germany (Stacey, 2015). In addition to its own program, Canada was a key actor for the air force capacities of other Allied nations, particularly Great Britain, training thousands of air crews as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (Stacey, 2015). Naval forces saw a similar rapid expansion and bore much of the burden for escorting troop and supply convoys to Europe, being

one of the primary actors in the Battle of the Atlantic (Stacey, 2015). In addition to the Atlantic theatre, naval forces were deployed to North Africa and Normandy (Stacey, 2015).

On the civilian front, the war brought about many changes. Industry burgeoned with new factories and many older re-purposed ones producing ammunition, ship, planes, military vehicles, and other equipment (Stacey, 2015). Women also saw a change and expansion in their roles during the war. In addition to serving overseas in a variety of capacities, they comprised most of the home-front workforce, stepping into the voids left in the agriculture, industrial, and even home-front military sector by the departure of enlisted men (Stacey, 2015). Canada was not overly involved in much of the negotiations of the war and had a minor role in wartime atomic research, although it did play host to a number of conferences, and Canada-US political relations were strengthened considerably over the course of the war (Stacey, 2015). The cost of the war was staggering, both financially and in lives lost, and Canadian English-French relations were harmed, but not as seriously as during World War I (Stacey, 2015). However, Canada was solidly positioned as an independent nation, not a major power, but an international actor in its own right, with its actions during the war contributing to its later membership in North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949 (Stacey, 2015). Domestically, the social and political fabric was changing, the economy had flourished, and national unity, confidence, and pride were fortified by the sacrifice and service that could be readily recalled through references like Dieppe, Juno Beach, Ortona, and Battle of the Atlantic (Stacey, 2015).

The Korean War has a much smaller historical profile than World War II. The Korean Peninsula was split after World War II when the Americans and Soviets, who liberated the Peninsula from Japan at the end of the war, and their Korean supporters disagreed on a post-war

government and UN overseen elections were banned in the North by the Soviets (Herd, 2015). The Korean War began June 25, 1950, when North Korea, backed by communist China and the USSR, invaded South Korea (Herd, 2015). The response to the invasion was a UN lead intervention spearheaded by the US, an intervention which the Soviets were not able to veto because they were boycotting the Security Council at the time (Herd, 2015). Eighteen nations committed military units to the UN initiative, with many other nations offering medical and logistical support (Herd, 2015; Veterans Affairs Canada, 2019).

Although initial expectations were of a short lived conflict, the war persisted, becoming largely patrol, rather than combat, based, complicated by the mountainous terrain and difficult weather (Herd, 2015). There were also significant battles, involving artillery, tank, and infantry units and often named after the numerical designation of the hill on or around which they were fought (Herd, 2015). Canadian naval and air forces were also deployed, the former escorting UN aircraft carriers, damaging enemy rail systems, offering humanitarian aid, and supporting on shore operations, and the latter ferrying troops and supplies across the Pacific and flying jets with the US Air Force (Herd, 2015; Veterans, 2019). By mid-1951, an impasse had developed with neither side progressing much beyond the 38th parallel and on July 27, 1953, an armistice was signed ending the combat phase of the conflict (Herd, 2015). The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) was established along the 38th parallel as a buffer zone between the two Koreas. Canadian forces maintained a presence on the Peninsula until 1957, by which point over 26,000 Canadian military personnel had served in Korea, including assisting with patrolling of the DMZ (Herd, 2015; Veterans, 2019). Although the 1953 Armistice ended the fighting, it was only a ceasefire, no formal peace treaty was signed and the countries technically remain at war (Herd, 2015).

Although not often discussed, the Korean War had great significance on many levels. Despite arriving so close to the end of WWII and catching Canada unprepared, Canada was one of the largest contributors to the UN coalition and also suffered one of the highest casualty rates, fourth highest death toll among the coalition and the bloodiest overseas conflict for Canada after the World Wars (Haskin, 1999; Herd, 2015; York, 2003b). Contrary to the past World Wars, all of the Canadian participants in the Korean War were volunteers (Collins, 2013). Canadians from across the country served, mostly caucasians, but there was also a significant number of indigenous participants, and it was noted that they were treated equally while serving overseas, an unheard of phenomenon (Galloway, 2003a; Lawlor, 2004a; LeBlanc, 2003a). The Korean War does not have the same memorable battles as the World Wars, but one does stand out. The Battle at Kapyong resulted in the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) receiving the US Presidential Citation for its heroism, one of a few non-American units to receive it (Borys, 2013; Died, 2004b; Haskin, 1999; Stock, 2013; Thorne, 2004a). Despite the two countries working together in the field, the Korean War and its aftermath saw Canada oppose the US on several occasions. Going into the war Canada insisted that their participation in the war be as part of a UN, not US, led coalition to ensure the conflict remained confined and localized and US orders for Canadian troops to proceed directly into battle upon arrival were rejected in favour of additional field training for under-trained soldiers (Century, 1999e; Conlogue, 2003). Additionally, well after the cease fire, Canada aimed to settle the landmine treaty, without an exception for the DMZ, contrary to the US's wishes (Sallot, 1997). Participation in the Korean War also had implications for Canada's self-image and future military undertakings. The UN initiative in Korea was a new undertaking, and it set the precedent for future peacekeeping and

peacemaking missions (Veterans, 2019; York, 2003b). Following its conclusion, Canada continued to participate in similar missions around the world, developing a reputation for peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions, a reputation in which many Canadians take pride (Asked, 2004; Eaton, 1997; Purpose, 1997; Veterans, 2019). On a more international level, the Korean War was the first major test of the UN's power and capacity and remains a nearly unique instance both of the Security Council authorizing full scale war to enforce a resolution and of a Chapter Seven intervention using military force to impose and outcome on an unwilling state (Galloway, 2003a; Koring, 2012b; Koring, 2003). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was reinvigorated by the demonstration of multiple nations being willing to go to war to defend a principle (Downey, 1999c). The Korean War also had massive geo-political implications, one of the last flashpoints of the Cold War, it was the most extensive confrontation between communism and the 'free world' and was seen by many to be a major part in stopping the spread of communism (Cernetig, 1999; Galloway, 2003a; Koring, 2012a; Mickleburgh, 1997b; York, 2003b).

Public Perception and Collective Memory

WWII is firmly established within public discourse and collective memory. The size and scope of Canadian involvement, both foreign and domestic, as well as its emotional connections secure its continued commemoration and promulgation. The war has been and continues to be a prevalent subject in the media and popular culture, featuring in, among other mediums, computer games, music, plays, newspapers, television series, documentaries, and movies (Adams, 2011a; Adams, 2011b; Al-Solaylee, 2004; Barber, 1999; Dixon, 2005; Everett-Green, 2003; Kettle, 1998; Lacey, 1999; Lederman, 2012; Lederman, 2011; Lenk, 1998; Nestruck, 2012b; Posner,

1998; Punter, 2011; Stone, 2003; Taylor, 1997a; Todt, 2011; Vance, 2004). The literary sphere also draws heavily on WWII for a variety of works, fiction, non-fiction, and across all ages (Abella, 2003; Bercuson, 2003; Boyle, 1998; Brief, 2004; Characters, 2013; Copp, 2003; Forman, 1999; Fussell, 1999; Granatstein, 2011; Gwyn, 1999; History, 2004; Lederman, 2013; Martin, 2013; Matuk, 2003; Mini-Reviews, 2012; New, 1997; Perren, 1999; Ross, 1997; Second, 1998; Wark, 1999). The magnitude ascribed to WWII by the public and its memory is further visible in the range of ways that the war is referenced beyond the expected historical reflections and remembrances. Within the timeline, it functions as a cutoff point for the ending and beginning of different time periods (Smith, 1998; Taylor, 1997a). WWII also affected society at multiple levels with numerous new trends emerging after the war and still being credited to the war, including in music, science, technology, education, economy, retail, trade, investment, design, decor, construction, laws, taxes, immigration, globalization, and food and energy production (Abella, 1999; Bloom, 2003; Campbell, 2005b; Downey, 1999a; Farr, 2004; Forman, 1999; Grant, Vanderklippe & Tait, 2011; Griezic, 1998; Kelly & Sinopoli, 2011; Matas, 2005; Matuk, 2003; McGinnis, 1997; Morrison, 2003; Niester, 2004; Parkinson, 2012; Parkinson, 2011; Peirol, 1997; Peritz, 2013; Pitts, 2012; Reese, 2013; Reynolds, 2012; Supply, 1997; Tedds, 2012). WWII as a time of exceptional events is also relayed through the ongoing contextualization of events or developments as being the biggest or most significant since WWII, be it a major humanitarian disaster, a threat to global peace and security, a political development, a construction boom, or a commodity rally (Arbour, 2012; Barnes, 2005; Chase, 2011; Chase & Hunter, 2011; Jahn, 1999; Luciw, 2005; Martin, 2013). WWII and its events have further entered the public lexicon and consciousness as a reference point to frame or explain current situations,

including social, military, and political events (Barber, 1999; Cohen, 2011; Galloway, 2004a; Galloway, 2005; Grange, 1997; Laghi & Freeman, 2004; Wente, 2011; Winsor, 1998a). Technological developments, including walkie-talkies and radar, from WWII continue to be relevant and remarked upon, as do some social developments, like urbanization (Barber, 1999; Hawthorn, 2004; Macgowan, 1997; McCready, 2004; New, 1997).

One of the most prominently acknowledged and discussed ongoing results of WWII is its impact on Canada's international relationships, political, official, or otherwise. Post-WWII saw an influx of people immigrating to Canada from many different countries for numerous reasons, including as war brides, refugees, and displaced persons, in many cases creating and strengthening bridges and ties between their new home and their old one (Abella, 1999; Downey, 1999d; McCready, 2003b; O'Reilly, 2012). Official, political ties were born out of or altered by interactions, alliances, and assistance that occurred during the war and in some cases those past relationships are drawn upon in the context of current events (Chase, 2012; Galloway, 2003b; Laghi, 2005c; Laghi & Freeman, 2004; LeBlanc, 2004; McCarthy, 1999; Peritz, 2011; Ray, 2003; Simpson, 2003; Thorsell, 2003). Canada's contributions to the war as a nation in its own right, in many cases, helped solidify the war's ongoing presence in the public eye and the nation's on the international stage. In addition to the troops, mostly volunteers, and supplies provided by Canada, the country also trained Allied flight crews, operated joint task forces, contributed to critical scientific and technological developments, and harboured civilians and royalty from overseas (Barber, 1999; Bercuson, 2003; Downey, 1999a; Downey, 1999b; Forman, 1999; Hawthorn, 2004; Martin, 2005d; Mehler Paperny, 2011; Ray, 2003; U.K., 1998).

The Holocaust was one of the most indelible events of WWII, and like many other

aspects of the war, it too induced significant lasting developments in Canada and on the world stage. The Holocaust was a prime constituent of WWII and continues to differentiate it from other conflicts (Drohan, 1997; MacDonald, 1997). Post-WWII saw a growth in Canada's commitment to human rights, international cooperation, and peacekeeping, in addition to the Nuremberg trials, 1945-1949, and the creation of the International Criminal Court, 2002 (Anderssen, 1998a; MacDonald, 1997). Post-war pressures and new commitments and laws lead to investigation, prosecution, and sometimes deportation of war criminals in Canada, although there has also been some criticism that it was not stringent enough, and that Canada was a sanctuary for war criminals (Anderssen, 1999; Anderssen, 1998a; Gorondi, 2013; Jimenez, 2004; Ontario, 1998; Sarick, 1997; Second, 1998). Most of the public attention towards these undertakings appears in the first time period, presumably since fewer people who could be prosecuted and deported were still living in later time periods.

Continuing with the idea that WWII impacted and resonated on a scale broader than simply a military operation, not only were groups other than the troops involved in the war, but those groups are remembered alongside the military contribution. A variety of non-military professions are profiled across the time periods, including radio hosts, war artists, scientists, journalists, nurses, munition workers (Bisset, 2012; Clements, 1998; Csillag, 2011; Downey, 1999a; Lawlor, 2003; North Bay, 1997; Peritz, 2013; Ray, 2003). Most of the experiences were those from the home-front, including of those too young to enlist, but still contributing, and a significant amount of attention is directed to the involvement of women during the war, particularly engaging in new and unusual tasks (100 years, 1999; Al-Solaylee, 2004; Csillag, 2011 Granatstein, 2011; Gwyn, 1999; Lawlor, 2003; Peritz, 2013; Ray, 2003; Schmidt, 1998). In

the first time period, there is also notable notice taken of the merchant seamen of WWII, and the struggle and success of their claim for compensation (Alberta, 1998; Griezic, 1998; Thorne, 1999). In addition to reinforcing the idea that WWII was something larger than a 'typical' war, the involvement of non-military members also created a population who had a personal stake in the continued remembrance of the conflict and its participants.

The language used in reference to WWII is very indicative of the position it occupies in public opinion. While there is no denial of the horror and destruction of the war, there is also a certain ennobling of the conflict. Terms like heroes and heroism, homage, valour, honour, glory, victorious, triumph, valiant, jubilation, courage, sacred, phoenix, righteous, moral, humanity, and ordinary people and extraordinary things are prominently used (Abella, 2003Barber, 1999; Becker, 2003; Bercuson, 2003; Campbell, 2005b; Century of, 1999; Chase, 2012; Cheney, 2004; Copp, 2003; Freeman, 2003; Galloway, 2003a; Houpt, 2013; Laghi, 2005c; Langan, 2013b; McCarthy, 1999; Millson, 1997; Surtees, 1998a; Winsor, 1998c). Even certain words and phrases acknowledging a negative view, sacrifice, harrowing, tragic, great abyss, dramatic spectre of death, price of freedom, no price too high, and bright light in dark days, still suggest a degree of sentimentality or romanticism (Abbate & Ibbitson, 2011; Boyagoda, 2011; Cheney, 2004; Clements, 1998; Downey, 1999f; McCarthy, 1999; Mohr, 1999; North Bay, 1997). Even more striking within the public discourse, is the continued designation of WWII as the last 'just' or 'good' war, clear in its goals, divisions, motivations, and morality (Cheney, 2011; Cook, 2013; Copp, 2005; Everett-Green, 2003; Fraser, 1997g; Levin, 2005; Reynolds, 2011; White, 2003). This designation is not always a modern assessment of the war, but sometimes a reference to historical evaluations or an explanation for the war's ongoing prominence and allure, even as

questions regarding its morality are being raised (Cook, 2013; Everett-Green, 2003; Forman, 1999;Fraser, 1997g).

Modern attitudes towards WWII and in particular the conflict's veterans are further representative of the enduring importance of the war as its history has been transmitted to the next generations. Veterans are often viewed as living history or links to the past and the public often connects with them and their stories at an emotional level (Kilpatrick, 2003; Mbaho, 2005; Mickleburgh, 2003). Even among those who were not alive during the war, there is often an expectation that war veterans be well-treated and recognized for their service, both officially and not, and outrage when those expectations are not sufficiently met (Chase, 2013; Cheney, 2004; Fraser, 1999a; Fraser, 1999b; Friesen & Cheney, 2004; Galloway, 2004b; Griezic, 1998; MacDonald, 1997; McCarthy, 1999). This outrage can also extend to those affected by the war, but who were not military, such as those affected by war crimes (Adams, 2005; Drohan, 1997; Jimenez, 2004). There is also a resentment expressed that the professed ideals for which veterans fought and died have not prevailed (Opposing, 2005; Young, 2005). Politicians are expected to commemorate anniversaries and events and honour veterans, and if they fail to do so they face rebukes from their colleagues and the public (Bangarth, 2012; Cohen, 2011; Curry & Galloway, 2005; McCarthy, 1999; McIlroy, 1999; Morrison, 2012; Sallot, 2005).

Despite the language and ostensible nobility attributed to WWII, atrocities and horrors were prevalent. Many of those discussed in the public discourse relate to the Holocaust and later prosecutions for war crimes, but some mentioned are not linked with those issues, particularly those related to occurrences in the Pacific theatre (Makin, 2005; Mickleburgh, 1999; Oziewicz, 1998; Rinehart, 2005). The atrocities which exhibit less consistent prominence across the time

periods, however, are those that occurred within Canada, as opposed to overseas. The rejection of the SS St Louis, the internment of groups of various backgrounds, including Japanese, Italian, German, and Jewish, and discrimination and hostility towards many similar groups, domestic and immigrants are dark marks on Canada's history, which tend to be acknowledged more in the later time periods (Campbell, 2005a; Cook, 2013; Copp, 2005; Hawthorn, 2003; Jan, 1999; Laghi, 1998; Lederman, 2012; Levin, 2005; Martin, 2005c; Matas, 2005; Mohr, 1999; Moritsugu, 2011; Taylor, 1998; Wong & Lit, 2005).

Another criticism of the way in which WWII has been remembered, again more prominent in the later time periods, is the frequent Euro-centric focus. A substantial amount of the references to WWII focus on the European theatre, and among those that mention or discuss other areas of the conflict, many highlight that that particular aspect of WWII is little known, including Burma, Uganda, Africa, and China(Adrangi, 2003; Allemang, 2005; Boyagoda, 2011; Campbell, 2005a; Campbell, 2005b; Campbell, 2005c;Cook, 2013 Haskin, 2004; History, 2005; Moore, 2005). The importance of not excluding other groups and experiences is also highlighted, particularly within the history classroom, which is frequently noted as being strongly Euro-centric in its content (Boyagoda, 2011; Mickleburgh, 1999; Nestruck, 2012b; Sarick, 1998).

Changes in the composition of the commemoration of WWII, usually to less palatable aspects, appear primarily in later time periods, but otherwise the memory of the war seems to be mostly consistent across different time periods, both in content and in intensity. With time, the community has become more receptive to remembering and discussing the darker chapters of the war and their responses to them. However, in spite of the level destruction and duration, the war is routinely presented as an event around which to mobilize and unify the community and foster

loyalty and a common identity.

In terms of the Korean War's collective memory profile, it does not really have one. The war was significant for Canada, and the wider world, as discussed above, but those consequences are infrequently mentioned or acknowledged. More often the Korean War is referenced as a statistical baseline, with little to no acknowledgement of the scope of the conflict. Different deployments of the Canadian forces are successively listed as the largest since the Korean War (Gray, 1997b; Knox, 1999a; Matas & Roberts, 1997; Picard, 2003; Roberts, 1997a; Roberts, 1997b; Ways, 2011). The conflicts in Kosovo, Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan were all described as various military firsts for Canadian forces since the Korean War (Gee, 1999; Gee & Fraser, 1999; Friendly-fire, 2004;Knox, 2003; Laghi, 1999a; Laghi, 1999b; White, 2003). Other comparisons include the most aggressive military action, the biggest firefight, and the most important test of Western nations, all since the Korean War (Asked, 2004; Fraser, 1999e; Fraser & Saunders, 1999). Most of the comparisons that allude to the scope of the Korean War are only that, allusions, rarely explaining the Korean War side of the comparison and assuming that it will be implicitly understood. These recollections of the Korean War seem to value it for little else than the basic numbers and facts. One reference to the Korean War differs slightly, noting that the number of members of the military dealing with mental health issues was at a level unseen since the Korean War (Bailey, 2011). However, even though the experience of Korean War soldiers is suggested, the comparison is still based on numbers and does not detail the Korean War angle beyond a single line reference. Beyond the military angle, the Korean War is used as reference point for several other fields. Economically, changes in grocery sales, commodity prices, mortgage rates, housing demands, and market performance during or around the Korean War

became benchmarks for later comparisons, but the link, if any, between the change and the war are not explained (Building, 2011; Mahood, 1997; Reese, 2011; Reguly, 1999). The Korean War is also referenced in reflections on the Hepatitis blood infection crisis, but aside from a nominal suggestion of the need for blood products for casualties in a war zone, the Korean War again seems more like a convenient time stamp (Frank, 1998; Picard, 1998).

For those that were involved to varying extents in the Korean War, its memorability and significance seem more pronounced. There are numerous individuals mentioned across the three time periods for whom the Korean War is used in their description or identification. For some, involvement in the Korean War was a primary identifying or defining characteristic (Bourdon, 2005b; Canada, 2003; Downey, 1999c; English, 2011; Hawthorn, 2005; Jim, 2005; Lawlor, 2004a; LeBlanc, 2003b; Social Studies, 1999; Taber & Mahoney, 2003). For many others, however, the Korean War was a secondary mention within a broader, often non-military, career (Bensimon, 2003; Brunt, 1998; Christie, 2003; Deyong, 2012; Diamond, 1997; Died, 2005c; Died, 2005b; Died, 2003a; English, 2011; Enhorning, 2013; Fine, 2011b; Gellene, 2013; Hailing, 1999; Langan, 2013a; Macgowan, 1998; MacLeod, 1997; Martin, 2005a; Martin, 2004; Moses, 2013; Smith, 1999). In the cases where the military was the defining factor, the participation in Korean War was usually overshadowed by participation in WWII (Bourdon, 2011; Bourdon, 2005a; Died, 2003b; Martin, 2005b). These references may suggest a strong public memory of the Korean War, but they are limited to those with personal experience with the conflict, not those with secondary connections, and frequently present as incidental to other events.

Even beyond the individual level, many mentions of the Korean War are subordinate to other conflicts or events. It often appears listed alongside WWI and WWII, which on one hand

might suggest an increased profile of the Korean War, placing it with the two World Wars, and one report even refers to it as the Third World War, but at the same time a secondary status is often indicated by less attention paid (Borys, 2013; Campbell, 1999b; Cohen, 1999; Conlogue, 2003; Galloway & Wingrove, 2011; Remembrance, 1998; Social Studies, 2003). The Cold War in particular, easily overshadows the Korean War. The latter has been referred to as a component of the former, as conducted at the the height of the Cold War, as the last flashpoint of the Cold War, and as the event that turned the Cold War hot (Century, 1999c; Cernetig, 1999; Koring, 2012a; Posner, 2012). In one instance the DMZ, the heavily fortified border between North and South Korea, is said to serve as a reminder of the Cold War, with barely a reference to the Korean War in sight (Seguin, 1997). Some situations in the public eye have also prioritized civilian events over the Korean War, with mention a wreath laying ceremony attended by the Prime Minister at the UN Cemetery in South Korea appearing at the end of an article on the timing of an election campaign (Laghi, 2005a).

Within the first time period there are a few references suggesting that the Korean War represented the end of an era. It was described as the last occurrence of the ‘man in uniform’ archetype, proud, loyal, heroic, before the numbers and funding dropped, the military was marginalized, and women joined (Knox, 1999b; Testa, 1999). Additionally, the military efforts at the Red River flooding were described as a chance for the military to be seen as heroes again, the once proud status was no longer (Gray, 1997b). Although it is not mentioned directly as part of the proud history of the military, that the Korean War is not listed as one of the conflicts to diminish the pride of the military, suggests that it might have a place within the proud tradition (Gray, 1997b). These mentions do speak to a higher opinion of the Korean War, although not

necessarily directly, but they are very limited in the overall narrative and disappear in the second and third time periods, likely due to the arrival of Afghanistan veterans to revitalize the image of the military.

Appearing consistently throughout the time periods, however, are reflections of the Korean War's low profile in the collective memory. Forgotten War and Korean War have become almost synonymous, at least in North America within the public lexicon (Abbate, 2003a; Abbate, 2003b; Bercuson, 2013; Edwards, 2013; Galloway, 2003a; LeBlanc, 2003a; Melady, 1999; Mickleburgh, 1997b; Nesirky, 2003; Ottawa, 1997a; Perren, 2004; York, 2003b). The war does not have a greater profile under this name and references to it as such serve to reinforce its absence from the collective memory. Lack of public attention to the Korean War traces back to the the war's active phase. There was sporadic interest in and support for the war, public attitudes were not actively anti-Korean War, interest simply waned shortly after the conflict started (Bercuson, 2013; Edwards, 2013; Haskin, 1999). News coverage was limited unless there was a major event to fill a headline and repeated articles were rarely noticed (Haskin, 1999). In one case, news of the Korean War was bumped from the headlines by an NHL feud, indicative of either the seriousness of the fight or of the low priority attributed to the Korean War (MacLeod, 1997). Even the post-war return of soldiers was lacklustre, no welcome back like after WWII and some families were not aware that the troops were on their way home (Galloway, 2003a; Kim, 2003; LeBlanc, 2003a). Lack of recognition for those that fought in Korea continued to be the status quo. In one instance, indifference to Korean War veterans is said to have left them feeling as forgotten as the war (Abbate, 2003a). Official recognition as veterans was not immediate, nor easily attained, and medals for service in Korea were not issued for thirty years (Abbate, 2003b;

Galloway, 2003a; Ottawa, 1997a). There were long lasting fights for benefits for the veterans, particularly indigenous ones, and ongoing accounts of lack of access and information, denial of monetary claims and compensation, and being generally disregarded and snubbed by the government (Bourdon, 2005a; Fong, 2005; Lawlor, 2004a; LeBlanc, 2003a; MacKrael, 2011;Perkel, 2012a; Perkel, 2012b; Petrescu, 2005). Korean War commemorations particularly highlighted this last grievance, but also later demonstrated an improving relationship. Korean War veterans had to fundraise to build a memorial wall in Brampton on donated land when the government refused as request for space and funding and at the 50th anniversary ceremony at the same memorial nominal governmental participation was seen as a significant slight (Abbate, 2003a; Abbate, 2003b; Galloway, 2003a; Ottawa, 2003). However, later that same year, for the 50th anniversary, the government unveiled a permanent statue in Ottawa commemorating the Korean War and its veterans at a ceremony that was said to have been healing for many across the country (LeBlanc, 2003a). In addition, Camp Julien, the nickname for the base where Canadian forces were stationed in Afghanistan, was taken from a Korean War veteran (MacKinnon, 2003; Thorne, 2004c). Although it may be beginning to change, the Korean War and its veterans, if recalled and recognized, are frequently portrayed as having been neglected or forgotten, not hugely beneficial to promoting memorability.

The Korean War does receive a modest amount of acknowledgement as a significant historical event without being in reference to a current event, like peace talks or veterans issues. Reviews of and references to books, films and television shows, both fiction and non, that feature or draw from the Korean War, doubly highlight the war, demonstrating that it has been memorialized and directing individuals to additional sources of information (Andre, 2012;

Bercuson, 2013; Buzz, 2011; Cannon, 2012; Conlogue, 2003; Dafoe, 1999; Diamond, 1997; Fraser, 1999f; Gzowski, 1997; Haskin, 1999; Holz, 2003; Melady, 1999; Perren, 2004; Ryan, 2011a; Ryan, 2011b; Sanati, 2005; Vance, 2012). Various aspects of the Korean War also appear occasionally in each of the time periods, featured in sidebars in a moment or today in history or from the archives segment (Century, 1999c; Century, 1999e; Posner, 2012). There was a significant increase in these features during the second time period, which included 2003, the 50th anniversary of the Korean War armistice and the year "Canada Remembers the Korean War" was the themes of Veteran' Week (Archives, 2003a; Archives, 2003c; Archives, 2003d; Archives, 2003e; Archives, 2003f; Archives, 2003g; Archives, 2003h; Greenspon, 2003;LeBlanc, 2003a; Social Studies, 2003). However, there was no comparable upsurge in attention in the following time period which includes 2013, the 60th anniversary of the Korean War armistice and the declared "Year of the Korean War Veteran" in Canada (Bercuson, 2013). The limited, dedicated attention to the Korean War as an historical event does not offer a significant boost to the profile of the war within the public memory when it is so inconsistently presented and when larger and more prolific articles chronicle the many and varied ways in which it has been overlooked.

An interesting dichotomy exists in the public discussion of the Korean War and the fact that it is still ongoing. Across the time periods there is acknowledgement, sometimes explicit, that the Korean War is not technically over, with no formal peace treaty, only a ceasefire (Archives, 2003a; Archives, 2003d; Archives, 2003f; Bercuson, 2013; Brewster, 2013; Cernetig, 1999; Conlogue, 2003; Koring, 2012a; Melady, 1999; Mickleburgh, 1997b; Nesirky, 2003; Posner, 2012; York, 2003b). More implicit references, including resumption of peace talks,

discussions to resume peace talks, and efforts to link food aid with peace talks are reported and remarked upon (Archives, 2003hAsia, 1997a; Asia, 1997b; Janzen, 1997; Knox, 1997a; Knox, 1997b; Mickleburgh, 1997a; Mickleburgh, 1997b). Also noted are the growing risks and dangers associated with the lack of a peace treaty, the periodic eruptions of violence at the heavily armed border, compounded by the peril of North Korean nuclear capabilities (Burton, 2011; Koring, 2013; Koring, 2012a; Nesirky, 2003; World, 2003; York, 2003a; York, 2003b). However, in many cases when discussing the situation on the Peninsula very few references call the current situation a war, sometimes appearing to obliquely refer to war simply by mentioning peace talks or truce, or other times using terms like tensions, clashes, division, conflict, hostilities, dangerous (Century, 1999c; Cernetig, 1999; Koring, 2012a; Koring, 2003; Mickleburgh, 1997a; Seguin, 1997; York, 2003a). There seems a willingness to acknowledge the situation on the Korean Peninsula and its instability, but a reluctance to associate that instability with an ongoing war. Part of this reluctance may be carried over from past non-affiliation, from the earlier designations of the Korean War as a police action, rather than an actual war (Campbell & Koring, 2011; Kim, 2003; Social Studies, 2003). However, there could also be a hesitation to acknowledge that a war has gone on so long, that no one really won, that it could re-erupt into active conflict at nearly any moment, and that something otherwise easily relegated to memory and the history books still needs to be addressed, as do the individuals involved with it.

Despite the enduring nature of the conflict, the limited references to success and impacts, its frequent subordinate status, and the consistent referrals to the past and ongoing lack of attention all contribute to the Korean War seemingly being best known for being forgotten.

Changes in the Curriculum

Reference to World War II are rather prolific within the curriculum. The 1999 and 2005 editions feature it in very similar manners and references to WWII tend to fall into three general types: references to events during the war, results of the war, and the use of the war as a turning point. Unsurprisingly, a significant amount of the WWII teaching points in the 1999 and 2005 editions focus on the events and actions of WWII, particularly in the 'Canada's Participation in War, Peace, and Security' section.[1] In this section, both editions highlight the importance of the causes of WWII and how Canada became involved in it (MOE, 2005; Ministry of Education and Training [MOET], 1999). There is also notable attention given, within the same section, to Canada's contribution to WWII, although the two editions present those contributions differently. The 1999 offers three points focusing on Canada's military contribution, Canada's role in the Allied victory, and the contributions of individuals and groups from various ethno-cultural backgrounds contributed overseas and back in Canada (MOET, 1999). Examples from the first two points included Dieppe, D-Day, Sicily, liberation of Holland, and freeing prisoners from concentration camps (MOET, 1999). The 2005 edition instead presents Canada's contribution based on location, at home or overseas, both points listing more examples than were present in the 1999 edition which aids in countering the absence of the 1999 teaching point about ethno-cultural backgrounds. Some overseas contributions are common with the previous edition, those listed previously all reappear, but there are many new additions, such as Hong Kong, the Battle of the Atlantic, Billy Bishop, Georges Vanier, Tommy Prince, and Aboriginal peoples as a

[1] Within this section several of the teaching points address both WWI and WWII (e.g. "causes of [WWI] and [WWII]" and "military contributions in [WWI] and [WWII]") and while most examples are conflict specific, some of the examples listed under the 2005 teaching points can be applied to both conflicts, like the munitions industry and the war effort in local communities (MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999, p. 29)

contributing group (MOE, 2005). Domestic examples, while less prolific than the overseas ones, still cover a range of topics, such as "munitions industry, women war workers, British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, Camp X, and the war effort in local communities" (MOE, 2005, p. 47). As part of the "Changing Role of Government" section governmental actions during wartime are specifically mentioned, although not directly linked to a particular conflict, with the role of government including rationing and censorship mentioned in the 1999 edition and governmental restriction of certain rights and freedoms during wartime mentioned in both (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). WWII is mentioned in the 2005 edition as an example for "the influence of Great Britain and Europe on Canada's participation in war and peacekeeping (MOE, 2005, p. 46). Additionally, two teaching points in separate sections highlight Canada's response to events within WWII, described as atrocities and major human tragedies, and the events themselves, including "Nanking Massacre, Battle of Hong Kong and its aftermath, concentration camps, Nazi murder of Canadian prisoners of war in Normandy, fire bombing of Dresden", "the Holocaust; Japanese atrocities…during [WWII]" (MOE, 2005, p. 47 & 49).

One teaching point shared between the editions, part of the "French-English Relations" section, could be considered as both an event during WWII and a result, since the tensions between English Canada and Quebec created by the conscription crisis did not end with the war (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). In a similar vein, both edition have two teaching points, which while not identical, reference the events of the Holocaust and its impact, primarily in Canada's responses, both overseas and domestically through the tackling of hate crimes and Nazi war criminals, human rights legislation, and participation in the International War Crimes Tribunal among others (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999).

A point in the "Change and Continuity" strand in both editions mentions the impact of technology on the lives of Canadians; the 1999 edition explicitly references the war, "the relationship between war and inventions…why technologies developed during and immediately after World War II changed life", while the 2005 edition actually references developments since World War I, but includes many of the same examples as the 1999 edition (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 30). Both editions inquire, as part of "Social, Economic, and Political Structures", regarding the development and diversification of the Canadian economy as a result of WWII (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Other events from WWII, American isolationism and the use of atomic weapons in Japan, are listed in the 2005 edition as "international political trends or events [that] contributed to political challenges facing Canada" (MOE, 2005, p. 46). The connection between pre- and post-war policy changes and WWII superficially appears to be merely that of a time marker, but coverage of this topic in the "Canada's Participation in War, Peace and Security" section and the examples included in both editions, Jewish refugees, post-WWII displaced persons, and current refugee and immigration law, suggest a causal role of WWII in this change (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Further bridging the two categories, teaching points with similar themes, when combined, references WWII as both an inducement and as a temporal way-point, for "Canada's role as a world leader in human rights" (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 31). In the 1999 edition, the Holocaust is the impetus, and in the 2005 one, this role has come about since WWII (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The war is used as a temporal reference point in the 1999 and 2005 editions for post-WWII "developments that led to the globalization of the Canadian economy" and other economic developments, and international agreements and organizations in 2005 (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 28). It is again referenced in the teaching

points on “the impact on Canadian society of…post-[WWII] population shifts to the suburbs” and “the role of government in promoting economic opportunity in post-WWII Canada” (MOE, 2005, p. 48 & 51; MOET, 1999, p. 30 & 34). WWII is also indirectly used as turning point for history, both editions have a point on “the roles and functions of the Canadian armed forces since 1945”, which, while not explicit, has a clear implication (MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999).

Although the organization is different many of the same themes carry over into the 2013 edition of the curriculum and fall into the same categories. WWII is listed as a major event in the “1929-1945” period in the course overview and a comparison of WWI and WWII is a suggested inquiry in the “Historical Inquiry and Skill Development” section (MOE, 2013). Differing from previous editions, the 2013 edition combines the the main causes of WWII and Canada’s contribution to the war effort into a single teaching point (MOE, 2013). However, that first topic, unlike in previous editions, includes numerous examples, “economic hardship in Germany produced by the Treaty of Versailles and economic depression; invasions by fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and imperial Japan; the inadequacy of the League of Nations to address international crises” (MOE, 2013, p.116). The second topic’s exampled echo the ones of previous editions, but with some new additions, “the Italian campaign…Paul Triquet and Charles Tompkins; the contributions of women” (MOE, 2013, p. 116). The last example recalls the “women war workers” example in the 2005 edition, but a broader scope. Other teaching points list events from WWII as examples, usually without mentioning that conflict specifically. “[I]nternment camps for “enemy aliens”” and “hostility towards some ethnocultural during [WWII]” are ways that Canadians “came into conflict with each other during this period” (MOE, 2013, p. 116 & 134). “[T]he decision to intern Japanese Canadians”, “victory bonds, government policies on wartime

rationing, propaganda, and censorship", and the invocation of the War Measures Act are highlighted as "main causes of some key political developments and/or government policies in Canada" (MOE, 2013, p. 115-6 & 133). In addition to the individuals listed in the WWII specific teaching point, several of the individuals listed as contributing to "Canadian society, politics, and/or culture" were active during WWII, Mackenzie King, Elsie MacGill, Tommy Prince, Kam Len Douglas Sam (MOE, 2013, p. 116).

A few of the teaching points straddle between the themes of events during the war and results of the war. Two "key economic trends and developments" listed are the wartime economy and pensions for veterans (MOE, 2013, p. 115). The "responses of Canada and Canadians to some major international events and/or developments", including aggression of fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and/or imperial Japan; the Holocaust; the Manhattan project", and the SS St Louis, are recorded as significant to Canadian heritage and identity (MOE, 2013, p. 117). Drawing from the previous section, "1914-1929", the "consequences of Canada's military participation in the war" could easily be translated into the next time period and onto the next World War (MOE, 2013, p. 113). Consequences such as "enlistment; the conscription bill; the development of war industries; the military consequences and the human costs of battles involving Canadian forces; issues facing veterans; Remembrance Day" later re-occurred (MOE, 2013, p. 113). The final section of the course, 1982-present, in addressing the "significance of public acknowledgement and/or commemoration…of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international", list events from WWII, the Holocaust and Japanese-Canadian internment (MOE, 2013, p. 124).

Result and outcomes of WWII, many of them long lasting, were varied and appeared in

various sectors and fields. Major science and technology developments included "penicillin… sonar, radar, walkie-talkies… the atomic bomb" and blood transfusions (MOE, 2013, p. 115 & 133). Military involvement in WWII is listed as a factor influencing "Canada's relationships with Great Britain and the United States" (MOE, 2013, p. 116). WWII more generally is also given as a influence on the "lives of various groups in this country", including "young men who fought in the war and those who did not; farmers; women in the workforce and at home; "enemy aliens"; veterans, including men who were in the merchant navy" and Japanese Canadians (MOE, 2013, p. 116). The Holocaust is specifically highlighted as impacting Canadian society and Canadians' attitudes towards human rights, such as "changes in Canadians' responses to minority groups; more open refugee policies…Canada's signing of the [UN] Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the evolution of laws against hate crimes" (MOE, 2013, p. 117).

In most cases in this edition, instances where WWII could be used as a mile marker for a new trend or development are also results of the war. In the following section, "1945-1982", demographic trends and developments in Canada are mentioned with reference to postwar immigrants, refugees, and war brides and developments in immigration and in refugee and immigration policy with reference to displaced persons after WWII and the influence on postwar immigration policy to the development of a multicultural society in Canada (MOE, 2013). An additional example for demographic trends and developments, teen subcultures that developed after WWII, does not have a clear attribution to the war (MOE, 2013). The final example of WWII as a defining timeline marker, with one section spanning 1929-1945 and another 1945-1982, is not an explicit, but fairly easily inferred to reference WWII, especially since nearly all references to WWII appear in the former section (MOE, 2013). The themes related to WWII

carry through the different editions of the curriculum, although specific examples increase and in many cases become more diverse.

Mentions of the Korean War are rather sparse in the curriculum, and most are indirect or implied, rather than explicit. The only clear mention of the Korean War in both the 1999 and 2005 editions is as an example under the teaching point on "Canada's role in Cold War activities" (MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999). More broadly the Korean War can be included as a "role [or] function carried out by the Canadian armed forces since 1945" in either the 1999 or 2005 editions (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 29). It could also be discussed in the "Changing Role of Government" subsection; the 1999 edition enjoins understanding "the role of government in wartime" and the rationale for its actions and the 2005 edition, "why the Canadian government restricted certain rights and freedoms during wartime" and the impact, both teaching points sharing examples (MOE, 2005, p. 51; MOET, 1999, p. 33). The 1999 edition's listing of veterans as an example of "early twentieth-century pressure groups…promoting social support programs" could be expanded to Korean War veterans, even though the time frames do not quite match (MOET, 1999, p. 33). Although listed as a Canadian contributing "to the war effort overseas during…World War II", Tommy Prince also served in Korea (MOE, 2005, 47).

The 2013 edition also includes only two direct mentions of the Korean War, but has several broader points under which the Korean War could be included. In the 1945-1982 strand, the Korean War is given as an example of "key developments related to Canada's participation in the international community during this period, with a particular focus on the context of the Cold War" (MOE, 2013, p. 119). One of the sample questions for this teaching point also names the Korean War, "Do you think Canada's involvement in the Korean War is an example of continuity

or change in Canadian military history?" (MOE, 2013, p. 119). Two other items in this time period could encompass the Korean War; "government responses to the Red Scare/Cold War" as an example of "key political developments and/or government policies in Canada", as well as a sample question for key developments in the Canada-US relationship, "What impact did the Cold War have on the relationship between Canada and the United States?" (MOE, 2013, p. 119 & 120). Tommy Prince is again listed as significant figure in the WWII era strand (MOE, 2013). There are other examples listed in the earlier strands which, if expanded beyond their time frame could include discussion of the Korean War, as the issues remain valid to that conflict as well. Listed consequences of Canada's participation in WWI include "enlistment…the military consequences and the human costs of battles involving Canadian forces, issues facing veterans, [and] Remembrance Day" (MOE, 2013, p. 113). In the 1929-1945 strand, pensions for veterans are an example of a key economic development during the era and wartime propaganda is given as a key government policy (MOE, 2013, p. 115).

Discussion

WWII as one of, if not the, most prolific event within the curriculum, is strongly reflective of the conflict's status within broader collective memory. As a major event both in terms of size and scope, and of its long term effects, trends, developments, and emotions, it follows that WWII and the stories associated with it would be a priority within a history curriculum to be passed on to the younger generations. For the most part the narrative presented in the curriculum closely follows the one presented in broader public memory. Both recognize and make use of WWII as a crucial marker in the timeline, distinguishing the end of one era and the beginning of another. The specifically mentioned trends emerging from the war are not

always the same, but there is no question that WWII is seen as an origin point, if not the source, of many social, economic, political, and technological changes for Canada and the larger international community. Attention to and a focus on the basic facts and events of WWII is also consistent between the curriculum and the war's public profile. Summaries and recountings of different events of the war are periodically presented with no clear purpose other than as a remembrance tool, no references to current events, deaths, or developments (Allemang, 2005; Campbell, 2005b; Campbell, 2005c; Cash, 2004; History, 2005). Commensurately, each edition of the curriculum contains teaching points assigned purely to the events of the war, Canada's military contributions and role in Allied victories in the 1999 edition, Canada's contributions to the war effort overseas and at home in the 2005 edition, and Canada's contribution to the war effort in the 2013 edition (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Linking WWII with specific outcomes and effects takes place in other teaching points. The conflict's prominence within the curriculum is further evident in that it is one of very few specific events that warrants its own teaching points. Most historical events fall as examples under more general or generic teaching points such as the evolution of Canadian political autonomy, women's movement, labour movement, major events in the Quebec nationalism and separatist movement, Canada's contribution to the United Nations and other international organizations, and key social, economic, and political changes (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). In the 1999 and 2005 editions, the only other historical events to be specifically named in the body of teaching points are WWI and the Cold War, as is also the case in the 2013 edition, with the addition of the Quiet Revolution (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). However, in all cases WWII features more frequently than any of the others, even WWI.

As much as it was a major military undertaking, ongoing public recognition of WWII as more than 'just' a military conflict, is reflected in the curriculum's emphasis on being aware of and exploring the perspectives and experiences of the range of people and groups implicated, although that range evolves throughout the editions. All the editions highlight the impact of the war at home and Canadian contributions to the war effort both at home and abroad. Although only the earlier two make an explicit distinction, the 2013 edition profiles the different spheres through the examples included (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). References to refugees from WWII relocating in Canada also appear across the editions (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The experience of women specifically only appears in the later editions. The "contributions of women" and "women in the workforce and at home" may appear vague, but indicates expanded attention for the variety of positions and tasks filled by women in contrast with the "women war workers" of the 2005 edition (MOE, 2013, p. 116; MOE, 2005, p. 47). The profile of non-military or combat roles also expands successively through the editions, with references to scientific developments in each edition, references to the munition industry and the intelligence sector in the latter two, and medical developments and artists in the last (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Mentions of or opportunities to discuss the experiences of different ethnic groups are, for the most part, more understated than other groups. The Holocaust, and by extension those affected by it, are given prominent billing. Groups of "various ethno-cultural backgrounds" are mentioned in the 1999 edition, "groups, such as Aboriginals" in 2005, and simply "various groups" in 2013 (MOE, 2013, p. 116; MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999, p. 29). The 2005 and 2013 editions also list Tommy Prince, an Aboriginal veteran, as a significant individual and Kam Len Douglas Sam, a Chinese-Canadian pilot, is added in the 2013 edition

(MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005). This diversity of experiences within the grand narrative of WWII in the curriculum more accurately represents the collective experiences and memories of Canadians. Such diversity in the perspectives and experiences memorialized, both in the curriculum and in the larger community, allow a wider range of individuals see something of their own experiences and history reflected in the narrative and be part of the community represented by that narrative and commemoration. If this diversity is not present, then there is the risk of alienating sub-groups within the community who do not feel recognized as part of the community's history potentially leading to dissension and internal conflict. In an academic setting, not only is there the risk of alienating students who cannot relate to the material, but also the risk of hampering their absorption of the larger narratives, since students more readily engage with and pay attention to material to which they can relate.

Also reflective of the evolution in the focus of public commemoration, is the geographic diversity within the curriculum. In the 1999 edition, the publicly critiqued Euro-centric focus is strongly present, with the curriculum not even venturing into the Battle of the Atlantic (MOET, 1999). The 2005 and 2013 editions do include the Battle of the Atlantic, as well as Hong Kong, China, and Japan as active areas (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005). Although not wholly reflective of the geographical diversity present in broader memory, not only does expanding the view of 'where' WWII change the discourse in terms of veterans and their descendants being able to see their experiences as part of the collective memory, but it also can have the the same impact for the civilians who lived in those places and their descendants whose histories might otherwise be disregarded.

The curricular portrayal of Canada's international relationships, particularly its political

ones, related to WWII has evolved to be more in line with the public view of Canada as an international actor in its own right during and after the war. Although the 1999 and 2005 editions recognize Canada's roles and contributions to WWII, both editions also contain teaching points presenting Canada as subordinate in international dealings. The 1999 point, "the influence of Great Britain and Europe on Canadian policies" is altered and linked with WWII as an example in 2005, "the influence of Great Britain and Europe on Canada's participation in war and peacekeeping" (MOE, 2005, p. 46; MOET, 1999, p. 28). In contrast the 2013 teaching point, "key issues and/or developments affected Canada's relationships with Great Britain and the United States…e.g.…military involvement in [WWII]", puts Canada on more equal footing, rather than being directed (MOE, 2013, p. 116).

The language frequently used in the public commemoration of WWII is distinct and persists conspicuously across time periods, but does not appear in the curriculum. The closest the curriculum comes to such descriptors is a reference to "Allied victories" in the 1999 edition and which does not appear in the later editions (MOET, 1999, p. 29). Despite the lack of charged language, certain aspects of the WWII narrative within the curriculum could be seen as presenting the war in an advantageous light, despite the obvious tragedy and destruction associated with a war. The large presence of WWII within the curriculum is one of those aspects. Its presence could be attributed to simply the size and duration of the conflict. However, the Cold War and WWI, the closest comparisons in terms of scope and duration, have noticeably smaller footprints within each edition of the curriculum (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). It seems unlikely that so much space and time would be devoted to an event that was primarily destruction and misery.WWII's extensive presence also permits the inclusion of more than the

basics of a military conflict. Many of the outcomes of WWII listed within the curriculum, despite emerging from unfortunate circumstances, are viewed and remembered as positive developments. Post-war economic changes, prominent in all the editions and referenced periodically in public discourse, are often viewed as welcome, particularly in light of the Great Depression preceding the war (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). It is fairly easy to see many of the scientific and technological developments, such as radar (mentioned in each edition), sonar, walkie-talkies, and penicillin (added in 2013) as beneficial outcomes, particularly when they are still prolifically in use today (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Changes to immigration law following WWII mimic previous trends in immigration key in the Canadian narrative and echo Canada's actions on the international stage during the same time period, and when presented as linked with Holocaust survivors in 2005 or as "more open refugee policies" take on a positive connotation (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The Holocaust is particularly linked within the curriculum with developments in Canadian hate crime laws and human rights legislation domestically and internationally, the practical benefit of which seems clear, but which also has an emotional benefit, especially when Canada is described as a "world leader in human rights" in the two earlier editions (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 31). Additionally, the diversity of experiences represented in recollections, the potential for everyone to relate to the narrative in some way, can be seen as a positive outcome. It may have been a time of suffering and destruction, but the whole country was involved to varying degrees and that unifying sentiment generally persists into the present.

The curriculums do not avoid the negative aspects of the war, but the majority of those discussed in the different editions, including the Holocaust and concentration camps, the

Nanking massacre, the Battle of Hong Kong, firebombing of Dresden, murder of Canadian prisoners of war, Japanese atrocities, and the bombing of Japan did not involve Canada as an actor (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The focus on horrors occurring elsewhere can help maintain the inspiring, unifying characteristic of the local overall WWII narrative and memory. Not only can including negative aspects of history be beneficial to a community's collective memory, teaching about themes like human rights, but representing an aspect of history, particularly one as obviously destructive as a world war, as devoid of such aspects would seem disingenuous, weakening the narrative and leading students to question the material they have been taught, especially if they were already aware of the stories. At the same time, it is rarely pleasant or easy to integrate such events or actions into one's conception of one's own community, so including ones that are removed from the community, minimizes this need while also allowing the issues to be acknowledged and taught.

However, even within the general recollection and memory of WWII, there is a portion of that attention that is directed to Canada's own less than pleasant actions during and after the war, particularly related to the internment of Canadians, the rejection of refugees, and the domestic prosecution of war criminals. Unlike the public memory of the time periods considered, in which this theme is consistently present if at fluctuating levels, it is fairly muted in the curriculum until the 2013 edition. The closest the 1999 edition comes is a teaching point, without examples, on the government restricting certain rights and freedoms during wartime and the impact on various groups (MOET, 1999). The 2005 edition has the same teaching point, but adds examples including "mandatory registration of enemy aliens, Japanese-Canadian internment", but grouped with rationing and censorship, the examples loses some of their severe tone (MOE, 2005, p. 60).

The 2013 edition takes a more direct approach in the language used, although the total number of references is not greatly increased, listing "the decision to intern Japanese Canadians" as a key political development or government policy, "internment camps for 'enemy aliens'" as a way in which Canadians came into conflict with each other and "Japanese-Canadian internments" as a past human tragedy and human rights violation (MOE, 2013, p. 116 & 124). None of the other groups interned during WWII are mentioned, although most would probably fit under the category of 'enemy aliens' and this omission is also consistent with the broader collective memory which has been observed to focus on that particular group. The latter example in the 2013 edition also notes that the past human tragedies and human rights violations significant to public acknowledgement and commemoration can be both domestic and international (MOE, 2013). The rejection of the SS St Louis is also specifically mentioned in the 2013 edition, while the 1999 and 2005 edition reference the "closed door policy towards Jewish refugees in the 1930's" (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999). While not as extreme as some other blemishes on Canada's history, it is interesting that despite being prominent in the public eye in the first time period due to the airing and resolution of their grievances, merchant seamen are not mentioned in the curriculum until the 2013 edition (MOE, 2013). None of the editions mention the controversies associated with the domestic prosecution of war criminals.

It is also worth noting that the 2013 edition omits the reference to Canada as a world leader in human rights, possibly in connection with the increasing openness towards the less admirable parts of the narrative. Mentions of Canada as a world leader in human rights in previous editions coupled with the more prominent, almost exclusive, profile given to atrocities that occurred abroad could be perceived as attempts to distance Canada within the curriculum

from its own adverse past by not actively remembering it, as similarly occurred somewhat in the public memory. While curricular changes to include more of the more unpleasant aspects of Canada's WWII history do not necessarily reflect the level of acknowledgement that has emerged in the broader public memory, they have become integrated in the document, suggesting more openness to remembering and introducing students to those stories. This increasing openness can be complemented by the lack of promoting Canada as a world leader in human rights. There may not be acknowledgement of all the dark chapters of Canada's history, but they also seem to be less obscured by fairly obvious promotions of Canada's history at the other end of the spectrum. It has taken time and continues to be difficult for Canada to become comfortable with discussing and acknowledging these darker aspects of Canada's WWII; an apology for Japanese-Canadian internment came in 1988, 1990 for Italian-Canadian internment, followed by redress in 2005, an apology the SS St Louis came in 2018, and reparations for German-Canadian internment is still outstanding (Abedi, 2018; Campbell, 2005a; Federal, 2018). And it has taken evidently longer still for that comfort with these topics to extend to making these chapters part of an official record to be taught to youth.

In many ways the portrayal of WWII is consistent through the editions of the curriculum, but those changes that do occur appear to bring the curriculum content more in line with the broader existing collective memory of the conflict and the diverse reality of the community that affiliates with those memories, leaving open the possibility that current disparities may be modified in the future.

The profiles of the Korean War in the public memory and in the curriculum might appear incongruous initially, but realistically the war's portrayal in the curriculum is a reasonably

faithful reflection and representation. There is no denying that the public profile and memory of the Korean War is substantially smaller than that of WWII, but the Korean War is mentioned more frequently in public discourse than might be expected based on its near non-presence in the curriculum, one or two named mentions per editions. However, most of the public attention is centred on the lack of recognition for the war or uses the war as a timeline plot point without delving into the actual event. Given this lack of attention to commemorating the substance of the Korean War, the low profile of the Korean War as a named event appears more in line. This diminished profile within the curriculum is compounded when one of the primary functions of the Korean War within public memory and discourse, as an historical marker, is not employed, unlike with WWII. Also, even though none of the other wars or major events are referenced by their alternate names, like the Great War or the war to end wars, there is a small element of irony that the Korean War is never referred to as the Forgotten War in the curriculum, as it is one of the conflict's more notable characteristics and would be an easy acknowledgement of the war's journey through public memory.

The Korean War's in many ways subordinate status among the wars and military conflicts in Canadian history and memory is also evident in the curriculum. In many of the instances of the Korean War featuring in remembrances or commemorations, be they obituaries, coverage of Remembrance Day services, or other contexts, the war is very much a secondary component, eliciting less coverage and attention compared to other wars, or specifically being described as a component of a larger conflict. In all editions of the curriculum, the only mentions of the Korean War by name occur as an example for teaching points on the Cold War, "Canada's role in Cold War activities" in 1999 and 2005, and "key developments related to Canada's participation in the

international community…with a particular focus on the context of the Cold War" (MOE, 2013, p. 119; MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999, p. 29). Furthermore, in the 1999 and 2005 editions the Korean War falls second in the list of Cold War activities behind espionage (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Technically, there are two named mentions of the Korean War in the 2013 edition, but they both fall under the same teaching point, one as an example and one as a sample question, so still very similar to the previous editions in its treatment (MOE, 2013). While not specifically named, there are another two items pertaining to the Cold War in the 2013 edition under which the Korean War could be discussed, "government responses to the Red Scar/Cold War" as an example of a key political development or government policy and "the impact [of] the Cold War…on the relationship between Canada and the [US]" as a sample question for key developments in Canada's relationship with the US (MOE, 2013, p. 119 & 120). In these references, not only is the Korean War an unnamed possible subset of the Cold War, but the Cold War itself is not part of the main teaching point. Additional opportunities for the inclusion of the Korean War can be found if teaching points are expanded beyond their original contexts, including: veterans as an early twentieth-century pressure group in the 1999 edition; military consequences and human costs of battles involving Canadians, issues facing veterans, and Remembrance Day as consequences of Canada's participation in WWI in the 2013 edition; pensions for veterans as a key economic development and wartime propaganda as a key governmental policy both during the 1929-1945 strand of the 2013 edition; and Tommy Prince, listed as WWII veteran, but who also served in the Korean War (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The two remaining instances where the Korean War could be addressed do not mention any particular conflict, therefore not requiring expansion, but still group the Korean War

with any other conflicts that might be relevant to government restrictions on rights and freedoms during wartime and the role of government in wartime (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). A conspicuous absence within the curriculum is an acknowledgement of the Korean War's continuation, particularly in the 2013 edition with it chronological orientation. The continued conflict on the Korean Peninsula is a fairly prominent and consistent theme within public memory. WWII continues to be clearly mentioned in the two strands after its end, in 1945-1982 and 1982-present, but the Korean War or any reference to ongoing conflict on the Peninsula is omitted from the 1982-present strand (MOE, 2013). The war or ongoing tensions could conceivably be inserted as one of the ways Canada has "participated in the international community since 1982", but the examples given do not lend themselves to associations with the Korean War the way previous references did (MOE, 2013). Much like its appearances in public memory and dialogue, the Korean War does not feature independently within the curriculum, appearing instead as a subset, as part of a conglomerate of events, or as an 'also applicable'.

Some of the potential opportunities to include the Korean War in the curriculum speak to specific aspects of the Korean War narrative. Two mentions are particularly reflective of the discussions happening in the public sphere. The 1999 reference to veterans as a pressure group and the 2013 reference to issues facing veterans as an impact of Canada's military participation could be very relevant to the Korean War narrative, despite explicitly referring to other eras, early twentieth-century for the first and WWI for the second (MOE, 2013, p. 113; MOET, 1999, p. 33). Korean War veterans had to campaign for their benefits and official recognition from a government that was reluctant to acknowledge them as war veterans with the appropriate entitlements. That the Korean War veterans' challenges to gain status and benefits as actual war

veterans are not addressed directly within the curriculum, but are familiar enough that can be drawn under the umbrella of the challenges of veterans from previous wars is indicative of the frustration of securing recognition and commemoration. The inclusion of Tommy Prince within the curriculum, despite the more obvious association with WWII, could also be used to incorporate another dimension in the Korean War narrative. Prince is the only Korean War veteran mentioned within later two editions and he is Aboriginal. One of the smaller narrative threads within public commemoration of the war, is the experience of Aboriginal soldiers, how their treatment overseas was more equal than had been previously seen or expected and how they were treated worse than other veterans when they returned home (Lawlor, 2004a). Prince's Aboriginal background likely influenced his inclusion as an example for WWII, and whether or not his Korean War experience was part of the consideration, his presence in the curriculum offers an opportunity, however well embedded, to expand the aspects of the Korean War that are explored and remembered. The challenge with integrating the Korean War as part of these teaching points or examples is that it requires the reader or instructor to have a great enough knowledge of the Korean War to make these connections on their own and based on the general standing of the public's memory and knowledge of the war, such circumstances would likely be rather rare.

It is also oddly apt that the Korean War's limited presence is in a governmental document. A significant trend in public discussion of the Korean War is lack of appropriate treatment and recognition of the war and its veterans by the government. Granted this criticism is most often directed at the federal government and the curriculum is issued by the provincial government, but they are both levels within the same system and it is not difficult to envision

that the behaviour of one might be impact the other. And while there is a degree of public consultation and involvement in the development of a curriculum, the majority of the population does not appear to be invested in the story and memory of the Korean War, leaving little external pressure. Unlike for WWII where mistreatment of veterans or lack of commemoration elicits criticism from the general public and politicians alike, for the Korean War, such criticism comes almost exclusively from those with a personal connection to the war. The emotional connection between the Korean War and the general public seems to be significantly lesser.

The lack of emotional engagement with the Korean War, especially as compared to WWII, can likely also be connected with the conflict's small foot print in the public memory. A lack of emotional resonance can make it more difficult and feel less crucial to remember and commemorate an event, but a lower level of public attention during and immediately following the event can in turn limit the ongoing resonance within a community's collective memory. If an event is not seen as important initially it never establishes a secure foothold to ensure it is integrated into and passed on as part of the collective memory, and this situation can be seen with the Korean War, particularly contrasted with WWII. During the war, news coverage at home was sparse, the effort and sacrifices required of those at home were minimal, and the purpose of sending soldiers overseas was not wholly clear (Bercuson, 2013; Haskin, 1999; MacLeod, 1997). In the initial aftermath of the war and in the years following, characteristics of the Korean War continued to limit its embedment in collective memory. Again, unlike WWII, the Korean War had no clear victory, there was no economic boom following the war, the boundaries in place before the war were effectively re-established afterwards, and the nation which Canada had gone to defend spent the thirty years following the war under a dictatorship (Bercuson, 2013; Melady,

1999). A comparison with WWII is especially relevant as that was a contributor to the low public engagement during the Korean War; the Korean War was a stark reminder that the end of fighting and war expected from WWII was a false hope and the short time frame between the two wars meant that WWII was still fresh in the public's mind, from the sacrifice and loss of WWII to the fact that most were still recovering from that war (Bercuson, 2013; Campbell & Koring, 2011; Melady, 1999).

Despite its potential contributions to the national narrative, characteristics of the Korea War have contributed to its legacy, both in the curriculum and the wider collective memory, of being neglected or forgotten.

Conclusion

Elements of both WWII and the Korean War could be beneficial to building and strengthening community pride and unity, at a national or more local level. However, the histories of both events also contain elements which can challenge those outcomes. While promoting and disseminating those favourable characteristics might appear as a straightforward way to strengthen national narrative and sentiment, only WWII is really presented in this manner, and the Korean War appears mostly as an aside, consistent with the way those conflicts are already viewed and remembered by the public. Additionally, there is a growing inclusion within the WWII curricular depiction of the less savoury elements of Canada's participation in the war, apparently shadowing changes in the conversations taking place in the wider collective memory.

Chapter 3 - Crises:

October and Oka

Canada, as a nation, has been fortunate to not have experienced war formally within its borders. However, there have been situations where the military has been employed as an armed response to domestic conflicts. These conflicts often have a more limited public and historical profile than international wars, but they can be equally, if not more, illustrative of the associated communities. Domestic conflicts,[2] such as the October and Oka Crises, are quite different in nature to wars, particularly international ones from the Canadian perspective. Not only do they differ in scope, but what they symbolize and illustrate for the country. Wars, primarily those that occur abroad, are often easily integrated into the national narrative and memory as unifying and defining events, both at the time and into the present. Conflicts such as the crises, however, at their most basic, candidly demonstrate divisions and fractures within the nation and the crises can be relatively isolated from the wider community. Additionally, deploying military forces on a nation's own citizens can be difficult to reconcile within the national memory. Examining the October and Oka Crises also demonstrates the importance of what a conflict represents and symbolizes for its continued commemoration and the capacity for a community to modify the recollected natures of conflicts as time passes.

The Crises and Their Significance

The two crises, October and Oka, appear, broadly, to be specific confrontations between two distinct populations in Canada, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and French or sovereigntist and English or federalist. However, they may be flash points within much larger and more

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[2] Is not intended to include civil wars or other internal conflicts that see international intervention

complex issues.

The October Crisis was the point at which a much longer simmering conflict came to a head. The Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), an organization formed in 1963 and composed of multiple isolated cells, aimed to advance the creation of an independent Québecois state through any means necessary, including criminal activities and violence (Smith, 2015). The October 5, 1970, kidnapping of British Trade Commissioner James Cross in Montreal by FLQ members triggered the October Crisis (Smith, 2015). The situation further devolved with additional terrorist acts, including the kidnapping and subsequent murder of Pierre Laporte, Minister of Labour and Minister of Immigration (Smith, 2015). Federal assistance was requested by both Montreal Mayor Drapeau and Quebec Premier Bourassa and on October 16, the federal government, under Prime Minister Trudeau, enacted the War Measures Act, the only time it has been used in Canada in peacetime (Smith, 2015). Under the Act, the FLQ was outlawed, civil liberties were suspended, and people could be arrested and held without being charged (Smith, 2015). More than 450 people were arrested in Quebec during this time and most were later released without being charges (Smith, 2015). The military was deployed and Montreal saw tanks and soldier patrolling its streets (Bartley, 2003a; Basilieres, 2005; Perreaux, 2011). Laporte's body was found the day after the War Measures Act was invoked and Cross was released in December (Smith, 2015). The cell that kidnapped Cross negotiated for passage to Cuba, but the cell that kidnapped and killed Laporte were convicted of kidnapping and murder (Smith, 2015).

There were many memorable and controversial aspects of the October Crisis. It has been described as a particularly violent and disturbing time, which many might prefer to forget

(Century, 1999b; Sallot, 1998). The suspension of civil liberties under the War Measures Act was seen as necessary by some of the country, but others, particularly French nationalists and civil libertarians, were strongly opposed, considering its enactment to be a national civil rights crisis (Fine, 1997; Matas, 2003; Peritz, 2012; da Silva, 2003). For the politicians involved in the crisis, especially Trudeau, their actions were, and continue to be, closely examined and significantly contribute to their legacy (Bliss, 1999; Dallaire, 2013; Matas, 2003; Peritz, 2012; da Silva, 2003). The Crisis underlined the importance of language and culture in Canada and highlighted the division present along the language boundary, further indicating that the actions thus far towards bilingualism, including the Official Languages Act and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism, were not seen as wholly satisfactory (Bliss, 1999; Cannon, 2003; Campbell, 1999a; Campbell, 1997; Thorsell, 1998). The majority of public support for the FLQ, which was not inconsequential, nearly vanished in the face of violence and terror and the increased use of violence and terror, and public energy moved towards political and democratic options, contributing to the creation and election of the Parti Québecois and the Bloc Québecois (Basilieres, 2005; Century, 1999d; Hampson & Hay, 2005; Perreaux, 2011). These political parties, and their later actions, continued to demonstrate the discontent and cynicism felt by many in Quebec towards the federal government and to remind the rest of Canada of how fragile the country can be (Basilieres, 2005; Bliss, 1999; Century, 1999d; Taber, 2003).

The Oka Crisis arose from a dispute over land between the Kanesatake reserve and the town of Oka (Marshall, 2013). The town had planned to expand a municipal golf course, but the land selected for the extension was claimed by the Mohawk community of Kanesatake as a sacred burial ground (Marshall, 2013). Protesters from the Kanesatake Mohawk community, later

joined by Mohawks from Akwasasne and Kahnawake, erected barriers in opposition to the expansion (Marshall, 2013). On July 11, 1990 a botched raid on the barricades by the Quebec provincial police force, the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) resulted in the death of an SQ officer and officially began the Oka Crisis. As tensions grew the SQ set up their own barricades blocking roads Kanesatake and Oka and the Mercier Bridge was blocked by Mohawk from Kahnawake (Marshall, 2013). The RCMP became involved mid-August and on the 20th a contingent of the Royal 22e Regiment arrived at the invitation of Premier Bourassa and took over from the SQ (Marshall, 2013). Pressure mounted against the protesters and negotiations lead to the dismantling of the Mercier Bridge blockade on August 29th and the Oka barricades on September 26th, ending the Oka Crisis 78 days after it began (Marshall, 2013; Peritz, 1999c). The golf course expansion was cancelled and the disputed land was subsequently purchased by the federal government (Marshall, 2013; Quebec, 1997a).

The crisis captured national attention. The CBC had local, national, French, and English news crews reporting on the event, teams from *The Journal*, the National Film Board, and radio stations were also in attendance and news of the coverage was shown nightly across the country (Buckner, 1997; Hays, 1998). The Oka Crisis, and the publicity that it received, thrust Aboriginal grievances to the forefront of the nation's awareness, including land claims and issues with interacting with governments, as well as other concerns relating to governmental and police responses to protests (Marshall, 2013). The Crisis had a uniting effect, with members of other Indigenous communities either joining the protests at Oka and Kanesatake or holding their own protests across the country (Marshall, 2013). As Curtis Joseph Collins observed, the infringement of land rights was something with which Aboriginal communities throughout Canada could

relate (Images, 1998). But at the same time, such response was not constant amongst the Aboriginal communities. There were concerns of others being overlooked or sidelined by the events in Oka, particularly among Métis communities, and even after the crisis, fractious relationships and leadership disputes continued to trouble the Kanesatake community (Harding & Walton, 2005; Thanh Ha, 2011; Thanh Ha, 2004b; Thanh Ha, 1999a). The non-Aboriginal community was also divided in its reaction to the Oka Crisis, even in the town of Oka, where many civilians blamed the police for the situation (Marshall, 2013).

Public Perception and Collective Memory

The profile of the October Crisis within public memory remains relatively consistent across the three time periods, with a slight dip in the last time period. Based on the coverage given, the crisis is well established as a significant event in Canadian history deserving of preservation in public memory, profiled or featured in numerous historical retrospectives, some as defining moments in Canadian history (Archives, 2004; Archives, 2003b; Blaikie, 2013; Century, 1999a; Century, 1999b; Century, 1999d; D-Day, 1999; Levin, 2004; Martin, 1998; Peritz, 2012; Perreaux, 2011). That “Just watch me” has become a key identifier of the crisis and deeply ingrained in the public lexicon testifies to the reverberation of the October Crisis in Canadian memory (Greenspon, 2005; Martin, 2012; Martin, 2003; Nolen, 1999; Stop, 1998; Taber, 2004; Wente, 2005). The October Crisis has further become integrated, preserved, and commemorated in the cultural and artistic landscape. There is criticism that the October Crisis does not feature strongly enough relative to its historical significance and references to its use or inspiration in art and literature diminishes in the 2011-13 time period, but the variety of works drawing on the crisis remains broad. The Crisis has feature in or inspired documentaries, movies,

television series, music, visual art, plays, fiction and non-fiction books for adults and youth, and a video game (Akin & Thanh Ha, 2003; Arts, 2004; Bartley, 2003b; CBC, 2003; Caldwell, 2004; Cannon, 2003; Doyle, 2012; Fine, 1997; Fitzgerald, 1998; Hays, 1999; Julien, 1998; Lacey, 1998a; Lacey, 1998b; Lacey, 1998c; LeBlanc & Peritz, 2005; Levin, 2004; MacGregor, 2004; MacKay, 2011; Martin, 1998; Morrow, 2013; Nestruck, 2012; Nolen, 1999;Ottawa, 1998; Rogers, 2013; Sallot, 1998; Siberok, 1998; Taylor, 1997b).

In addition to contributing to the artistic and cultural spheres, in the last two time periods, the October Crisis functions as a social anchor point, helping to orient other events and people. Certain sporting events, hockey games and Grey Cups are oriented by their temporal, and occasionally geographic, proximity to the crisis, and discourse sometimes displays broader social matters, including Quebec-Canada relations, political unrest, and the need for distraction from current events (Brunt, 2003; Doyle, 2012; Everett-Green, 2012; McGraw, 2005). The Crisis is marked as a transition point when it is used as the end point for a miniseries on René Lévesque and it becomes as reference point for a generation when a book is recommended for people who were bookish children during the crisis (Bartley, 2003a; Hays, 2004). At a more micro level, the October Crisis is consistently used across the time periods as a personal identifier. For some it was a decisive part of their career or even their life (Deaths, 1998; Died, 2005a; Downey, 1998; Fraser, 1999c; Ottawa, 1998; Thanh Ha, 2013). For most it was one chapter in a larger narrative (Brewer, 2013; Bourdon, 2013; Dann, 1999a; Dann,1999b; Downey, 1999g; Emerson, 2004; Fine, 2011a; Gladstone, 2003; Hustack, 2012; Hustack, 2011a; Hustack, 2011b; Lackner, 2004; Lawlor, 2004b; MacKay, 2011; Martin, 2011; Martin, 2005e; McCready, 2003; Seguin, 2004; Stone, 2005; Surtees, 1998; Thorne, 2004b; Valpy, 2004; Wyatt, 1997). And for some it was

both, a key event that directly affected later parts of their life (Csillag, 2012; Died, 2004a; Downey, 1999e; Fearn, 2013; Fraser, 1997; Investigation, 1997; Judge, 1997; Julien, 1998; MacGregor, 2004; Unland, 1997; Yakabuski, 1998). The connotations of the October Crisis as an event was also mixed, positive, negative, or even neutral. The diversity of individuals associated with the October Crisis is both varied and limited. The division between English and French is nearly equal, with several also bridging the two as bilingual. Different groups, the FLQ, the military, the media, and other civilians, are each represented by a handful of references and politicians and government officials are mentioned about twice as frequently. However, of the individuals associated with the October Crisis only about one tenth of those were women.

For many of the politicians involved in the October Crisis, it was not only an identifying event, but also a proving ground from which many legacies, good or bad, would be established. Most notable among these is Prime Minister Trudeau. Throughout the three time periods, the October Crisis is related as one of the most notable events of his time as Prime Minister, particularly his enactment of the War Measures Act and "Just watch me" retort (Laghi, 2003; Martin, 1998; Nolen, 1999). Assessments the value of his actions during the crisis differ. His response to the threat posed by the FLQ is seen by some as an appropriate reaction and a major success, subduing the FLQ, taking a hardline against Quebec separatism, and maintaining the unity of a fragile nation, all unlikely to have happened under someone else and contributing to a new vision for the country (Bliss, 1999; Dallaire, 2013; Laghi, 2003; Martin, 1998; da Silva, 2003). Although the basic end result is conclusive, other perspectives contradict the suitability of Trudeau's response and its overall success, calling him ruthless and a liar, criticizing him for violating civil liberties, and stating that his actions increased resentment among sovereigntists

(Campbell, 1999a; Matas, 2003; da Silva, 2003). In a few cases, a more neutral or mixed opinion emerged. He was forceful and decisive in the crisis, but may have made a bad situation worse, and he did use proper channels to enact the War Measures Act unlike others, an action partly seen as justified, partly to high a cost (Armstrong, 1998; Ibbitson, 2003; Peritz, 2012). In the 1997-99 and 2003-05 periods, the legacies of three other politicians were linked with the October Crisis. For Montreal Mayor Drapeau it was a crucial point in his political career and his leadership and response to the crisis contributed to support he received in the next election (Downey, 1999e). Premier Bourassa is given credit for leading a party which survived the October Crisis and the husband of a then-incoming Governor-General Michaëlle Jean, Jean-Daniel Lafonde, is encouraged to assert his federalist credentials to make the country more confident with his wife's appointment (Died, 2004a; LeBlanc & Peritz, 2005). The different public assessments of the actions of political leaders echo the divisions and controversies that exist surrounding other aspects of the October Crisis, including the issue of civil liberties.

The October Crisis is seen to encompass many controversial aspects. The use of the War Measures Act was, and remains to be, a particular point of contention. As with popular opinion of Trudeau and his actions, the use of the War Measures Act in Quebec earned mixed responses. Many supported the use of the military, others thought the level of response outweighed the nature of the threat (Campbell, 2005b; Dukesz, 2003; Seguin, 2004). Even among those who supported military intervention, some thought that the removal of civil liberties was a step too far, a move that was and is an entire debate on its own (Peritz, 2012; Seguin, 2004). A controversy also emerged in the role of the media during the crisis when requests were made for media outlets and journalists to self censor with mixed results (Lawlor, 2004b; McCready, 2003).

Controversy regarding the October Crisis did not cease with the end of the crisis with the effects of the crisis following many, including the politicians mentioned earlier and a Quebec Court judge who failed to mention his FLQ past and arrest (Investigation, 1997; Judge, 1997; Unland, 1997). Not only was the crisis itself a controversial event, but later depictions and references to the crisis are often also labelled as contentious, either in their own right, including issues of accuracy and language divisions, or because they remind of a distressing time (Fine, 1997; Hays, 1999). Even reactions to such depictions can be controversial, such as was the case of a National Art Gallery exhibit, inspired by the October Crisis and cancelled because of anticipated political fallout prior to the Quebec referendum (Ottawa, 1998). In contrast, by the next time period, when the children's magazine Kayak was contemplating a first edition focused on the October Crisis, their stance was if it generates angry calls from parents or grandparents, they would consider it a success, inviting and almost encouraging debate (MacGregor, 2004).

As mentioned, the suspension of civil liberties under the War Measures Act was a highly contentious tactic, despite its ultimate success. For some, the preservation of law and order was the priority, while many saw the removal of civil liberties to be too large a sacrifice and an injustice (Bourdon, 2013; Campbell, 1999a; Fine, 2011a; MacKay, 2011; Matas, 2003; Peritz, 2012). The debate exists and continues across the time periods, mentioned as a human rights failing during the same-sex marriage debates and included as a question in a moral "Reality Check" quiz (Emerson, 2004; Laghi, 2005b; Peritz, 2012). In some ways the October Crisis can be seen to have generated its own crisis, one of civil liberties (Fine, 1997). Even later, when other encroachments of civil liberties were labelled as worse, the suspension of civil liberties during the October Crisis is still seen in a mixed light (Armstrong, 1998).

Emerging as a perhaps unexpected theme from consideration of the October Crisis is democracy. Despite, assertions that violence became the tool of choice because other, more democratic means of dissent were no longer available, in many ways democracy was strengthened and its value reaffirmed through the crisis (Thanh Ha, 2013). The vehement repudiation of the violence employed by the FLQ sent the sovereigntist movement firmly into the democratic sphere (Fraser, 1997; Perreaux, 2011). A later assessment indicated that the October Crisis was relatively short term because the general population trusted the system and the rule of law, excepting reactions to the War Measures Act, democracy has better long term chances against terrorism than does dictatorship (Hampson & Hay, 2005). Even reactions to the imposition of the War Measures Act and the suspension of civil liberties demonstrate the value placed on democracy by the people, either democracy and the freedoms associated with it are more valuable than increased security and protection, or the preservation of law and order at any cost was a major, if not the greatest, contribution to preserving democracy (Bourdon, 2013; Peritz, 2012).

Building from the connection between the October Crisis and democracy in general, some new Canadian institutions emerged from the crisis. The nationalistic and sovereigntist sentiments behind the crisis gained a new, non-violent home in two new political parties, the Bloc Quebecois at the federal level and the Parti Quebecois at the provincial (Campbell, 1999a; Hampson & Hay, 2005; Matas, 2003). Opposition to federal actions during the crisis, the War Measures Act, created additional support for the new parties (Campbell, 1999a; Matas, 2003). Additionally, following an investigative committee into RCMP activities, including during the crisis, intelligence gathering responsibilities moved from the RCMP to a newly created Canadian

Security and Intelligence Services (Hustack, 2011a). These organizations are well known in Canada and for the most part, easily identifiable as Canadian.

Canadian nationalism, or rather its vulnerability, gained attention during and as a result of the October Crisis. It has been remarked that Canada is a generally peaceful country, the violence of the crisis is largely an exception, but lack of violence does not always equate with stability and unity (MacGregor, 2003). The Crisis made evident many divisions present within the country, including language and culture, and created stressors around which new divisions could develop, such as the suspension of civil liberties. Across the three time periods, the fragile nature of Canadian unity, during and following the crisis, has been remarked upon, as has awareness that if circumstances had been different, if different leaders had been in charge, the outcome might have been significantly more disastrous for Canada as a nation (Bliss, 1999; Cook, 2004; McGinn, 2011; Taber, 2003).

The link between language, culture and identity is made quite clear in the narrative of the October Crisis and is primarily present in the earlier time periods. Leading up to the crisis, there were other conflicts related to language and the Quebec culture, and there were many attempts to resolve these issues, including the Official Languages Act and greater autonomy from the federal government fro Quebec (Bliss, 1999; Campbell, 1999a; Campbell, 1997). However, as the emergence of the October Crisis demonstrates, these efforts did not alleviate the tensions. And, although the crisis was a peak in the antagonism felt, many of the pre-existing conflicts continued afterwards. The time following the October Crisis was reported as turbulent for Canada in connection to English-French relations and a report from the Bilingual Commission noted that the FLQ terrorism had exacerbated language based tensions (Campbell, 1997; Taber,

2003). Other reporting indicates that there was more at play than basic language rights. The French language just became an easy label and identifier for broader issues about the language, culture, and collective identity of the Quebecois people (Basilieres, 2005). French politicians were equally as likely to face contempt as English ones and the opposition towards the political ruling classes often took on a language element because the ruling class was frequently labelled as English (Basilieres, 2005). The deep emotional aspect of the broader conflict, not limitable to who speaks what language, was neatly packaged by Léo Cadieux, then Ambassador to France, observing that the fight of Quebec separatism will be won by winning hearts and minds, not through blatant aggression (Martin, 2005e). These themes, identity, culture, and language, were also raised after a movie about the October Crisis was shown at the Montreal Film Festival, wondering if divisions along those themes might have contributed to the different reactions between English and French audiences (Siberok, 1998). The rather uniqueness of this language, culture, and identity situation is clearly stated in the review of a book set during the crisis which notes that the idea of secession from a country over language and culture rights had to be explained for American, and plausibly other non-Canadian, readers (Cannon, 2003).

The actual actions of the military receive oddly little attention. One 1998 article condemns their use as a tool to corral political opponents, indicating that the military was involved in the numerous arrests during the crisis, but other mentions of the arrests make no reference to the authority doing the arresting, military or police (Basilieres, 2005; Bourassa, 1998; Perreaux, 2011). A few profiles of military members active during the crisis mention their taskings, protecting infrastructure and symbolic acts of force (Hustack, 2011b; Lackner, 2004). Otherwise most opinions of the military during the October Crisis seem to stem from their

general presence, approval or disapproval of their deployment, rather than their actual behaviour. In some ways the military appears in the October Crisis debate as an object or symbol, representative the actions of the federal government rather than actors within the conflict in their own right.

Many of the themes to have emerged from the October Crisis, reappear when the October Crisis is used a point of comparison, which also demonstrates its place in and further cements it in the public's consiousness. Protests in two different time periods saw arrests via comparable suspension of civil liberties in Canada as in the October Crisis and in reporting on both events, the crisis was used for comparison, both for the severity of the strike against civil liberties and for the level of protest and arrests made (Armstrong, 1998; Peritz & Seguin, 2012; Perreaux, 2012; Perreaux & Seguin, 2012; Seguin, 2012). Internationally, a similar event took place in France and domestic reporting again used the October Crisis to illustrate and compare (Oziewicz, 2005). The October Crisis has also been contrasted with certain aspects of conflicts in Iraq and Israel (Donolo, 2003; Dukesz, 2003). The discussion of Canada's track record with human rights practices can see the reintroduction of the topic suspension of civil liberties during the October Crisis, such as during the same-sex marriage debate and when considering trading with countries with relatively lower human rights standards (Cernetig, 1997; Laghi, 2005b). However, not all references to the October Crisis are used in negative situations. A comparison was made during reporting on the 1998 ice storm in Montreal, noting that it was the first time since the crisis that the military had been deployed in Montreal, although for different reasons, and a debate over English and French content on the radio was said to be vigorous (Beck, 2005; MacDonald, 1998). Additionally, in coverage over the rescue of Peruvian hostages, it was noted that Canada

was chosen as a broker because of its perceived success with the October Crisis (Brokering, 1997).

Unlike the October Crisis, over the three time periods examined, coverage of the Oka Crisis diminished. However, many of the themes and meanings attributed to the Oka Crisis have remained consistent. One type of treatment of the Oka Crisis that is only present in the first time period is reports on issues directly stemming from the crisis. There is follow up on the Land Claims Inquiry, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, trials of those arrested during the crisis, and the federal purchase of the disputed land (Gray, 1997a; Laghi, 1997; Ottawa, 1997b; Quebec, 1997a; Thanh Ha, 1999b). Additionally, the diminishment of coverage and references to the Oka Crisis does not necessarily mean that the crisis or what it represents have become less important in the public's view. More recent developments and events are fresher in the public mind and many of the issues that were raised and illustrated by the Oka Crisis have been and are also addressed and referenced in other contexts.

In the relative aftermath and the years following the crisis, it has been and remains a key distinguishing event, both for situating other events and for personal identification. In both the 1997-99 and 2011-13 periods, the Oka Crisis is used as an identifying feature for that particular geographic area and in the 2003-05 period it acts as a temporal anchor point when describing other events and as a contrast for another Aboriginal community (Blatchford, 2011; Brewster, 1997; Cullen, 2005; Peritz, 1999a). The Crisis is more extensively used as an identifying characteristic for individual lives, in obituaries, reflections, and general descriptions. However, it declines in use as time passes; it was used half as frequently in this capacity from 2011-13 as it was from 1999-97. The Oka Crisis is sometimes included as a major, or even defining, event in

certain individuals lives, including journalists and film makers, members of the Mohawk community that protested at Oka, members of the military, and mediators, negotiators, and spokespeople for the crisis (Alan, 2005; Baluja, 2012; Fitterman, 2005; Galloway & Vanderklippe, 2012Hays, 1998; Martin & Allemang, 2005; McLaren, 1999; National Report, 1998; Peritz, 1999b; Quebec, 1997b; Thanh Ha, 2004a; Thanh Ha, 2004c; Thanh Ha, 1999a; Why, 2004). For many, involvement in the Oka Crisis was a defining moment in their career. In other cases, the crisis is one of several significant occurrences to which individuals are associated, such as government officials, newscasters, and academics (Brodeur, 2004; Buckner, 1997; Deaths, 2013; Fraser, 1999d; Winsor, 1998b; Yakabuski, 2013). There was also a significant diversity among the individuals connected to the Oka Crisis. References to the Oka Crisis are balanced, almost perfectly, between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal individuals and although the majority of individuals are men, there is at least one woman in each time period that is linked with the Oka Crisis.

Beyond being integrated in the personal narratives of many individuals the Oka Crisis has been further integrated into the social and cultural fabric of the nation through the arts. Most examples of the Oka Crisis included in or inspiring artistic works were presented in the 1997-99 period. It was portrayed on film, in news coverage, documentaries, and cinema, including one movie entered at Sundance, and was the inspiration for an art show (Hays, 1998; Images, 1998; McLaren, 1999; Quebec, 1997c). In the later two periods, there were fewer mentions linking the Oka Crisis and the arts. A Canadian TV mini series about the Oka Crisis got government funding and two books about the Oka Crisis were profiled, one with a poor review, the other mentioned twice as an awards finalist (Barber, 2011; Cariou, 2004; Globe, 2011; MacDonald, 2005).

One theme that is only present in the 1997-1999 period is environmental issues and the relationship between the Aboriginal communities and the environment. In issues of protests over logging activities and proposed plutonium shipments, involvement of Aboriginal protesters or proximity to Oka contribute to a heightened sense of tension and an increased desire for the situations to be resolved peacefully (Anderssen, 1998b; Peritz, 1999a; Seguin, 1998). The relationship of Aboriginal people and the environment is also profiled in artwork inspired by the Oka Crisis, which seeks to convey the deep and inseparable connection that exists between Aboriginal people, their culture, and the land (Images, 1998).

A prominent outcome of the Oka Crisis, and one that was reflected in later coverage, was the projecting of Aboriginal issues to the forefront of national attention. A "Moment in Time" segment from 2011, explicitly states this result (Thanh Ha, 2011). Other earlier mentions from 1997-1999 are less specific, most allude to that role when the Oka Crisis is mentioned in conjunction with another issue or potential crisis. The Crisis is often mentioned as the motivation to resolve the situation through diplomatic means rather than risk a similar reaction. Discussions of land disputes at Ipperwash and Listuguj and protests against logging and plutonium shipments had such references to the Oka Crisis (Anderssen, 1998b; Fraser, 1998; Peritz, 1999a; Seguin, 1998). It is also noted that the Indian Claims Commission, appointed to renegotiate land claims, was set up in response to the Oka Crisis (Laghi, 1997; Ottawa, 1997b).

One issue in particular that was highlighted by the Oka Crisis and its aftermath was the challenges of interactions between the governments and the Aboriginal communities. Negotiations during the crisis were complicated by the lack of a clear spokesperson for the Mohawk protesters to parallel the government's negotiation process (MacKinnon, 1999). The

Land Claims Commission, setup by the government in response to the crisis, was mostly ignored for five years and the treatment of a report from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples six years after the Oka Crisis demonstrated the continued disconnect between the federal government and Aboriginal issues (Gray, 1997a; Ottawa, 1997b). Even several years after the crisis, tenuous relationships contributed to ongoing problems. Suspicion and hostility between the people of Kanesatake and policing forces, RCMP and SQ, were such that the area had no police presence for seven years following the crisis, allowing drug trafficking to flourish, a problem that was still unresolved in 2004 (Thanh Ha, 2004a; Thanh Ha, 2004b; Thanh Ha, 2004c).

It is interesting to note the assessments of the different non-Aboriginal armed responses to the crisis. As mentioned, the actions of the SQ were viewed unfavourably by most, as having decidedly mishandled the situation preceding the official Crisis; the word 'botched' is used not infrequently (Peritz, 1999a; Peritz, 1999c; Quebec, 1997a; Quebec, 1997b; Thanh Ha, 2011; Thanh Ha, 2004a). Additionally, after the crisis was resolved, there were allegations of and investigations into police abuses and brutality (Brodeur, 2004; Peritz, 1999c; Thanh Ha, 1999a). Most criticisms of the SQ appeared in the 1997-99 period and none appeared in the 2011-13 period. The negative perception of the SQ's actions is not contrasted with high praise for the military's intervention, in fact the military's role is rarely mentioned in conjunction with the Oka Crisis. There are a few references to the soldier in the famous stare-off photo, but these references have no mention of the military as a whole (Peritz, 1999b; Thanh Ha, 1999a). Otherwise, the few comments on the military's actions seem fairly neutral or mildly pleased, not critical nor terribly laudable (Brewster, 1997; Purpose, 1997; Seguin, 1998; Thanh Ha, 2011).

One topic that appears most prominent within the 2003-05 and 2011-13 periods is the concept that issues present in and around the Oka Crisis are still present and still a problem. There is coverage of ongoing issues related to the Oka Crisis in the 1997-99 period, but most of these are direct follow-ups to specific issues of the crisis. One instance that speaks to the underlying issues is the art show inspired by the Oka Crisis and titled "Our Reality Never Changes" (Images, 1998). The recommendations of a 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples report were still unaddressed almost ten years later and a 2004 review of a book on the Oka Crisis criticizes its limited scope and tedious cliches (Cullen, 2005; Switzer, 2005). Within the third time period, the Oka Crisis is described as an image in a horrible slideshow of Aboriginal history that never changes and a spokeswoman during the Oka Crisis, later running for chief of the Assembly of First Nations, remarked on how little had changed for Aboriginal people since the crisis (Galloway & Vanderklippe, 2012; Gibson, 2011). There was also controversy over the use of warrior imagery in a water bottle ad which evoked the Oka Crisis, suggesting that the crisis is still near the forefront of public awareness (Houpt, 2011).

Despite, or perhaps because, the many memories of the Oka Crisis are so distressing and so many underlying issues remain unresolved, the crisis is presented as something that is worth remembering. Throughout the three time periods, numerous references to the Oka Crisis include explanations or descriptions of the event (Blatchford, 2011; Harding & Walton, 2005; Images, 1998; Peritz, 1999a; Peritz, 1999c; Quebec, 1997a; Quebec, 1997b; Thanh Ha, 2011; Thanh Ha, 2004a; Thanh Ha, 2004b; Why, 2004). It may not necessarily be as well known as other conflicts within Canadian history which can be recognized by name, but its use as a reference or contrast point indicates that it is still pertinent and explanations of the crisis suggest that the author thinks

their readers should know about it even if, at the moment, they do not.

Changes in the Curriculum

With each edition of the curriculum the October Crisis receives slightly more coverage. There is one explicit reference to October Crisis in the 1999 edition, under the "French-English Relations" section of the "Communities: Local, National, and Global" strand, as an example of the changing relationship between Quebec and English Canada (MOET, 1999). The subjects of other teaching points could encompass the October Crisis, although it is not mentioned specifically. A teaching point on "the major events that contribute to the growth of Quebec nationalism and the separatist movement in Quebec" is included, again under "French-English Relations" (MOET, 1999, p. 29). Under "Canada's Participation in War, Peace, and Security" there is also a teaching point referencing "the roles and functions carried out by the Canadian armed forces since 1945", including peacekeeping, maintaining security, and asserting national sovereignty and a discussion of these examples could include the October Crisis (MOET, 1999, p. 29)

The overall teaching points under which the October Crisis could be discussed do not change significantly with the 2005 edition, but the crisis' explicit presence is altered. Although the teaching point is still there, the example of the October Crisis for the changing Quebec-English Canada relationship in the 1999 edition is no longer present (MOE, 2005). However, the crisis is now listed as an example for the teaching point on "major events that have contributed to the growth of Quebec nationalism and the separatist movement in Quebec", switching from one teaching point to another within the same strand (MOE, 2005, p. 47). It also appears as an example of "the roles and functions of the Canadian armed forces since 1945" (MOE, 2005, p.

56). The 2005 edition also lists the War Measures Act as "an instance in which the Canadian government chose to restrict citizen's rights and freedoms, in war and peace time" under the "Changing Role and Power of Government" section in the "Social, Political, and Economic Structures" strand (MOE, 2005, p. 60).

The October Crisis rates numerous direct references in the 2013 edition. The Crisis and the invocation of the War Measures Act are examples of social conflict and inequality in Canada under the "Communities, Conflict, and Cooperation" section and discussion of fundamental points of disagreement between federalists and Quebec nationalists is posited as a sample question (MOE, 2013). As part of the "Social, Political, and Economic Context" section, the decision to impose the War Measures Act is included as a key political development or government policy and the October Crisis is listed as a key event affecting or occurring in Quebec from 1945 to 1982 within the "Identity, Citizenship, and Heritage" section (MOE, 2013). In that same section, there are several key figures listed as being influential to Canadian politics, society, arts, and pop culture, including René Levesque, Tommy Douglas, Pierre Trudeau, and Gilles Vigneault (MOE, 2013). "War Measures Act" has also been added as an entry in the 2013 glossary (MOE, 2013).

The coverage of the Oka Crisis within the curriculum, although limited, experiences both a sharp increase and relative plateau. The 1999 edition makes no mention of the crisis. The closest it comes to doing so is in the Glossary with definitions for "land claims" and "minority rights" (MOET, 1999). As with the October Crisis, the Oka Crisis could also be discussed as a role or function of the Canadian military after 1945, part of the section "Canada's Participation in War, Peace, and Security" (MOET, 1999).

Although nearly identical to the 1999 edition in organization and theming, the 2005 edition sees a marked difference in the profile of the Oka Crisis. The point mentioned previously, about the post-1945 Canadian military, is also present in the 2005 edition, but it includes the Oka Crisis as a specific example of such functions (MOE, 2005, p. 56). The Crisis and its primary causes are also explicitly mentioned as an example of a potential research question under the "Historical Inquiry" strand of the curriculum (MOE, 2005, p. 61). The Glossary includes the terms "land claims" and "minority rights" and uses the same definitions as the previous edition, but is expanded and also includes "Aboriginal people" and "First Nation" (MOE, 2005). Additionally, there is a note in the curriculum's Introduction on anti-discrimination advising that the implementation of the curriculum reflect "diverse points of view and experiences, including Aboriginal ones" (MOE, 2005, p. 24). This enjoiner rings especially salient when considering the Oka Crisis.

Although there was a substantial expansion of the curriculum in the 2013 edition, explicit references to the Oka Crisis did not increase. These references appear as part of the "Communities, Conflict and Cooperation" section under the teaching point on "key developments and issues that have affected the relationship between the federal/provincial government and First Nation, Métis, and Inuit peoples" (MOE, 2013, p. 123). The land disputes at Oka, along with Caledonia and Ipperwash, are listed as examples and examination of the underlying causes of the Oka Crisis and the different positions involved is offered as a sample question (MOE, 2013). There are other, more general teaching points under which the Oka Crisis could be included. In the same section, "continued legal conflict and/or political protests over Aboriginal land and title claims" is listed as an example of "significant ways in which

Canadians have cooperated and/or come into conflict with each other" (MOE, 2013, p. 123). It would be fairly easy to include the Oka Crisis within this teaching point as it is listed as an Aboriginal land claim conflict within the same section. In the "Historical Inquiry" strand of the curriculum, an essay on major turning points for Aboriginal people is a suggested assignment (MOE, 2013). In the Canada 1945-1982 strand, again under the "Communities, Conflict, and Cooperation" section, Aboriginal title and land claims are listed as examples of social conflict and inequality in Canada, and Aboriginal activism is included in both the examples and sample question for the topic of social and political cooperation, including social movements, in Canada (MOE, 2013). The Oka Crisis did not occur in the time frame covered by this strand of the curriculum, but this period ends less than a decade before the crisis occurred. The 2013 Glossary has also significantly expanded. The "Aboriginal peoples" and "minority rights" entries have been removed, but "First Nations" and "land claims" both still remain, and now alongside multiple new entries, including "Assembly of First Nations", "chief", "elder", "traditional ecological knowledge", "band" and "band council", and "treaty" and "treaty rights" (MOE, 2013).

Discussion

The October and Oka Crises are in many ways different conflicts, involving different groups, different issues, and taking place during different time periods, at least according to the strands in the 2013 edition. It therefore follows that they would be remembered differently both in public memory and in the curriculum. However, there are numerous underlying features and characteristics common to the two crises and their commemoration.

The absence of explicit references to the Oka Crisis in the 1999 edition may be

attributable to the idea that at the time the Crisis was still too recent to be considered history. The coverage of of events directly related to the crisis suggests that, although the crisis proper may have been finished, it was still active in the public consciousness as part of the present, rather than as a memory. However, the change in attention over time towards the Oka Crisis may be due to other changes in the public's perception of the crisis, discussed below.

Despite the Oka Crisis being known and remembered for bringing Aboriginal issues to the forefront of public awareness, making them part of the mainstream conversation, and the passage of time permitting this reputation and knowledge of these issues to be more established, portrayals of the Oka Crisis in the 2013 curriculum still frequently come across as quite limited in scope. The crisis is often insinuated as an Aboriginal issue separate from or sub-set to Canadian history, rather than an integrated part impacting many; instances encouraging the inclusion of the Oka Crisis in the earlier editions are rather sparse to make a similar suggestion. The sample question for "significant examples of social and/or political cooperation in Canada", suggesting the investigation of "a major turning point for Aboriginal activism"[3] could be seen to suggest that those activities impacted only Aboriginal communities and not anyone else, in spite of many non-Aboriginal people being associated with and influenced by the Crisis (MOE, 2013, p. 119). The teaching point in the following strand, on "developments and issues that have affected the relationship between the federal/provincial government and First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples", which directly references Oka, reinforces the division (MOE, 2013, p. 123). However, the earlier teaching point on "significant examples of social and/or political

[3] This teaching point is from the time period strand prior to the one corresponding to the Oka Crisis, but they could still be linked and the time period of this strand, 1945-1982, ends eight years before the Oka Crisis.

cooperation in Canada" featured Aboriginal activism as an example, suggesting some integration rather than total division, a sentiment that is echoed in a later teaching point when "legal conflict and /or political protests over Aboriginal title and land claims" are "significant ways in which Canadians have cooperated and/or come into conflict with each other" (MOE, 2013, p. 119 & 123). The reality of those involved in the conflict is better reflected; it was not simply Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal, conflict existed between and within the two groups, as did cooperation, some communities rallied together, others were fractured.

Another notable diversion by the 2013 curriculum from the public dialogue and memory is the lack of mention of the Oka Crisis as a contributing factor to identity or heritage, any factors under which the Crisis would be a clear fit, nor the names of anyone readily associated with the crisis listed as contributing to Canadian society, politics, art, or culture. The Oka Crisis emerged in public consciousness as a distinguishing event, an important identifier, both for individuals and for broader society. The mixed integration of the Oka Crisis and opportunities to discuss it within the curriculum, despite the stance taken in public discourse and memory and the overall increased profile compared to previous editions, may be partial hesitation towards an event with the double distinction of military deployment domestically and drastic proof of the damaged relationship between Canada and the Aboriginal populations, both difficult aspects of the nation's history and neither particularly conducive to national unity or pride.

The October Crisis also speaks to divisions within Canada, but that characteristic is represented in both public memory and in all the editions of the curriculum. The "French-English Relations" section of the 1999 and 2005 editions have teaching points on "the changing relationship between English Canada and Quebec" and on "major events that have contributed to

the growth of Quebec nationalism and the separatist movement in Quebec" with the October Crisis as an example for the first in the 1999 edition and the second in the 2005 edition (MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999, p. 29). Both these topics touch on the vulnerability of Canadian nationalism that is presented in coverage of the crisis through the divisions along language and culture lines, the dissension surrounding the suspension of civil liberties, and the creation of political parties designed for the sovereigntist movement. The first point references one of the results of the federal government's intervention and the creation of non-violent political outlet for sovereigntist sentiments, a result which was more prominent in the first two time periods. The second point similarly reflects some of the efforts made prior to the October Crisis to mitigate tension, including new language rights and partial autonomy, as well as the changes wrought by the new political parties. These points do not carry over to the 2013 edition, but the themes and issues they cover can be included under "significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada", which, while less precise than previous points, is a valid umbrella theme and includes the October Crisis and the War Measures Act as examples (MOE, 2013, p. 119). The War Measures Act, whose imposition was a major event within the crisis, was not directly implicated in the 1999 edition. The 2005 mention of the War Measures Act, as an example of "key instances in which the Canadian government chose to restrict citizens' rights and freedoms, in wartime and peacetime", indicates magnitude of its imposition, but within this point that imposition could apply to the October Crisis or WWI, as seems more likely given the other examples, "rationing, censorship, Wartime Election Act…mandatory registration of enemy aliens, Japanese-Canadian internment" (MOE, 2005, p. 60). Also not directly implicated were the internal divisions within Quebec, including support for and against the sovereigntist

movement and for and against the FLQ, splits that had been fairly evident across the time periods, but which was included only in the 2013 edition as a sample question inquiring into the "fundamental points of disagreement between federalists and Quebec nationalists" (MOE, 2013, p. 119). The October Crisis and its symbolism of the vulnerabilities and divisions within the country, seem much more secure in public memory and the curriculum than the Oka Crisis and the issues it can represent, possibly because the inclusion and acknowledgement, and to some level celebration, of those divisions has been long entrenched in collective memory as a key part of the country's formation and development.

Another aspect of the October Crisis and its commemoration in the curriculum and public memory which might also be influenced by the long term nature of the issues represented, is the impact of the October Crisis on the wider Canadian community. Under the "Identity, Citizenship, and Heritage" section in the 2013 edition, the October Crisis is listed as a "key event that occurred in or affected Quebec" and to be significant "for the development of identities in Canada", which leaves its impact on Canada as a nation as potential subject matter in addition to its effect on Quebec and alludes to the ongoing impact that English-French quarrels have had on the country historically (MOE, 2013, p. 120). The 1999 and 2005 editions are more vague with examples for the "changing relationship between English Canada and Quebec" alluding to language and cultural issues in the 1999 edition, and the teaching point itself extended by "with a focus on the evolution of language policy and constitutional issues" in 2005 (MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999, p. 29). The links between culture, language, and identity were given prominence in the public's consciousness by the October Crisis, a standing particularly prevalent in the earlier two time periods. However, the corresponding editions of the curriculum did not make a

matching association. It is not until the 2013 edition that this theme gains a solid foothold in the curriculum. Following this same pattern could also be the the political changes to come out of the crisis, namely the new political parties, which tie in with with Quebecois identity and heritage, although they could also be included under other points in earlier editions. These conflicts and divisions, along the lines of language, are much more comfortable territory for public memory. They may be a source of conflict and problems, but they are also integrated into the history of the country as part of the foundation and interacting with these issues, in spite of, or perhaps because of their continuation, may also be somewhat a source of pride and commonality.

One of the prominent shared characteristics of the crises to potentially impact their presence in the curriculum and their commemoration within public memory is their existence as flashpoints within larger issues. Neither conflict appeared out of nowhere, the issues underlying them and that they represent were well entrenched before the crises occurred and persisted after they had ended. The public memory is fairly clear that the language and culture divisions that flared in the October Crisis had a long history in the province and country before the crisis and especially that they did not disappear after it, although they did change tacks. This understanding of the October Crisis as part of a larger process comes through in the curriculum too. The teaching point on identifying “major events that contribute to the growth of Quebec nationalism and the separatist movement in Quebec” covers a time period from 1900 to the present, or turn of the century, in the 1999 edition and the dates offered in the examples for the 2005 edition span 1936 to 1995 (MOE, 2005, p. 46; MOET, 1999, p. 29). These teaching points make it reasonably evident that this growth pattern and these movements span a significant time period. The 2013

edition is a little less prolific, highlighting "key events that occurred in or affected Quebec between 1945 and 1982", admittedly a shorter timeframe than in previous editions, but one that is a direct reflection of the limits of the strand of the curriculum, 1945-1982, and one which also encompassed events before and after the October Crisis (MOE, 2013, p. 120). The other examples offered alongside the October Crisis also demonstrate the range of the underlying issues and the various responses to them, including the two referenda, the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, the Calgary Declaration, Bill 101, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the repatriation of the Constitution (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999).

Public memory directly tied to the Oka Crisis is less obvious about the pre-existence and continuation of the issues underlying the crisis, but it is aware of the continuation of many of these issues past the crisis. Allusions within the curriculum to the broader issues are a little more oblique for the Oka Crisis than for the October Crisis, at least in the earlier editions of the curriculum. Although the 1999 edition lacks direct references to the Oka Crisis, one of the teaching points discusses the "impact of social and demographic changes on Aboriginal communities" and another the "contributions of Aboriginal peoples in forming national organizations…to gain recognition and rights for Aboriginal peoples" and both of which reappear in the 2005 edition (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 30 & 32). Despite not linking directly with the Oka Crisis, these points reference issues underlying the crisis which also exist independently of the crisis itself. The lack of a direct link with the Oka Crisis is in many ways particularly telling in terms of the inclusion of land claims in the glossary of all three editions, indicating that it is a broader issue (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). If it was just an

issue at the Oka Crisis, it would likely say that in the definition, or not warrant an entry in the glossary at all and its continued inclusion reflects the presence of the issue it represents in the dialogue, both as a historical event and as a current matter. The 2005 edition also starts being more direct in linking the crisis with underlying issues, suggesting an investigation into the multiple causes of the Oka Crisis as part of the historical inquiry strand, acknowledging that there was more at stake that just the sacred ground (MOE, 2005).

The direct reference to underlying causes of the crisis was moved in the 2013 edition, to a sample question in the 1982-present strand and the context also insinuated the continuation of the same issues; the teaching point it fell under, "key developments and issues that have affected the relationship between the federal/provincial governments and First nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples since 1982" as well as the example that includes Ipperwash and Caledonia alongside Oka as land disputes all indicate that the Oka Crisis was not an anomaly (MOE, 2013, p. 123). As developments that influenced Métis, First Nation, and Inuit relationships with the federal and provincial government, the sequential listing of the Oka, Caledonia, and Ipperwash land disputes, with a cue to examine underlying causes, implied that previous ones influenced the progress of later ones with commonalities continuing between them. By this time, public consciousness was also fairly exclusively focused on the ongoing issues emerging as a result of the Crisis, rather than the ones that preceded it. The 2013 edition furthers the discussion of the continuation of the issues represented and demonstrated by the Oka Crisis, within the same time period as the crisis "continuing legal conflict and/or political protests over Aboriginal title and land claims" is an example of a significant way in which Canadians have "come into conflict with each other" (p. 123) and in the preceding temporal strand "Aboriginal title and land claims" are examples of

"significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada" (MOE, 2013, p. 119). The inclusion prior to references to the Oka Crisis further credits the persistence of the latent issues affecting the Crisis. The latter point also references the nature of some of the issues underscoring the Crisis, those of inequality, as does the anti-discrimination advisory in the curriculum's Introduction.

As much as these underlying issues are discussed within public memory and the curriculum, they might also be a contributing factor in the lower profile that the crises have both in the curriculum and in public memory, compared to other military conflicts. Presumably, part of their lower profile is due to the their basic nature, domestic, rather localized crises, rather than large scale, international wars. However, unlike many other conflicts, wars in particular, the issues and the underlying conflicts that the crises represent did not end with them, or shortly there afterward. They are not the unique or prominent symbol of those issues. They were at the time, but those conversations, Quebec nationalism, English-French relations, Aboriginal rights and relations with the government, have continued well after the crises ended and have been picked up and represented by new events and representatives. In contrast, WWII is well established as the symbol of the fight against nazism and even the opposition against the threat from the USSR, if not ended, changed significantly in tone after the Korean War. This peculiar status is especially evident with the Oka Crisis, where public attention and commemoration have diminished over time, whereas the October Crisis' profile has remained mostly consistent, but Aboriginal issues have seen a major surge in public attention, although very rarely linked with the Oka Crisis.

The other striking similarity between the commemoration of the October Crisis and the

Oka Crisis in both the curriculum and public memory is the incongruous profile of the military. The crises are rather unique for the deployment of Canadian armed forces in their military capacity, on Canadian ground, in response to an active conflict. Furthermore, the more, if not most, prominent visual references to the crises involve the military, tanks on the streets of Montreal and the soldier and warrior stare-off at Oka. However, the ongoing public attention and commemoration of the crises make little reference to the military's involvement and if they do, it comes across as the military as a minor player. For the October Crisis, the military seems to be consistently viewed less as actors in their own right and more as symbols, public approval or disapproval pertaining to the government's decision to deploy them with little to no commentary on their actual behaviour during the crisis. The military is relegated to an even smaller corner within the narrative of the Oka Crisis mentioned almost exclusively in the first time period, not necessarily representative of the government, but not major actors either. There is a significant level of disapproval of the actions of the SQ, but even in contrast, the actions of the military are given limited attention and a neutral reception and primarily in the earlier time period. Similarly, military links with the crises in the curriculum are also limited. The 1999 and 2005 teaching point for roles and functions of the Canadian armed forces could include the crises and explicitly does so in 2005 (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). However, that is the only point to make such a connection and there is no similar teaching point in the 2013 edition; the role of the military is not suggested (MOE, 2013). There are references to the War Measures Act and the October Crisis, but even the definition of the War Measures Act in the glossary makes no reference to military options (MOE, 2013). Despite the lower profile of the military in remembrances of the two crises, the involvement of the military to begin with may be a contributing factor to their

lower profiles. The deployment of military forces into a domestic conflict is not easily palatable to most. Unlike most wars with easily definable 'us' and 'thems', with a conflict like the October and Oka Crises even if the dividing lines were clear, the different factions were still part of the same larger community. The unpleasantness of military involvement increases when the the conflict did not end with a separation; not only were those the military was deployed in opposition of members, at the time, of the community, but they remained so afterwards too. Stories of ordering troops to oppose a country's own people do not easily lend themselves to community building and national unity.

The growing absence of the military as player in the Crises, both in the public memory and in curriculum, may also be indicative of a change in the portrayal of the crises, moving away from an armed, military conflict to one that is more political in nature, more in line with how the issues underlying the crises were ultimately addressed. The 2005 edition, which saw the crises were included as such examples of roles of the Canadian military, may have been an attempt to recognize and maintain knowledge of that aspect of the conflicts, especially Oka in which the military had no noticeable public profile by that point (MOE, 2005). However, there are also references to the more political aspects of both crises in the 2005 edition and its predecessor, land claims being defined as formal demands in the glossaries and other events like Bill 101 and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism mentioned in the same section as the October Crisis (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The progress towards framing the crises in political terms increases in the 2013 edition as well as the role of the military in either crisis being removed (MOE, 2013). The decision to invoke the War Measures Act is listed as a "key political development" and later the October Crisis and the imposition of the War Measures Act is

described as a “social conflict”, both labels leaving little room for military involvement (MOE, 2013, p. 119). Furthermore, the sample question with the latter teaching point queries “the most fundamental points of disagreement between federalists and Quebec nationalists” and the other examples of “key events that occurred in or affected Quebec” are all related to politics, including political leadership, the Parti Quebecois, Bill 101, and the patriation of the Constitution (MOE, 2013, p. 119 & 120).

“Aboriginal title and land claims” fall under the same label of “social conflict and/or inequality” and in the same time frame strand Aboriginal activism is listed as an example of “social and/or political cooperation” (MOE, 2013, p. 119). In the time period strand specific to the Oka Crisis, 1982-present, an example of Canadians coming into conflict with each other is “continuing legal and/or political protests over Aboriginal title and land claims” which very clearly defines the framework in which to discuss those conflicts (MOE, 2013, p. 123). Later in the same section, the Oka Crisis is referred to as “disputes over land at Oka”, opening the possibility more than a political or legal dispute, except that the the teaching point it illustrates is on “key developments and issues that have affected the relationship between the federal/ provincial governments and First nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples” and any relationship with either level of government will by definition be political (MOE, 2013, p. 123).That the profile of the military remains more prominent within the memory of the October Crisis rather than the Oka Crisis, may be a result of the equation of the military’s intervention with the government’s. Even if the crises are being re-framed in political terms, they still have a limited profile within public memory and the curriculum. Re-framing them might make them fit better in the overall narrative and make remembering them more palatable, but they might be unable to escape their

legacy of military involvement in a domestic conflict and the possibility that they will always remain a reminder of the extreme actions that can be provoked by the issues and challenges they represented.

Conclusion

Over time both the October and Oka Crises have undergone changes in the ways they are commemorated in public memory and in the curriculum, but for the most part the changes have occurred in both sectors. Some of those aspects, the lower military profile, the re-framing in a political light, and the ongoing nature of the underlying issues, are strongly reflective of the discussions occurring in the public memory for both crises and demonstrate the ways in which the memory of an event can change as time progresses. They may also be factors in the crises' lower profiles. A similar pattern of convergence appears with the October Crisis' representation of internal divisions within Canada and its immediate and ongoing impacts on the wider community. The notable exception to this trend is the suggestion of the Oka Crisis as a primarily Aboriginal, rather than Canadian issue, which differs from the tone in public memory. This deviation in the curriculum does not appear to be a deliberate obfuscation, given the changes in later editions and the attention given to related issues, but rather suggests a discomfort with integrating the material into the collective memory, a stance echoing the crisis' lower overall profile.

Chapter 4 - Learning:

Styles and Skills

The term history class often conjures up thoughts of facts and dates, and as important as the basic facts of our histories are, of equal consequence are the ways they are presented and the more subtle lessons learned along with them, the methods and skills used to teach and engage with our collective memories. The skills taught, either explicitly or indirectly, as part of a history course can be employed by students within their history course, in extracurricular exploration of history and their community's collective memory, and in general daily life. These skills can allow students to identify and explore stories and gaps within the narratives presented to them, processes which may occur informally or which may result in calls for official records to be amended. The structure of the course and style of instruction can further impact a student's engagement with and retention of the material. The skills in particular cannot exist within a history curriculum independent of basic knowledge content, and while the latter can, to a certain extent, be taught without the former, inclusion of the former greatly supplements the material and allows for a deeper engagement with the material and the wider community.

Purposes

Styles of teaching history, much like styles of fashion, have changed over the years, coming in and out of favour and sometimes reappearing in a slightly different configuration. There have been three main trends in teaching styles over the course of formal history education in Ontario and in Canada. The first and, thus far, longest lasting trend was the conventional idea of history, which entailed a strong focus on systematically learning the events, fact, and figures that contributed to the advancement of a national narrative and identity in a nation formed by

distinct groups (Granatstein, 1998; Levesque, 2011; Osborne, 2006). There was a significant change from the 1960's to the 1980's, where learning content switched to learning skills and considering contemporary issues, particularly related to multiculturalism, in an historical context, more social studies than history proper (Davis, 1995; Gaffield, 2006; Levesque, 2011). Part of this modification was influenced by changes in the employment sector, since many of the life and thinking skills profiled were ones that would transfer readily into the working world (Davis, 1995; Robertson, 1998). The beginning of the twenty-first century saw the emergence of a third trend reframing history class as a form of disciplined inquiry where students are taught to think historically and follow processes similar to those of historians (Chalifoux & Stewart, 2009; Cutrara, 2017; Davis, 1995; Levesque, 2011; Osborne, 2006; Seixas, 2010). There was an upsurge of interest in history, using it to bridge gaps within Canada, and in the use of primary, as well as secondary, sources to teach history (Gaffield, 2006; Starowicz, 1999). International research on history education also gained notice in the Canadian education sector, introducing as a way of teaching history, first and second order historical concepts, respectively the basics of what history is about, facts, figures, dates, and the resources for thinking historically, procedural concepts like change, continuity, cause and effect (Seixas, 2010). Each method of teaching history has been met with some degree of criticism; the first, boring memorization of narrow and potentially prejudiced and inaccurate information, the second, too restrictive and missing the the discipline's integrity, the third, dismissive to basic knowledge, and also the latter two, trendy un-systematic approaches lacking coherence and attention to outcomes (Granatstein, 1998; McKillop, 1999; Morton, 2006; Osborne, 2006; Robertson, 1998; Seixas, 2010). The changes in teaching styles and focuses were not total replacements with aspects of the previous methods

frequently kept in conjunction with the new methods, particularly history through narratives (Osborne, 2006). Osborne proposes a fourth style, a composite of the past three, involving narrative, knowledge, context, skills, concepts, use for understanding the present and emphasis on the discipline as a form of inquiry (2006). The first two editions of the curriculum, 1999 and 2005, appear to be in the transition zone between the second and third styles, with the latest, 2013, well into the third style and possibly venturing towards Osborne's fourth.

Historical Thinking and Skills

Historical thinking is composed of numerous aspects, some appearing to varying degrees as themes and others as skills in the different editions of the curriculum. There is little doubt that this approach is accepted as presenting a major contribution to history courses by academics, members of the education sector, and the general public, although the latter may not label it as such (Haskings-Winner, 2010; Seixas, 2010). Although the topic of historical thinking is not named as such in the 1999 and 2005 curriculum editions, many of the components of historical thinking are found in that strand or elsewhere in the documents (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The 2013 edition is less ambiguous with sections headed "Concepts of Historical Thinking" and "Concepts of Disciplinary Thinking", as well as additional references to those concepts in other parts of the text (MOE, 2013). There is also an "Historical Inquiry Process" sub-section within the "Historical Thinking" one (MOE, 2013). Many different themes are addressed as part of historical thinking, significantly historical significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective (Seixas, 2010; Seixas, 2006). Only one theme, change and continuity, appears prominently in the 1999 and 2005 editions, as the title of a course strand (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Other themes, including historical significance, historical

perspective, and cause and consequence, are integrated in specific teaching points such as "explain to what extent certain national symbols…represent all Canada and Canadians", "explain how and why the Canadian government restricted certain rights and freedoms in wartime", and "describe how the conscription crises of World War I and World War II created tensions between English Canada and Quebec" (MOE, 2005, p. 47; MOET, 1999, p. 28 & 33). In the 2013 edition, the four themes listed above are given much higher billing, each appears as it own category with descriptions and example questions in the "Concepts of Historical Thinking" section, they are listed as part of the "Concepts of Disciplinary Thinking", and are again integrated in the teaching points (MOE, 2013). In the "Overall Expectations" for each strand there is also a note indicating which aspects of historical thinking are most pertinent to the material in that section, for example in the "1914-1929" strand, "explain how various individuals, organizations, and specific social changes…contributed to the development of identity, citizenship, and heritage in Canada (FOCUS ON: Continuity and Change; Historical Perspective)" (MOE, 2013, p. 112).

The difference in profile between curriculum edition of the skills associated with historical thinking echoes that of the approach's themes. Some of the skills, such as research techniques, the use of primary and secondary sources, communication skills, making informed conclusion, and formulating and asking questions are fairly evident in their use (Briley, 1997; Chalifoux & Stewart, 2009; D'Amboise, 2017; Davis, 1995; Dominion Institute, 2009; Duckworth, 2015; Historica Canada, 2015; Seixas, 2010). Other skills might be less easily observed, like problem solving, the detection of bias and differentiating facts from values (Barton, 2006; Davis, 1995; Duckworth, 2015; Follert, 2017; Gadamer, 2011; Osborne, 2012). For the 1999 and 2005 editions, mentions of these skills within the course are concentrated,

unsurprisingly, under the strand "Methods of Historical Inquiry" with sub-sections touching on research, interpretation and analysis, and communication (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). There are also references in the introduction of each edition to the skills, including research, critical thinking, problem solving, decision making, and communication, that students are expected to develop within the course and the skills are expanded upon in the "Assessment and Evaluation" section (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Much like the previous editions, the 2013 edition has a "Historical Inquiry and Skill Development" strand and an "Assessment and Evaluation" section in the introduction, both featuring similar skills to their predecessors (MOE, 2013). In addition, several skill sets are described in detail in "The Historical Inquiry Process" as a sub-section of "Concepts of Historical Thinking" and there is more evident integration of the skills into some of the teaching points, particularly in the sample questions (MOE, 2013).

Competency in these themes and skills contribute to the goals of the historical thinking process. Understanding the significance and impact, short and long term, of events in the past can lead to a better understanding of the present, why it is the way it is, and of the connections between the two times (Brown, 2016; Seixas, 2010; Seixas, 2006). Questioning and investigating the information presented or excluded can lead students to a better understanding of the dynamics involved in history becoming history, who chooses what is included in which account, and of the multiple ways it can be manipulated to shape present realities (Barton, 2006; Cole, 2007; Duckworth, 2015; Osborne, 2012; Seixas, 2010; Seixas, 2006). It may also contribute to comprehending and accepting the idea that total accuracy does not exist when studying history, there are always selections and omissions that have to be made even among those studying it (Barton, 2006; Duckworth, 2015; Starowicz, 1999). Ultimately, students should be able to

independently think critically about history, ask their own questions, and form their own ideas (Brown, 2016; Osborne, 2000; Seixas, 2010). The link between historical thinking and these outcomes is not as clear within the curriculums. Admittedly, the 1999 and 2005 editions do not mention historical thinking directly, but still describe goals related to these skill sets, "apply the…skills they acquire…to better understand…the political, economic, and cultural interactions among groups of people…and the factors contributing to society's continual evolution" and "assess how events, ideas, and values affect them individually and their society as a whole" (MOE, 2005, p. 3; MOET, 1999, p. 2). The 2013 edition is much clearer in its connection of outcomes with the historical thinking, linking it with "the ability to think critically about significant events, developments, and issues, both within the curriculum and in their lives outside the classroom" (MOE, 2013, p. 7). Historical thinking has been clearly embraced in the 2013 curriculum, but even at the level included in the earlier editions, the skills and capabilities associated with historical thinking have a clear place and role in the curriculum and in engaging with the past.

Across most conceptions of history education and the different editions of the curriculum is the expectation that the information and skills learned during the course will be applicable elsewhere, including in engaging with a community's collective memory. For the most part the curriculums do not expand on the expected outcomes of the new knowledge and skills much beyond those previously mentioned. The different editions all mention the transferability of skills and knowledge between different subjects (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). On a larger scale, moving beyond an individual's career as a student, is the connection between historical thinking skills and citizenship, or active political participation more generally. On its own a

history course is not likely to markedly improve citizenship, given the numerous other influences to which students are exposed,but it does play a role in the overall process, helping to teach a community's values and past and the qualities and memories that unify and identity that group (Osborne, 2012). Effective civic participation requires an understanding and appreciation of the country's past and a history course supplemented with historical thinking concepts provides that knowledge, sometimes in the only formal such occurrence, and supplies a myriad of tools to enable individuals to participate thoughtfully, actively, and independently (Briley, 1997; Chalifoux & Stewart, 2009; Hallman-Chong, 2014; Mattys, 2000; Osborne, 2006; Osborne, 2000; Seixas, 2006). Concisely put, one of the course program goals in the 1999 and 2005 editions is to "develop the knowledge and values [the students] need to become responsible citizens and informed participants in Canadian democracy in the twenty-first century" with slight variations in syntax in 2005 (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999, p. 2). Citizenship has a much larger profile in the later edition, part of the vision of the program is to "enable students to become responsible, active citizens within the diverse communities to which they belong…[and] critically thoughtful citizens who value and inclusive society" and the subject introduction describes "critically thoughtful and informed citizens who are able to interpret and analyze historical, as well as current, issues, event, and developments, both in Canada and the world" (MOE, 2013, p. 6 & 103). The introduction also has an entire section on "Citizenship Education" and a sub-section details the role of history within that education and even mentions historical thinking in reference to it (MOE, 2013).

Historical thinking concepts can also be relevant in everyday life. Knowledge of aspects of the past and their significance can deepen one's connection with the surrounding world, such

as the history of places and names, making life more interesting (Osborne, 2006). Employing historical thinking concepts can allow individuals to be more active, informed, and self-sufficient in daily life, including, but not limited to interactions and discussions with others. Asking questions, being critically skeptical, investigating, and making evidence based conclusions can assist in increasing autonomy, in expanding awareness of alternatives, in opposing the misuse of the past for self-serving means, in not being misguided by conventional wisdom, and in adapting and responding to conflicting or difficult information (Barton, 2006; Iglesias, Aceituno & Toledo, 2017; Osborne, 2006; Osborne, 2000; Seixas, 2010). In the 1999 and 2005 editions of the curriculum, the expressed non-citizenship, extracurricular applications of the skills taught are fairly limited, including those outcomes listed previously, the application of learned skills to future studies and the workplace, and contributions to "understanding Canada's heritage and its physical, social, cultural, governmental, legal, and economic structures and relationships…[and] …to perceive Canada in a global context and to understand its place and role in the world community", although the last does not make specific reference to skills, only learning (MOE, 2005, p. 3; MOET, 1999). The 2013 edition, which also frequently references historical thinking skills, goes into more detail about predicted outcomes in several instances, including "to apply the concepts of historic thinking in order to deepen [students'] understanding of modern Canadian history" and "to more fully appreciate Canadian heritage and identity, the diversity and complexity of Canadian society, and the challenges and responsibilities associated with Canada's position in the world" (MOE, 2013, p. 11 & 12). Most of these applications of historical thinking skills, whether linked with citizenship or just extracurricular life in general, could readily be implemented in the other. Citizenship and daily life are less separate actions requiring

different skills, and more aspects of each other, influenced by similar information, decisions, and skills, an association expandable to include collective memory as well.

Content and Structures

The prominent presence of themes and skills in the curriculums does not bar so-called basic knowledge and chronological narratives from a commensurate position. It has been suggested that in this age of readily accessible and frequently changing information, there is little need to focus on teaching and learning historical information when it can be easily retrieved or quickly out of date and and also when it is impossible to teach everything, risking causing offence through an omission (Osborne, 2000; Starowicz, 1999; Zwaagstra, 2018). Echoing past trends, perhaps it would be more productive to focus on the techniques to find and analyze information, rather than on the information itself (Davis, 2001; Osborne, 2006). However, basic knowledge and information, the facts and figures, still play a crucial role in learning about history and the current world and looking them up is not always practical. Decisions and assessments of current events do not always allow for a reference check when many, even if just preliminary, have to be made on the spot (Osborne, 2000). Facts and knowledge form the foundation for understanding and mastering thinking skills, illustrating concepts and themes and generating ideas and acting as the basis for questioning, comparison, and reasoning (Dominion Institute, 2009; Historica Canada, 2015; Osborne, 2012; Osborne, 2006; Osborne, 2000). These attitudes towards facts and information in the curriculums is not limited to the academic community. The general lack of knowledge of Canadian history is routinely bemoaned, especially in the media, when the results, usually poor, of a new Historica Canada[4] survey is

[4] Surveys initiated by the Dominion Institute, which merged with the Historica Foundation of Canada to form the Historica-Dominion Institute, later renamed Historica Canada.

released (Alphonso, 2007; Campbell, 2007; Campbell, 2000; Chalifoux & Stewart, 2009; Dominion Institute, 2009; Griffiths, 2000; Mackenzie, 2003; Seixas, 2010). Many people judge the current history classes by their rigour, how much material is being covered and how much are the students expected to retain, frequently in comparison with their own history class (Robertson, 1998). For the average layperson, these characteristics are often easier to identify, evaluate, and compare, both in one's own and the education of others, than the more abstract and qualitative skills and values taught along side them, which are often more prominent within academic spheres. Knowledge content saw a significant increase in quantity from the 2005 to the 2013 editions with generally more examples included for the teaching points and the addition of sample questions which frequently introduced additional material (MOE, 2013). This expansion was significant and favourable enough to be commented upon, especially by the 2015 History Report Card which gave the curriculum high marks for content, but noted that the amount of material included now exceeds the course time constraints (Campbell, 2000; Historica Canada, 2015; Ontario, 2016; Ramsingh, 2018; Stucek & Alphonso, 2017). In a way, the increased inclusion of knowledge content may be seen as a reflection of the collective memory, in how the general public consciously comprehends the past and what they value in history, the stories, facts, and figures conventionally evoked by the term history. The skills and values taught through a history education, formal or informal, are rarely as explicit as the facts and figures and although they may be an equally or more important result from that historical education they tend to operate in the background leaving the knowledge content to function as the trademark of history classes.

The chronological approach is one of the most obvious differences between the history

course in the 2013 edition and its precursors. The earlier editions are organized by theme or topic, “Communities: Local, National, and Global”, “Change and Continuity”, “Citizenship and Heritage”, “Social, Economic, and Political Structures”, and “Methods of Historical Inquiry” (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Technically, under the sub-sections within each strand, teaching points and examples pertaining to specific events are arranged by date, WWI comes before WWII which comes before the Cold War, but it occurs in such small portions that any significant chronology or timeline lost (MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The 2009 History Report Card specifically critiqued, and docked marks for, the thematic orientation of the 2005 curriculum (Dominion Institute, 2009). A chronologically oriented instruction of history can in fact be beneficial without the narrow and dominating connotations associated with earlier instruction styles. People often make sense of information as a sequence or story, particularly when it relates to the progress of time. A chronological organization allows the course material to be presented in a steady narration, more accessible and engaging as story, and providing context and coherency and helping to orient the students and events, both past and current, within the time continuum, what has happened, what is happening, what might happen in the future, and how they are connected (Dominion Institute, 2009; Griffiths, 2000; Haskings-Winner, 2010; Lewington, 2001; Seixas, 2006; Starowicz, 1999; Zwaagstra, 2018). Re-framing course material chronologically does not set the material in stone, any more than it was when it was arranged thematically. The material presented still has a degree of fluidity, it is not expected to be the same, unchanging for as long as the course is offered (Cutrara, 2017; Starowicz, 1999). If that were the case, there would be no need to revise and reissue the curriculum. In contrast to earlier editions, the strands of the 2013 edition, with the exception of the first one, “Historical Inquiry

and Skills Development", are arranged and divided by time period and the chronological arrangement is noted in the subject introduction, although no reason is given (MOE, 2013). The changes in the 2013 edition could be seen to reflect the critiques made of the previous editions paired with the renewed interest and appreciation for a chronological narrative. The new chronologic organizational structure could also be viewed as linked with collective memory in general, in which the common narratives, values, and identifiers are commemorated and passed on through stories and narration with built in chronologies.

It should be noted, in keeping with the theme of teaching styles and skills, that the history course is available in two versions, academic and applied, which are included as distinct streams within each edition of the curriculum document. Academic and applied streams were introduced in 1999 to allow students to a greater degree of control and flexibility over the track and level of their high school courses than was previously available under the old streaming system (Counter, 2016). Students can take a mix of academic and applied courses and switch between them if desired, sometimes requiring a remedial course (Academic, n.d.). Applied courses focus on the essential concepts and practical applications of the subject and transition to college designated courses in Grades 11 and 12 (Academic, n.d.). Academic courses include theoretical applications and related material and transition to university designated courses in later grades (Academic, n.d.). However, as far as the topics discussed above are concerned, there is hardly any difference between the versions. The 2013 curriculum describes the academic version as oriented towards theory, concepts, and abstract problems with practical applications integrated as appropriate and the applied version using practical applications and concrete examples to illustrate the theories and concepts covered (MOE, 2013). Despite these differences, the descriptors for both versions

make reference to the development of students' knowledge and skill (MOE, 2013). In each edition of the curriculum, both course versions fall under the same program and subject introduction, so the expectations regarding historical thinking and outcomes discussed there apply to both and the same holds true for assessments and evaluations (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). Both versions follow the same orientation, so themes and time periods are uniform (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). There is some variation in the teaching points, syntax and ordering mostly, but the overall topics addressed remain consistent (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). There are also differences in the examples offered for the teaching points, more so in the 2013 edition, but there does not seem to be a pattern related to different expected outcomes for the version, although it does increase the amount of overall knowledge content available for the subject (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999).

Beyond the Classroom

There is an interesting dynamic between the account of history that the curriculum is presenting and the skills and capacities that students are expected to learn. Many of the skills are designed to equip and incline students to ask questions about the information they are provided, interpret and analyze it, to do their own research and form their own conclusions. In one instance this can be beneficial for the curriculum. The history presented by the curriculum will never be perfect, time constraints and the basic nature of recording history means that something will always be left out, be it an event, a perspective, or a group or community. Even the 2013 edition with its significant expansion, at the same time it was being praised for more content, was also criticized for leaving other information out entirely (Ramsingh, 2018). Teaching students to recognize and fill the gaps on their own could diminish the pressure for the curriculum to be all

encompassing. Putting a focus on historical thinking might permit a circumvention of the issue of what and whose history is included (Seixas, 2010). It could also reduce the stress for teachers to cover everything in the curriculum in the lessons, already a near impossible task (Brown, 2016; Robertson, 1998; Stucek & Alphonso, 2017). However, bringing these skills into the forefront of the curriculum, could also result in more criticism and questions about the curriculum and its contents. Understanding how history works, paired with even basic knowledge of the past gives students the capacity to challenge and question the dominant narrative (Osborne, 2006). Not only are they equipped to recognize and fill absences, but they are able to ask why those gaps exist and to demand that omissions be rectified at the official level, in addition to at their own individual or class level.

This skill set can also challenge and strengthen the established wider collective memory. If the curriculum and the material contained within it are viewed as a representation of the collective memory and as a means of transmission, then challenges towards the curriculum content by the students could also be seen as indirect efforts to amend content within the collective memory. Students can also take the knowledge and skills they have acquired and apply them outside of school towards the other portrayals of history which contribute to the collective memory, querying why certain stories are told in certain ways, but not others. The content and skills within the curriculum have the potential to equip students to recognize, examine, and engage with the narratives, values, and processes that are part of their community's collective memory, even though it does not appear intended to do so. The curriculum does not explicitly reference these outcomes, with no mention of collective memory or influencing the wider community beyond being active citizens and understanding the interactions between groups of

people (MOE, 2013; MOE, 2005; MOET, 1999). The question also exists as to whether students will pay enough attention and absorb enough material to have the ability to recognize perceived voids or misrepresentation and whether they will have the inclination and motivation to do something about it. This potential outcome of the curriculum's content can also be taken as an analogy for the relationship between the general public and collective memory generally. Maintaining collective memory requires active participation from members of the community, both in commemoration and in transmission, and the more fully that members are aware of and engaged with the collective memory, the more fully they can participate. A deeper engagement with and awareness of the functioning of the collective memory can also result in less resistance from members to changes and evolutions in it. However, as with the curriculum, deeper conscious awareness of and attention to a community's collective memory by members of the community can also yield questions about why it is the way it is and attempts to alter or amend it.

Conclusion

The lack of explicit reference to collective memory within the curriculum does not preclude the skills and styles of instruction from contributing to the relationship between the two. The style of instruction and the skills highlighted in the curriculum are easily applicable to engagement with collective memory. The skills and capacities taught as part of the course can and are intended to be taken out of the academic setting and applied to the students' broader experience as citizens and as members of the wider community. The changes in the teaching styles presented in the curriculum, what information is included and how it is presented, can can be seen as a partial reflection of the community's own perception of their collective memory. The

curriculum content may also act as an analogy for appreciating the balance between accepting the narrative presented, understanding and engaging with it, and challenging it.

Conclusion

A community's collective memory plays a key role in establishing and reinforcing the identity and cohesion of that community by providing a common past and the values and meaning established by and around that past. It further unifies members through the processes of commemorating and transmitting those memories to younger generations and to new members. However, much like the composition of the community itself, collective memory is not static, rather perpetually shifting and evolving in response to changes in the membership of the community and changes in the priorities and current realities of the community. Although some better respond to such variations, a community has numerous options to commemorate, record and transmit different aspects of its collective memory, including memorial events, oral retellings, written documents, visual records, and various combinations thereof. One such option, simultaneously apparent and over-looked, is the formal education system, in particular history classes and the curriculums used in them.

The curriculum for history classes can function on multiple levels within a community's collective memory. It is a guide for what history should be taught and transmitted to the younger members of the community and it can also guide collective discussion and commemoration of past events both when being taught in a classroom and while being developed and written itself. Furthermore, it is a written, documented record of a community's past, in particular, the aspects of the past that are deemed a priority to be taught to younger members. In the case of the Ontario high school history curriculum, these functions are complicated by the fact that the curriculum is issued by the provincial government and is the basis for all history course in the province, giving the events and stories profiled within the document an official status. This

involvement of the government in this commemoration and transmission process leaves it open to the possibility of the material presented being deliberately maneuvered or modified to influence the community's collective memory.

There can be little doubt that the Ontario high school history curriculum is connected to and operates within the context of the Ontarian collective memory and the wider Canadian one. The portrayal of military conflicts within the curriculum mirrors, in many ways, their presence in the wider Canadian narrative. WWII is consistently presented as a major event within Canadian history and in a light encouraging unity and a common identity, though the language used and the number and variety of stories and perspectives recounted. The status of the Korean War, often explicitly as the Forgotten War in public discourse, is echoed in the curriculum through its low profile and subordinate position within the text and is consistent with the historical attitudes within Canadian collective memory towards the war. The presentation of the October and Oka Crises within the curriculum as primarily political in nature rather than military conflicts, although varying from the historical record, is very much in keeping with current public dialogue and remembrances of the crises. Both the curriculum and public memory also place the crises within a larger series of events and issues, as flashpoints of tensions at the time, but not the termini of those underlying issues. Even the organizational structure of the curriculum, balancing basic facts and content knowledge with historical and critical thinking skills, and, in the later edition, the chronological plan of the information, are evident within the wider community's discussions of history and memory, in how they conceive of history and what they consider important within it. In this sense, it is clear that the curriculum functions as both a means of commemorating the community's collective memory, as a document and as a catalyst for shared

remembrances, and as means of transmitting that shared past and the meanings associated with it.

Whether the curriculum acts as an instigator, attempting to influence the community's collective memory, or as a reflection, echoing that which is already accepted and integrated, is less evident. The curriculum could be seen to be promoting national unity and identity, particularly in the earlier editions, through narratives, primarily related to WWII, that could inspire loyalty and pride. Some of the changes to later editions, such as an increased level of geographic variety and more attention to Canada's role as an independent actor for WWII, could also contribute to encouraging these sentiments. However, these narratives and tones were present in the broader collective discourse as well, so the curriculum was not unique in this tack. Additionally, the inclusion, and promotion, of historical and critical thinking skills within the curriculum could be an effort to mitigate the existing absences within the curriculum, but, again, emphasis on these skills was not a unique inclusion within the overall field. Furthermore, as far as allowing students to discover aspects of the national narrative that were not included in the curriculum, this intention could yield additional positive stories, but could also reveal perspectives and experiences potentially damaging to a promotional goal. To a certain extent, the initial lack of certain negative aspects, like domestic atrocities during WWII and domestic military deployment, could be seen as an attempt to maintain those more favourable narratives. However, it is unlikely that such a strategy could be expected to succeed, given the public's consistent reaction to the neglecting of stories and experiences that they consider important to the historical record. It seems more plausible that those aspects and accounts were withheld from the curriculum until they were accepted widely enough by the general public, that their inclusion in an official document to be taught to students would be met with little to no push back or

controversy. This trend could also account for the lack of military references in mentions of the October and Oka Crises, the lower profile of the Korean War, and the differing portrayals of the impact of the two crises on Canadian identity and heritage. These are some negative aspects, domestic military deployment, disregard of veterans, and detrimental interactions with Aboriginal communities, that are not prominent within the curriculum and have yet to see wide acceptance from the general public. Considering these links and tendencies, the curriculum emerges as paralleling or following the wider community's collective memory.

The Ontario Grade 10 history curriculum is an important document and component within the Canadian and Ontarian collective memory, acting as a documented record of the community's acknowledged history, a means of transmission of that collective history to a younger generation, and a stimulant for commemorative activities. However, within those functions, the curriculum does not attempt to introduce new information into or influence the wider collective memory, instead following the precedents set by the wider community's own discussions and commemorations.

Further avenues of exploration of this theme could include the examination of other events within the curriculum, a study of the French editions of the curriculum, or looking at the curriculums of other grade levels or provinces. Given the relatively overall unexplored relationship between official school curriculums and collective memory, such examinations could reveal the extent to which this relationship between the curriculum and collective memory, reflection and record, rather than guiding force, endures. Consistency or variation through different aspects of collective memory and the curriculum, such as different types of conflicts and events, different age ranges, and different communities, linguistically and regionally, could

reveal nuances within that relationship. Ultimately, better understanding the relationships between collective memory and curriculums can yield a deeper comprehension of evolution of a community's collective memory, of the expected, and actual, roles of formal history class within the wider community, and of the challenges associated collective memory for such a large and diverse nation.

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