

**DIFFICULT KNOWLEDGE AND ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES IN ONTARIO'S
HISTORY CURRICULUM**

KIMBERLEY SEGUIN

For

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ABSTRACT

This study used qualitative research methods to analyze the ways in which difficult knowledge is represented in Ontario's 2013 and revised 2018 history curriculum (Grades 7, 8, 10). Difficult knowledge promotes serious discussions about weighty topics – often entrenched in collective memory – and invites readers to reflect on the different values, beliefs, and perspectives around such topics. In this study, difficult histories refer to contested depictions of past violence and oppression as they appear in historical narratives and curricular frameworks (Epstein and Peck, 2017). Examining the curriculum using the lens of difficult knowledge allowed me to consider how educators might foster reconciliation through engagement with chapters in Canadian history. The content analysis considered the difficult knowledge topics in history curricula and the approaches proposed to encourage perspective-taking. The study used a critical sociocultural approach to explore how Ontario's official curriculum represents difficult knowledge using multiple perspectives in general, and Indigenous perspectives, specifically. In an effort to gain a better understanding of the curricular resources currently available, this study contributes to knowledge growth by identifying entry points in the curriculum that serve to help teachers introduce difficult knowledge using disciplinary thinking and Indigenous epistemic themes. The main goal with this research is to provide recommendations to guide policy, research, and practice in the integration of Indigenous perspectives and knowledges in ways that are meaningful to learners.

Key words: history education; perspective-taking; difficult knowledge; Indigenous consciousness; historical consciousness

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Background

I stand before you, hopeful that we are at a threshold of a new era – a point of fundamental change in Canada’s story...a period of change that, if sustained by the will of the people, will forever realign the shared history of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada. (Justice Murray Sinclair, Chair of the TRC)

We are at a crossroads in Canadian history as we strive to renew relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The process of reconciliation invites individuals and institutions in all sectors of Canadian society to engage in an effort to stimulate change in the policies that govern Canadian affairs. To stimulate change, I seek to understand a truthful history of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and settler societies in Canada. This effort involves engaging with difficult stories of colonialism, displacement, and violence, as well as stories of resistance, strength, resilience, and spirit. To this end, the education system provides a platform for exploring difficult knowledge topics related to the (mis)treatment of Indigenous communities in Canada.

Difficult histories are defined as contested depictions of past violence and oppression as they appear in historical narratives and curricular frameworks (Epstein and Peck, 2017). Contemporary efforts focus on engaging critically with “narratives of historical traumas such as genocide, slavery, and forms of social hatred” (Pitt & Britzman, 2003, p. 756). These efforts also focus on critical engagement with questions of democracy, human rights, and equity (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Pitt & Britzman, 2003; Simon, Rosenberg & Eppert, 2000). Alice Pitt and Deborah Britzman (2003) consider difficult knowledge when it compromises one’s notion of self, others, and the world. As such, difficult knowledge promotes serious discussions about weighty topics – often entrenched in collective memory – and invites readers to reflect on the different values, beliefs, and perspectives around such topics. This content could potentially provide an opportunity for students to question the implications of social injustices (Kubota, 2014), which could lead to an increased awareness of discrimination and racism in Canadian society.

Recent curricular initiatives in Canada stress the need to teach courses in the humanities and social sciences from the perspectives of individuals who have been traditionally

underrepresented or excluded from national narratives (Scott, 2013). More specifically, provincial governments have introduced policy shifts in official curricula that require more meaningful explorations of Indigenous perspectives. In this study, Indigenous perspectives refer to “their understandings of the processes of time and the principles of their knowledge systems” (Marker, 2011, p. 97). Many Indigenous education reform strategies have been developed in response to the absence of Indigenous perspectives in Canadian history (Madden, 2015; McGregor, 2017; Kanu, 2011). Some of these efforts include disrupting stereotypes (St. Denis, 2007) and the mythic, reductive national narrative that exists in Canada (Clark, 2011; Donald, 2009; Mackey, 2012; Seixas & Clark, 2004), managing education outcomes for Indigenous students (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009; MEO, 2007), promoting reconciliation through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s (TRC) Calls to Action (Gibson & Case, 2019; Miles, 2018), and decolonizing education (Battiste, 2013; Marker, 2011; Smith, 2008; Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019). In 2015, the TRC called for a “decolonization of education in ways that lead to an Indigenizing of history in Canada” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 252). As part of their Calls to Action 62, for example, the TRC (2015b) called upon the governments (federal, provincial, and territorial) to produce age-appropriate, mandatory education requirements for Kindergarten to Grade 12 (K-12) students in Canada. According to the report, this curriculum would focus on residential schools, Treaties, and the contributions of Indigenous peoples to Canada.

In the province of Ontario, a main part of the Indigenous education strategy is the *Ontario First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework* (MEO, 2007). Through this framework, the Ministry of Education in Ontario (MEO) shows its commitment to creating a curriculum that facilitates learning about Indigenous histories, cultures, and perspectives through Indigenous Content Requirements (ICRs). This commitment, outlined in *The Journey Together: Ontario’s Commitment to Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples*, includes mandatory learning about residential schools and colonialism, and the responsibilities we have as treaty people. In Ontario, students in Grades 7, 8, and 10 confront difficult knowledge and difficult histories when they investigate the injustices and inequalities associated with colonialism and the history of treaties and the residential school system. However, “for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students,” James Miles (2018) notes, “what constitutes difficult knowledge when learning about settler colonialism will be specific to different individuals and communities” (p. 308). This can lead to “irreconcilable, competing truths,” where different individuals interpret the situation and

assign meaning or value “in entrenched, deeply different ways” (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 259). Understanding how these difficult histories are represented in the curriculum can reveal the ways in which perspective-taking is encouraged.

In Canada, reconciliation is “a state supported process” with schools and other public institutions tasked with reframing relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler Canadians (Miles, 2018, p. 295). In November 2017, Mitzie Hunter (Education Minister at the time), announced that the Ontario history curriculum would be revised to incorporate the histories and perspectives of Indigenous peoples. Revisions to history, social studies, and geography courses represent part of Ontario’s response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s multi-volume Final Report and related Calls to Action (2015b). These curricular revisions were implemented in September 2018 following the MEO’s decision to halt curriculum-writing sessions over the summer. One of these sessions involved revising and updating provincial curriculum documents with Indigenous content in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Calls to Action 62 and 63.

Writing in response to Canada’s sesquicentennial celebration in 2017, Jim Coyle (2017) of the *Toronto Star* noted that the last 150 years of Canadian history included missing and murdered Indigenous women, the exploitation of resources, Grassy Narrows, and inequalities in education, health care, and child-welfare systems. Coyle (2017) also described the “virtual absence” of Indigenous perspectives and history from the Ontario elementary and secondary school history curricula (Coyle, para. 7). Officially sanctioned practices have had negative effects on Indigenous individuals and communities, and on relationships in Canada. Whether the revised 2018 curricula advocate for curricular engagements that allow us to re-imagine and re-frame relations within Canada by (un)learning from multiple/alternative perspectives is worthy of exploration.

In their recent work on ICRs, Adam Gaudry and Danielle Lorenz (2019) suggest that there needs to be a shift in the way we approach these mandatory content requirements. This shift involves a move away from learning *about* Indigenous peoples and towards learning *from* them. Although their work focuses on ICRs in Canadian universities (Lakehead University and the University of Winnipeg, specifically), this approach should also be applied in elementary and secondary schools as it could potentially broaden the range of responses that currently exist to

resolve some of the issues that we face. It also invites a shift, Samantha Cutrara (2018) notes, in the ways in which we understand truth, and how we come to “narrate this land” (p. 265).

Strengthening our Learning Journey, released in March 2018, is the Third Progress Report on the implementation of the *Ontario First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework* (2007). The report summarizes the framework’s progress following a decade of collaboration, and reinforces the value of system and school leadership, initial teacher education, and curriculum. My research focuses on curriculum, and why it is important for educational researchers to help create engaging and truthful texts and experiences for students. If students are to learn from the past, how might educators navigate the complex problem of truth in history? The problem becomes more challenging when considering truth in difficult histories.

The complexity of truth in history makes it challenging for students to learn why events unfolded the way they did. With historical narratives, truth is not necessarily absolute. It is often relative, based on perspective. Residential schools did exist, for example – this is an absolute truth. In an attempt to better understand the impact of the residential school system, the TRC documented the truth of anyone personally affected by the residential school system in Canada (e.g., survivors, families, and communities). “The idea that residential schools weren’t that bad,” Miles (2018) notes, is one of many “dangerous misconceptions” that continues to be prevalent in Canadian society (p. 295). Consider, for example, the recent case of Former Canadian Senator Lynn Beyak, who was suspended from Senate in May 2019 after refusing to remove derogatory letters from her website. These letters, she argues, are part of a discussion she is trying to encourage in Canada about the positive aspects of residential schools.

The TRC address truth through research, testimony, and public education for the purpose of guiding and inspiring Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians to develop relationships based on respect and understanding. In support of more truthful texts, I argue that the official curriculum should include opportunities for teachers to engage students with difficult histories and knowledge. There should be opportunities for students to investigate the impacts of colonialism and colonization on Indigenous communities in Canada, and the implications that these actions have today in local and global contexts (Cutrara, 2018; Dion, 2007, 2009; Donald, 2009a).

The recent revisions are timely as they come after a decade of curricular changes aimed at promoting the acquisition of second-order disciplinary concepts of historical thinking as conceptualized by Peter Seixas and his colleagues at the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness. Drawing on Peter Lee's (1983) work on second-order, procedural concepts, Seixas developed The Historical Thinking Project in Canada, a project that was active from 2006 until 2014 and served to provide models of meaningful history teaching, learning, and assessment (Sandwell, 2014). Lee (1983) first described a model for the construction of historical knowledge based on substantive and procedural knowledge. First-order (substantive knowledge) concepts represent the content knowledge. In the Canadian history curriculum, some of these substantive concepts may include Confederation, the Chinese Head Tax, internment of Japanese-Canadians, and residential schools. Textbooks, oral histories, and films make up some of the forms of substantive knowledge (Lévesque, 2011). Substantive knowledge "has been the subject of lively debate in various curricular reforms because it is highly political and contentious and often justified by competing groups for a variety of collective purposes such as identity, memory, and patriotism" (Lévesque, 2011, p. 117). Although essential to the study of history, substantive knowledge alone is not sufficient to foster historical thinking (den Heyer, 2004; Lévesque, 2011; McCallum & McLean, 2016). Students also need to use conceptual tools of the historical discipline so that they are not simply passively absorbing information.

Second-order (procedural knowledge) concepts shape the way we learn content knowledge by providing the conceptual tools, or frameworks, for investigating the past and creating historical narratives (Lee & Ashby, 2000; Lévesque, 2008, 2011; Osborne, 2011; Peck, 2014; Seixas, 1996). One must be aware that an approach emphasizing disciplinary knowledge alone runs "the risk of being knowledge poor" (Osborne, 2006, referenced in McCallum & McLean, 2016, p. 67). There have been a number of debates concerning the discipline of history and whether teachers should encourage students to actively engage with the content rather than simply delivering the content (Clark, 2011; Peck, 2014). Scholars in the field of education stress the need to acquire "both historical knowledge and knowledge about history while making a distinction between the two" (McCallum & McLean, 2016, p. 67). Lévesque (2011), for example, argues that:

Without sophisticated thinking, students are left passively absorbing the stories of authorities, too puzzled or indifferent to use the tools and mechanisms for making sense of the past. Students cannot practise history or even think critically about its content if they have no understanding of how one constructs and shares historical knowledge. (p. 117)

Limiting history to facts and fact transmission has been described as problematic in light of cognitive research on active engagement and the construction of knowledge (Sandwell & von Heyking, 2014; Sears, 2014; von Heyking, 2014;). Historical thinking stems from developments in the history of disciplinary practice, and represents a move away from the teaching and learning of grand narratives (Bain, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; McGregor, 2017; Seixas & Morton, 2013; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). The historical thinking approach focuses on the skills associated with the practice of *doing history*, and arose as a way to engage with sources and competing narratives (Ashby, Lee, & Dickinson, 1997; Barton & Levstik, 2015; Lee, 1991; Lee, 1998; Lee, Dickinson, & Ashby, 1997). It is meant to replace some of the more passive encounters with the narratives of history – primarily rote learning and memorization – which are limiting because they do not provide students with opportunities to investigate the construction of historical narratives (McCallum & McLean, 2016; Sandwell & von Heyking, 2014). The disciplinary framework emphasizes evidence and critical, rational thought in the interpretation of historical accounts (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Lee & Shemilt, 2003). As Lévesque (2008) notes, introducing students to historical investigation and interpretation encourages them to take responsibility for their own education.

As noted by von Heyking (2011), since 2004, elementary school children in Ontario have been required to consider the many forms of historical evidence to evaluate multiple perspectives and critically examine information in order to develop a better understanding of democratic values and identity in Canada and to solve problems on issues relevant to students' lives. Official curriculum documents in Canada specify the interdependent substantive and procedural concepts that teachers are expected to teach in schools, and progression in historical thinking is to be developed concurrently within the substantive and procedural domains of knowledge. It is not to be based on progression from lower- (substantive) to higher-order (procedural) thinking (Lévesque, 2011). According to the Ontario history curriculum, students are expected to develop

the ability to apply historical thinking concepts in order to better understand Canadian history. Although several conceptual frameworks exist for historical thinking, Canadian history educators and researchers have gained valuable insights from Seixas' work on the Historical Thinking Project (von Heyking & Sandwell, 2014). Seixas (1996, 2006, 2008) suggests that one must grasp six second-order concepts in order to think historically – the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking (Peck & Seixas, 2008). These concepts shape provincial curricula in Canada and include historical perspective (also referred to as historical perspective-taking and historical empathy), historical significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, analysis of primary source evidence, and ethical dimension.

For the purpose of my study, I will use historical perspective as a lens to explore difficult knowledge. The MEO defines historical perspective as a historical thinking concept that “requires students to analyse past actions, events, developments, and issues within the context of the time in which they occurred” (2013a, p. 105; 2013b, p. 131; 2018a, p. 105; 2018b, p. 139). As a result, perspective-taking reminds students to be mindful and resist the urge to impose today's ethical standards and values when learning about the past. According to the MEO, the recent revisions to the curriculum “focus on strengthening students' knowledge and understanding of Indigenous histories, cultures, *perspectives*, contributions, and ways of knowing” (2018a, p. 15; 2018b, p. 14-15, emphasis added). Since an important part of the revisions rest on the inclusion of Indigenous histories and perspectives, I will focus solely on historical perspective because it allows me to pay close attention to the ways in which Indigenous perspectives are incorporated. As previously stated, in this study Indigenous perspectives refer to Indigenous peoples' “understandings of the processes of time and the principles of their knowledge systems” (Marker, 2011, p. 97). Although one can examine difficult knowledge using the other historical thinking skills, due to limited space this study will only consider historical perspective. Though worthy of further exploration, for the matter of my study there is simply not enough time for me to examine each and every historical thinking concept in relation to difficult knowledge.

Margaret Conrad (2011), who provided a survey of Canadian historiography, notes the ways in which Seixas has been integral to the development of this disciplinary approach in Canada. The historical thinking concepts are often linked with other concepts such as historical

consciousness and historical memory. Historical consciousness, a concept that emerged in the work of European scholars such as Jörn Rüsen and Pierre Nora, piqued the interest of Canadian historians who shared a fixation with national narratives. The concept refers to understandings of the past and the factors which shape those understandings, and is useful for “orientation in a present situation requiring action” as it helps us understand “past actuality in order to grasp present actuality” (Rüsen, 2004, p. 66). According to Seixas (2004, 2006), historical consciousness brings the discipline of history together with citizenship and public memory.

In 2001, Seixas established a Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness in the Faculties of Education and Arts at the University of British Columbia. Stéphane Lévesque, inspired by Seixas, Rüsen, and other scholars such as Sam Wineburg, Bruce VanSledright, and Denis Schemilt, noted the importance of historical consciousness in orienting people in time, connecting memory with history and identity to help guide “contemporary actions and moral behaviours in reference to past actualities” (2014a, para. 2). Although they have been expressed in many ways, the components of historical consciousness generally include an understanding of history as an interpretive discipline and an understanding of the differences between past and present ways of life and thinking (Seixas, 2011; Wilschut, 2010). In understanding the present in light of past conflict, crises, and developments, historical consciousness involves an ethical dimension and knowledge of the relationship between agency and the (un)intended consequences of action (Seixas, 2011; Wilschut, 2010). This critical point of view, Seixas (2011) and Wilschut (2010) argue, can be developed through interpretive analyses of primary and secondary sources of evidence.

Although it involves a complex process, historical consciousness is important for understanding the relationship between the past, present, and future. Some scholars argue for the integration of historical consciousness as it allows students to critique the assumptions underlying their own and others’ historical narratives (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Nordgren & Johanson, 2015). Seixas’s (2004, 2006) conceptualization of historical consciousness can be developed through the six “fundamentally interrelated” Benchmarks of Historical Thinking (Seixas, 2011, p. 144). Learning these concepts does not necessarily mean that students will *have* historical consciousness, and one should consider how historical consciousness, when limited, can impact interpretations of the present (McGregor, 2017). This begs the question: What role

does the official curriculum play in terms of helping students develop more advanced forms of historical consciousness? Who gets to decide? What does this reveal?

These questions are important as disciplinary thinking has recently been criticized for its “inability to represent Indigenous perspectives on the relationship between the past, present and envisioned future” (Lévesque, 2016a, para. 5). For Indigenous peoples, this understanding is conceivable through a historical consciousness grounded in knowledge “that connects people, land, and nature” (Lévesque, 2016a, para. 7). Indigenous forms of historical consciousness, Seixas (2012) notes, cannot be easily measured using the concepts of historical thinking. Consider the idea of progress, for example. According to the Historical Thinking Project website, continuity and change are evaluated over time using the ideas of progress and decline. For Indigenous peoples, industrial development and the economic profits that flow from local natural resources do not represent narratives of progress. Rather, these narratives “contain inaudible stories of the displacement and marginalization of Aboriginal life” (Marker, 2011, p. 107). Issues related to Indigenous histories “elicit difficult emotions, reflecting a colonial legacy and ongoing land disputes (including disputes over land from which immense oil, gas, and mineral wealth is currently being extracted)” (den Heyer, 2014, p. 177). With this in mind, I cannot help but consider recent events surrounding the Wet’suwet’en anti-pipeline camps that have been set up to protect their traditional territory from TransCanada’s Coastal GasLink pipeline. This is a clear example of contemporary responses to the issues that Indigenous communities continue to face in Canada, and the differing views on progress and decline.

How can educators represent these histories in ways that address these difficult emotions, and in ways that strengthen relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada? To date, there is very little research on the relationship between historical thinking and Indigenous approaches to making meaning, aside from a few exceptions (see Cutrara, 2018; den Heyer, 2009; Gibson & Case, 2019; Marker, 2011; McGregor, 2017; Miles, 2018; Seixas, 2012). Historical consciousness and Indigenous consciousness have been conceptualized from different domains of knowledge (Cutrara, 2018; Marker, 2011; McGregor, 2017; Seixas, 2012; Smith, 2008). For Indigenous students, history courses are difficult because they draw on methodologies which clash with the traditional ways in which Indigenous

communities make meaning out of the past (Cutrara, 2018; Marker, 2011; Smith, 2008). Michael Marker (2011), for example, states that:

While revisionist and more inclusive histories have brought the experiences of indigenous peoples into a more public conversation about social justice and the consequences of ‘nation building’ as colonization, the deeper perspectives of Aboriginal peoples in regard to their understandings of the processes of time and the principles of their knowledge systems are usually missing. (p. 97)

Indigenous epistemologies or knowledge frameworks, as seen in the work of Dwayne Donald, for example, give rise to Indigenous research methodologies, and are built upon the concept of relational validity, or what Wilson (2008) refers to as “relational accountability” (p. 77). Being accountable to one’s relations, in this case, means fulfilling a role and responsibility in the research relationship (Tuck & Yang, 2019; Wilson, 2008). Marker (2011) describes four Indigenous epistemic themes within Indigenous historical consciousness, which he argues are “difficult to integrate into the conventions of Western historiographies” (p. 98). These themes emphasize (1) relationships with landscape, animals, and nature; (2) relationships between local landscape, time, and place; (3) the circular nature of time “and the ways oral tradition is integrated with recurring events”; and (4) “indigenous narratives and perspectives on the histories of colonization that have attempted to displace and replace indigenous knowledge” (Marker, 2011, p. 98). In their recent work on reshaping Canadian history education in response to the TRC’s Calls to Action, Lindsay Gibson and Roland Case (2019) note that these four themes are not usually taken into consideration when constructing and teaching history courses.

In reviewing Marker’s work, Clark (2011) concurs that the inclusion of Indigenous knowledges and world-views in history education can potentially re-frame our relationships with the “ecologies of our communities” (p. 17). With this reconfiguration in mind, Cutrara (2018) and Marker (2011) note that we might “come to better understand the legacy of colonialism in Canada and the ways it divorced people, knowledge, and spirituality from the land” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 256). Moving forward, we must consider the epistemic themes associated with historical thinking and Indigenous knowledges, and “how they differ or converge, and how each system can be utilized in the classroom” (McGregor, 2017, p. 14). The official curriculum could play a significant role in shaping how teachers navigate both historical thinking and the integration of

Indigenous perspectives and knowledges, therefore it is important to understand how the official curriculum supports history teachers in this endeavour.

Cutrara (2018) and Miles (2018) note that those involved in education may find it difficult to reconcile the TRC's Calls to Action with curricular objectives framed by the disciplinary thinking skills built around historical thinking concepts. In describing these challenges, Cutrara (2018) summarizes many reasons why teachers might resist teaching with the aim to decolonize historical narratives, "including individual and structural racism (Schick & St. Denis, 2005; Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Vaught & Castagno, 2008), preconceived ideas about teaching history (Bullogh & Pinnegar, 2009; van Hover & Yeager, 2007), lack of knowledge or appropriate resources (Cunningham, 2009; Loewen, 1996; Hill, Loewenberg Ball, & Schilling, 2008), and fears about controversial content and wanting to 'protect' students" (Cutrara, 2018, p. 253). In addition, new approaches to teaching and learning cause "a revaluation of one's 'knowledge package' of what and how to teach" (Ma, 1999, cited in Cutrara, 2018, p. 253).

Similarly, Miles (2018) describes three challenges for history education in response to the TRC's pursuit of truth and reconciliation: narrativity, temporality, and identity. He argues that history educators must address these challenges when engaging with concepts related to historical injustice and reconciliation. The historical narratives found in schools, Miles (2018) notes, often promote stories of nation building and progress which often conflict with efforts to reframe relations. Rather than simply integrating more stories about Indigenous people, we should reflect on how and why we learn Indigenous stories and how these narratives shape our understanding of history (Cutrara, 2018; Gibson & Case, 2019; Lévesque, 2016a). In terms of the challenge of temporality, for example, Miles (2018) attests that "current discourse around settler colonialism in Canada tends to temporally place injustice solely in the distant past" (p. 296). In making reference to historical injustices as *dark* or *sad* chapters in Canadian history, we temporalize the injustice in ways which "deny or silence both broader historical narratives and ongoing injustices" (Miles, 2018, p. 302). This presents a challenge in reframing relationships. Finally, in terms of the challenge of identity, Miles (2018) argues that teaching and learning about injustices should encourage teachers and students to "reflect on their identities and consider what it would mean to reframe their ethical orientation to past, present and future" (p.

296). Roger Simon (2005) has referred to this as “a renewed historical consciousness” (p. 94). Although asking students to “confront their identity and its implications” may be uncomfortable and difficult, Miles (2018) attests that it “remains an essential component of developing a stronger sense of how historical injustice informs the present” (p. 303).

When examining historical thinking “as envisioned by Seixas,” Cutrara (2018) notes that:

what comes to the surface is the supremacy of and disrespect of that which is not Western thinking, the intolerance for the contours of truth needed for understanding the different experiences of colonialism, and the lack of relational learning needed to build relationships of reconciliation. (p. 258)

My research seeks to find out how it is possible to incorporate difficult knowledge as it relates to the systemic state-sponsored (mis)treatment of Indigenous peoples using (1) perspective-taking as a concept of historical thinking; (2) sociocultural perspectives; and (3) Indigenous epistemic themes, in ways that promote truth, respect, and relationality. It is worthwhile to explore how the 2013 and revised 2018 history curriculum represents difficult histories, and examine how these versions differ in their representations of difficult knowledge. In also taking into consideration the 2013 curriculum, studying how the revised curriculum represents difficult knowledge allows me to gain a sense of continuity and change by examining “what has stayed the same and what has changed” (MEO, 2013a, p. 104; MEO, 2013b, p. 131; MEO 2018a, p. 104; MEO 2018b, p. 139). In light of this comparative aspect, my research sheds light on how these topics are addressed following the TRC Final Report and Calls to Action (2015b) and in light of recent literature on the blending of Indigenous and Western epistemologies in the construction of knowledge.

Purpose and Rationale

In the past, curriculum worked as a state-sponsored tool that helped settler colonial students forget historical harms of the past by omitting certain lived experiences within textbooks, curriculum expectations, and so on. Given the importance and mandatory status of official curriculum policy for education in the province of Ontario, it is worthwhile to gain an understanding of how difficult knowledge topics are represented in the history curriculum for

Grades 7, 8, and 10. The objectives of this study are: (1) to examine, analyze, and present results from a qualitative content analysis of the official history curriculum for Grades 7, 8, and 10; and, (2) to offer a synthesis and analysis of the possibilities and limitations of the curriculum in light of the study and the work addressed in the literature review. The study has two primary aims. First, to identify a list of difficult knowledge topics addressed in the curriculum of Ontario. Second, to critically examine *how* the official curriculum presents difficult knowledge, to see whether the difficult knowledge is represented in ways that invite historical perspective as defined by Seixas' (2006, 2008, 2011) work on the concepts of historical thinking, and in ways which draw on Indigenous epistemic themes as stated in Marker's (2011) work on Indigenous consciousness.

In Grades 1 through 6, history units form a small part of the curriculum and are taught in the multidisciplinary context of social studies. For this reason, these elementary grades were not a main component of the study. Focus was placed on history programs for students in Grades 7, 8, and 10, which correspond to the compulsory courses in Ontario. In particular, the Grade 10 history curriculum is an important part of the study because it makes up what could potentially be students' final exposure to the discipline of history in a school setting. The content presented in the official curriculum has a strong influence, not only on the information taught in the classroom (the taught curriculum), but also on the ways in which that information might be interpreted by students (the learned curriculum) and assessed by teachers (the tested curriculum).

The official curriculum contains what is provincially mandated in terms of courses and curricular frameworks, and makes up what is often referred to as the formal or explicit curriculum (Cuban, 1993; Eisner, 1979). The MEO expects teachers to teach the official, explicit curriculum, and assumes that students will learn and meet the expectations outlined within the policy documents. Herein lies a boundary of this study, which provides an investigation of the official curriculum but does not examine the three other forms of curriculum discussed in Larry Cuban's (1993) work on curricular reform. Although the scope of this research only allowed for an examination of the official curriculum, I recognize that examination of curriculum documents alone is not sufficient to make conclusions about the taught, learned, or tested curriculum. Of the four curricula in schools, the official curriculum is the most recognized and studied but possibly the least influential for students (Cuban, 1993). Indeed, it is one thing for an official curriculum

to mandate an expectation or a topic, but it is another for teachers to actually carry out the visions and expectations of the program, and for students to engage in deep, meaningful learning.

This study will not be able to speak to the implicit/hidden curriculum, which addresses the values and expectations not found in formal curricula. The implicit curriculum consists of informal, unintentional lessons learned in the classroom, and comprises the perspectives and attitudes students encounter at school. The study may, however, shed some light on the null curriculum – the experiences, perspectives, and discourses that are absent from curriculum. In his reference to the null curriculum, Elliot Eisner (2001) notes that “The absence of a set of considerations or perspectives or the inability to use certain processes for appraising a context biases the evidence one is able to take into account” (p. 97). In considering the importance of the official curriculum on difficult knowledge, one must also consider the null curriculum as these absences can be just as revealing. In their work on treaty education, for example, Jennifer Tupper and Michael Cappello (2008) illustrate that the absence of certain narratives within teacher education can be traced to an absence within curriculum documents. The 2018 curriculum revisions in Ontario will allow me to consider how the documents address the null curriculum in terms of what is absent within the curriculum policy documents.

In an effort to connect the official curriculum to the taught, learned, and tested curricula, my research sheds light on the revised curriculum to contribute to the knowledge dedicated to better support teachers’ work. This analysis focused on the content of the official curriculum as outlined in the front matter, course overviews, content standards (overall and specific expectations – the anticipated thinking and learning outcomes), big ideas, framing questions, examples, sample questions, and glossaries. Examining the curriculum for representations of difficult knowledge and histories allowed me to consider how educators might foster reconciliation through engagement with some of the less frequently explored chapters in Canadian history. The qualitative content analysis considered the difficult knowledge topics presented in the curriculum, and the ways in which these topics are framed in terms of historical perspective (Seixas, 2006, 2008, 2011) and Indigenous historical consciousness (Marker, 2011).

The main goal with this research is to provide recommendations to guide policy, research, and ultimately practice in the integration of Indigenous perspectives in ways that are truly meaningful. Blending disciplinary approaches with Indigenous epistemic themes is a

challenge because few have been able to successfully integrate Western historical thinking concepts with Indigenous ways of knowing. This research contributes to knowledge growth by identifying entry points in the curriculum that could be used to help teachers introduce difficult knowledge using a blend of disciplinary thinking and Indigenous epistemologies. At this time it is too early to determine how the revised curriculum has been received by teachers and students in Ontario. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the recent steps the MEO has taken to help with the convergence of historical thinking and Indigenous perspectives, as represented in an analysis of the 2013 and revised 2018 history curriculum for Grades 7, 8, and 10.

Research Questions

The Ontario Curriculum: Social Studies, Grades 1 to 6; History and Geography, Grades 7 and 8 (SSHG hereafter) and *The Ontario Curriculum: Canadian and World Studies, Grades 9 and 10* (CWS hereafter) were implemented in September 2018 to replace the previously mandated 2013 documents. The study of the 2013 and revised 2018 SSHG and CWS curricula was guided by the following research questions: (1) Which difficult knowledge topics appear in the glossary, and which of these glossary terms appear in the Grades 7, 8, and 10 history curricula? How are these topics framed? In other words, how are these difficult knowledge topics/difficult histories represented in the curriculum front matter, course overviews, and in the content standards (overall and specific expectations), big ideas, framing questions, examples, and sample questions for the history courses in Ontario? What are some of the purpose(s) they appear to serve?; and (2) To what degree does the curriculum engage perspective-taking when dealing with difficult knowledge as it relates to the (mis)treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada? How does the curriculum address multiple perspectives, generally, and Indigenous perspectives, specifically?

Overview

Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the research problem, the purpose of study, and the research questions guiding this research. Chapter 2 consists of a review of the relevant literature in the field of history education, and is subdivided into four parts to address the main ideas

guiding this research. Following an introduction, the first part of the literature review identifies and describes the main lens used in this research and content analysis – that of difficult knowledge. The second part provides an overview of the history curriculum in Ontario, which includes a description of the overarching visions and goals of the programs. The third part of the literature review provides a summary of the current issues and challenges around historical thinking and Indigenous epistemic themes (i.e., a critique of disciplinary thinking), and the fourth part discusses the ways in which I propose we move this research forward. Chapter 3 describes the conceptual and theoretical frameworks guiding the research, and Chapter 4 describes the methodology used in the study. Chapter 5 describes the findings and Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the data and some suggestions for future research. The final chapter, the conclusion, summarizes the significant research findings and discusses the implications and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The predicament in the teaching of history from an indigenous perspective has not just been the application of the 'selective tradition,' as Raymond Williams puts it, which selects the facts and stories; it lies more in the ways that the stories are told and in the purposes of the stories. (Marker, 2011, pp. 97-98)

The curriculum is part of a selective practice where certain knowledge and perspectives are officially sanctioned (Apple, 2008; Williams, 1961). This perspective also holds true for history, which involves a conscious selection and interpretation of the past (Clark, 2007). The content presented in schools and the ways in which students are expected to learn it influences what they believe about events and often becomes official knowledge (Apple, 1999). This belief has led to many debates in education and in the field of Canadian history education specifically (see Barton & Levstik, 2004; Clark, 2011; Lévesque, 2008; Lévesque, 2016; McCallum & McLean, 2016; Ng-A-Fook & Milne, 2014; Ng-A-Fook & Smith, 2017; Osborne, 2003, 2006, 2011; Paxton, 1991; Sandwell, 2006; Sandwell & von Heyking, 2014; Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000). Some of the key concepts from these debates were incorporated in the investigation. The main concepts, which include disciplinary skills built around the six historical thinking concepts, enable us to understand the structure of the curriculum in Ontario, and how it has come to be structured that way.

Since schooling is central to the development of young adults, it can often lead to disputes about the shape and content of the mandated curriculum, and about which skills and attitudes should be cultivated. A significant struggle in curriculum development involves maintaining a combination of low resolution perspective (big picture history) and high resolution historical narratives which contributes to an appropriate balance between subject matter knowledge, broad issues, and multiple perspectives (Levin, 2008; Sahlberg, 2010). In Canada, each provincial ministry of education is responsible for designing official school curricula. These documents can make up a grand narrative, inviting one to consider the stories that are officially sanctioned through mandated curriculum ideologies (Grumet, 1981; Tupper & Capello, 2008).

Stories about the past are typically explored through dominant perspectives, which leads to the exclusion of other equally valuable narratives (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). Indigenous

education, for example, is a contested site of learning that is too often underrepresented in history and education scholarship, with Indigenous narratives occupying only a small space in curriculum studies. Many of the sources consulted for this study provide considerable arguments for the integration of Indigenous knowledge, histories, and perspectives (see Andreotti, 2016; Battiste, 2002; Chambers, 2003, 2006; Dion, 2009; Ng-A-Fook, 2014; Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019). In addition, the works consulted reiterate the value of integrating meaningful engagements in education that invite learners to question prior assumptions and prejudices in an effort to re-imagine Indigenous-Canadian relations (Simon, 2000; Donald, 2009). The research consulted reaffirms the need to decolonize education by critically examining the reasons for silencing Indigenous voices in Canadian history.

Inspired by social justice movements, progressive educators have strived to foster critical thinking that contests official myths and seeks to understand root causes of injustice, and their efforts are geared towards developing curricular content and teaching methods to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse population (Entin, Rosen & Vogt, 2008). Gradually, scholars are advocating for deliberative pedagogies and an issues-centered curriculum that invites students to research, analyze, and discuss difficult knowledge and contested content (Bixby & Pace, 2008; Evans & Saxe, 1996; Ochoa-Becker, 2007). This kind of teaching, in their view, needs to be interweaved throughout the curriculum and emphasized in specific lessons in an attempt to provoke a sense of inclusive community and feelings of solidarity with others (Peterson, 2008). Educators must help students gradually develop a historically grounded framework for understanding present conflicts in reference to a usable past (Bixby & Pace, 2008; Noguera & Cohen, 2006). Therefore, educators should equip students with the analytical skills required to analyze and evaluate information they are exposed to. Students must also gradually develop the deconstructionist skills required to analyze how narratives are constructed and can be analyzed. The curriculum plays a key role in outlining and scaffolding these skills.

In Ontario, the history program provides an overview of Canadian history from 1713 to present (the earlier periods are covered in Grades 1-6 social studies). Students in Grade 7 examine the changes that took place in Canada between 1713 and 1850, are introduced to historical inquiry, and learn to apply historical thinking concepts to their study of history. Students in Grade 8 draw on their understanding of the Canadian history presented in Grade 7 in

order to examine the changes that occurred in Canada between 1850 and 1914. According to the overview for the Grade 8 history program, students “examine the internal and external forces that led to Confederation and territorial expansion and will analyse the impact of these developments” (MEO, 2013b, p. 145) “on people in Canada, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit, as well as new immigrants” (MEO, 2018b, p. 155). Students are expected to use primary and secondary sources to explore multiple perspectives on issues and inequalities. The compulsory history course in Grade 10 focuses on Canadian history from 1914 to the present. According to the MEO, history courses in Grade 10 history are offered in academic and applied course types. Whereas academic courses use theory and abstract problems to help students develop their analytical skills and knowledge, applied courses focus more on opportunities for hands-on learning. With the recent revisions, students in Grade 10 history (academic and applied) learn about the “historical and contemporary impact of colonialism, the Indian Act, the residential school system, treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 11). In Grades 7, 8, and 10 history, social, political, economic, and legal developments and events serve to frame students’ investigations of the experiences of and challenges facing individuals and communities in Canada.

The concepts and themes presented in the literature review serve to situate the thematic data collected in the content analysis. In relation to the research objectives outlined in the Introduction, this study was concerned with the connections between: (1) content and curriculum hierarchy (i.e., front matter, course overviews, expectations, big ideas, framing questions, examples, sample questions, and glossary); (2) content and disciplinary thinking concepts (specifically historical perspective); and (3) content and Indigenous epistemic themes. These connections allowed for an analysis of provincial efforts to introduce difficult knowledge.

The Content: Difficult Knowledge

Although teaching and learning difficult histories can be controversial for teachers, students, parents, and administration, sparking debates about what can be considered difficult knowledge, research suggests that these efforts might foster reconciliation (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Tinkham, 2017). While still marginal, tales of difficulty have become more prominent in Canadian curriculum studies (Chambers, 2003). Although some scholars argue for the

incorporation of difficult knowledge, others might be urged to oppose it, arguing that it could be detrimental to future relations. For example, Cynthia Chambers (2003) once noted that there appears to be unease about situating difficult knowledge in the context of Indigenous populations and their experiences in Canada. This invites one to consider how this kind of information might be represented and received in the classroom, and in the policy documents guiding program assessment.

I believe that studying difficult knowledge, when done deeply and meaningfully, has the potential to help students realize that this content can be interpreted using a variety of perspectives. Exploring how difficult knowledge is represented in the curriculum is a crucial step in planning for a more critical disciplinary process that can engage students in curricular content (Parker, 2012). Although Diana Hess (2009) recognizes that many teachers choose to avoid prompting discussion when the subject matter may be seen as controversial, she calls for the integration of this content in the classroom, arguing that it prompts the exploration of alternative, conflicting perspectives.

Seixas and Penney Clark (2004) provide a useful example of what this approach could look like in the classroom. Their study, as Clark (2011) describes, provides insight into the ways in which public controversies can be used to teach critical disciplinary history. In their work on murals as monuments, Seixas and Clark (2004) examined secondary school students' solutions to a public history controversy in British Columbia. These responses were recorded in a Canadian history competition, and focused on four murals. The four murals, *Justice*, *Enterprise*, *Labour*, and *Courage*, were painted in 1935 and represent British Columbia's colonial period. The murals, which are located in the rotunda of the province's legislature, portray various interactions between Indigenous peoples and European settlers. Students were asked about the murals – mainly what should be done about them given the way they represented these interactions. Although most students understood that historical representations such as the murals can be controversial, Seixas and Clark found that the students did not necessarily understand the messages that the murals were attempting to express “in light of the historical context in which those messages had been constructed” (Clark, 2011, pp. 22-23). It is clear that engaging with public debates provides students with opportunities to make logical, informed judgments about moral dilemmas. Students do, however, need more support in understanding historical context.

A topic becomes controversial when different groups have conflicting views and opposing interpretations of similar events. It is imperative that teachers invite students to reflect on conflicting perspectives. To this end, difficult histories can be inserted into the curriculum in ways that encourage teachers and students to raise critical, thought-provoking questions. As humans in an ever-changing, fast-paced technological world, we are constantly being exposed to conflicting stories (Lévesque, 2011). Heather McGregor (2017) notes that students may find conflicting stories most appealing because of their potential for developing their critical thinking skills. When studying these types of topics, students are often required to interpret the past in order to better understand current events (Parker, 2012). According to the mandated curriculum in Ontario, “Examining current events helps students analyse controversial issues, understand diverse perspectives, develop informed opinions, and build a deeper understanding of the world in which they live” (MEO, 2013a, p. 40; MEO, 2013b, p. 36; MEO, 2018a, p. 40; MEO, 2018b, p. 38). The MEO expects teachers to weave current issues and events into the content strands (the overall and specific curriculum expectations) so that students can make connections between these issues and events and the ideas presented in the classroom.

As stated in the revised curriculum (2018a), “The study of history enables students to become critically thoughtful and informed citizens who are able to interpret and analyse historical, as well as current, issues, events, and developments, both in Canada and the world” (p. 103). In Grades 1 through 6 (social studies), students study conflict and cooperation throughout history, and identify the ways in which different people viewed and related to each other. In Grades 7 and 8 (history and geography), these explorations continue, “but at a deeper level, guided by questions that encourage students to think critically about global inequalities and the impact that people have on each other and on the environment” (MEO, 2018b, p. 47). Students in Grades 7 and 8 investigate injustices and inequalities, and examine the ways in which individuals have acted as agents of change. It is worth noting that their investigations are not pursued solely through the lens of victimization, which was criticised in the 1990s and led to complaints about the nature of history as one favouring victimology (Bothwell & Granatstein, 2000; Osborne, 2011). Rather, students are expected to examine how these individuals can “serve as role models for (responsible) active citizenship” (MEO, 2018a, p. 49, responsible added; MEO, 2018b, p. 48). In line with exploring difficult knowledge topics, students in Grade 10 history are often

called upon to investigate past human rights violations and tragedies, as stated in many of the specific expectations.

Understanding multiple perspectives is important in history so as to gain a better appreciation of responses to current and past events and issues, including tragedies and human rights violations. In Seixas' research on historical thinking concepts, he describes taking historical perspective (also called in the literature "historical empathy") as a means of helping students develop their understanding of the intellectual, cultural, social, ideological, and emotional settings of past societies (den Heyer, 2014). According to Seixas (2006), historical perspective-taking depends on: (1) evidence for interpretations about how individuals felt and thought at the time (being careful to avoid presentism); (2) understanding of the historical context; and (3) understanding diverse perspectives of multiple historical actors on particular historical events and/or situations.

Presentism, noted above, is the "antithesis of historical perspective" (Denos & Case, 2006, pp. 46-47). According to scholars such as Seixas (2011) and Wineburg (2001), when studying people of the past, it is important to consider the error of presentism and the error of dismissal. The error of presentism involves the naïve imposition of contemporary ideas on individuals in the past, and refers to the "assumption that historical people are more like us than they actually were" (Seixas, 2011, p. 144). However, one must be careful to avoid making the past so distant as it can make it difficult to trace connections from the past to the present. This is especially important when one considers that the past informs the present. The past and present *are* connected – just not linearly. One must recognize that there are different paths and choices, and we must not rush to impose our views on people of the past – people who can no longer explain or defend their actions (Power, 2003). The error of dismissal is the belief that people of the past who conduct themselves in different ways from us are simply racist, sexist, irrational, or ignorant, without further investigation "into the totality of their historical circumstances" (Seixas, 2011, p. 145). These errors, as Seixas (2011) rightly notes, limit historical understanding of the events, issues, individuals, and communities being investigated.

With historical perspective, students are expected to move beyond simply imagining themselves as someone who lived in the past, and towards developing a deeper understanding of the difference between past and present societies and moral frameworks through engagement

with primary and secondary source evidence (den Heyer, 2014; Denos & Case, 2006; Duquette, 2014; Seixas, 2011). To come to an informed conclusion about the intentions of those in the past, students should understand the historical contexts and mentalities (situations and/or psychological states) shaping past actions (den Heyer, 2014). It is in this way that historical perspective has been conflated with empathy. Historical empathy in this case does not refer to the identification with or emotional feeling for another individual (Seixas, 2011; Seixas, 2012). Rather, historical empathy in this study refers to an understanding of perspectives in an effort to try and understand the ways of thinking and living in past societies (Portal, 1987; von Heyking, 2011). Historical perspective is not an affective feat, and taking historical perspective does not necessarily involve the sharing of feelings with people in past societies. Notions of empathy, affect, and perspective, however, are connected because they help us relate to others. To better understand this connection, one must first consider how historical and emotive empathy differ. Since I have already described historical empathy, I will now briefly turn to emotive empathy.

Darren Bryant and Penney Clark (2006) note the differences between historical and emotive empathy in their work on empathy and the CBC/Radio-Canada series *Canada: A People's History*. Bryant and Clark (2006) suggest that historical narratives have a tendency to exploit the emotive form of empathy, and that students tend to apply this form of empathy in an effort to identify or relate with people of the past. For example, in the classroom, emotive empathy can be applied in activities that ask students to write a poem from the perspective of someone who has endured a hardship, or to consider what it might feel like to be the parent of a child who was forcibly removed from the home and community. However, it is often rare that students “possess the contextual information or understanding to perform such a task with any degree of insight” (Bryant & Clark, 2006, p. 1041). In projecting personal feelings onto historical agents, one engages emotive empathy – “a state that is affective rather than cognitive” (Bryant & Clark, 2006, p. 1041). In their work, Bryant and Clark (2006) argue that the emotive empathy used in the series lacks a cognitive dimension and is inadequate in a history classroom.

Although emotive empathy is a desirable skill, it seems as though it could potentially contribute to the error of presentism described earlier. Chandra Power (2003) notes that presentism is often unavoidable, as it can often be difficult to control one's own sociocultural conditioning. This is why it is important to engage historical empathy, which draws on available

evidence to consider alternative perspectives and explanations (Boix-Mansilla, 2000; Bryant & Clark, 2006; Davis, 2001). Although historical empathy may include affective elements, it is mainly cognitive, requiring a “cocktail of critical thinking skills such as the ability to weigh past meanings, perspectives, traces, accounts, and interpretations” (Bryant & Clark, 2006, p. 1042, referencing Davis, 2001). With historical empathy, understanding is “cultivated from beyond our own perspectives and values” (Bryant & Clark, 2006, p. 1043). This calls for the careful examination of all available sources of evidence as well as the conflicting perspectives that often emerge.

I recognize that my use of historical perspective in this study stems from settler colonial perspectives, and that Indigenous perspectives are indeed different, as was described briefly in an earlier discussion on conflicting views of progress. The lived experiences of residential school survivors who have experienced the school system, and who are still alive now, should not simply be relegated to past societies. These experiences should be investigated using both historical and Indigenous perspectives, as will be discussed in parts three and four of this chapter. Meaningful historical study, according to historian Gerda Lerner (1997), stresses imagination and empathy so that students can attempt to understand unfamiliar ways of thinking and feeling and contexts far from those they are accustomed to. Similarly, Lévesque (2011) notes that recent emphasis on issues of contextualization, morality, and imagination in the study of school history are essential for empathy. According to the MEO (2013b), students develop empathy, a better understanding of and respect for different points of view as they examine events and issues from multiple perspectives. In terms of contextualizing the past, Lévesque (2011) notes that one must take into account the personal (inner), the sociocultural (outer), and the contemporary (present-day) contexts and perspectives in an attempt to make sense of a historical actor’s actions, intentions, and beliefs.

In dealing with difficult histories, historical perspective can be engaged through questions such as: “What can we learn from the ways in which people met challenges in the past?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 104; MEO, 2013b, p. 131; MEO, 2018a, p. 104; MEO, 2018b, p. 139); “What social attitudes were reflected in the forced removal of First Nations and Métis communities on the arrival of Loyalists or European immigrants?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 105; MEO, 2013b, p. 142; MEO, 2018a, p. 105; MEO, 2018b, p. 139); “How did different groups in Canada respond to the rise of

the Nazis? What social attitudes and values are reflected in those responses?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 105; MEO, 2018a, p. 141); and “What were the positions of Africville residents, municipal politicians in Halifax, and other groups on the expropriation of Africville? How might you explain differences in these points of view?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 119; MEO, 2018a, p. 121). These questions engage historical perspective by inviting students to consider diverse points of view.

Although teaching and learning difficult knowledge is contentious and can induce strong emotional loads and responses, research on students’ reactions, perceptions, and attitudes towards content that presents difficult knowledge indicates that it has potential for promoting open-mindedness and critical dialogue (Gil-Glazer, 2015). “Learning to think critically about the horrors of the past as well as the heroism among ordinary people,” Conrad McCallum and Lorna McLean (2016) note, drawing on the work of Seixas and Morton (2013), “contributes to the development of students’ historical consciousness” (p. 79). Research suggests that empathy and respect can stem from efforts to understand difference (Pinar, 2010), and that learning about “other systems of reasoning across time and spaces” offers us the chance to become “aware of ourselves as historical and cultural constructions” (Tröhler, 2014, p. 65). Revising curricula to include content that addresses multiple perspectives around inequality and injustice is just one of the ways in which we can explore difficult knowledge (Osler & Starkey, 2006) as it pertains to the history of Indigenous people in Canada. This exploration, I argue, offers an intriguing platform for critical and meaningful engagement. Examining the curriculum using the lens of difficult knowledge/histories will allow me to consider how educators might foster reconciliation through engagement with these marginalized chapters in Canadian history.

This study also draws on Nicholas Ng-A-Fook and Robin Milne’s (2014) work on “teaching against the grain so that we might encounter each other’s unsettling historical traumas with compassion, knowledge, and justice” (p. 88). Although asking students to examine multiple perspectives when studying difficult knowledge may be an appropriate way to move forward, research indicates that it may be harmful or inappropriate in some settings (Nordgren & Johansson, 2015; van Boxtel, Grever & Klein, 2016). Lisa Farley (2009), in her work on the problem of uncertainty in history education, explores some of the tensions that exist in the intellectual and emotional dynamics of teaching and learning difficult knowledge. Such knowledge is difficult, Farley (2009) argues, because it “poses a challenge to teachers and

students, who, in efforts to understand such knowledge, may be confronted with affective traces of an internal history made from primal helplessness, disillusionment and crises of authority and (not) knowing” (p. 539). Asking students to approach the past with truth, respect, and relationality and to be reflexive of their responses to difficult knowledge may be a more appropriate and productive approach (Cutrara, 2018; Epstein, 2009). Although engaging in “ethical questions around identity and the legacy of trauma and injustice is no easy task for history teachers and students,” Miles (2018) argues that it is necessary “in engaging in the work of reconciliation” (p. 308). A number of things can be achieved by engaging with difficult knowledge relationally and reflexively, in the context of Canadian history.

To work through these tensions, Simon (2013) suggests interweaving the stories told to the TRC (and the retelling of these stories) with one’s own life stories. The potential with this approach, Simon (2013) notes, is that it may potentially acknowledge and “begin to alter the particularities and anxieties associated with one’s own subject position and its place in the ongoing historical power relations that always already construct a social relationship with those speaking before the commission” (p. 136). “In this sense,” Simon (2013) concludes:

the insight won in the struggle to learn *from* history can offer a new foundation for rethinking the significance of a history of violation and violence beyond the idealizations of empathy, identification, and facile notions of solidarity that simply promote settler state citizenship. (p. 136)

This engagement encourages educators to imagine opportunities for critical engagement with Canadian history. In questioning previous assumptions and prejudices, educators might create a space where Indigenous peoples’ identity, knowledge, and future are considered when deliberating contemporary national and global issues. It would also emphasize previously under-acknowledged histories in curricula and would impact our collective consciousness as “civically engaged treaty peoples” (Ng-A-Fook, 2014, p. 23). This engagement might afford students more opportunities to study the systemic impacts of colonization in relation to Indigenous communities. It could potentially invite students to consider the local and global implications that these actions have today, and would invite them to contemplate ways in which they can build better relationships with Indigenous people. As a result, this engagement might re-shape institutions and the ways in which non-Indigenous people conceptualize past and present

relations with Indigenous people. By blending Indigenous and Western epistemology and pedagogy, we might enable an innovative and transformational educational system to flourish in Canada. Although cognizant of the opportunity, some scholars have challenged this assumption, arguing that this blending is not only complicated but also epistemologically flawed, as will be examined further in the third part of this literature review. How might these types of engagements fit into the Canadian curriculum? To answer this question, a better understanding of the structure of the Canadian history curriculum in Ontario is required.

Overview of the Canadian History Curriculum in Ontario

The goal of elementary and secondary schools in Ontario is to “support high-quality learning” while providing students with the opportunity to learn in ways suited to their needs and with opportunities to “choose programs that suit their skills and interests” (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 3; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 3). The documents share a vision:

The social studies, history, geography, and Canadian and world studies programs will enable students to become responsible, active citizens within the diverse communities to which they belong. As well as becoming critically thoughtful and informed citizens who value an inclusive society, students will have the skills they need to solve problems and communicate ideas and decisions about significant developments, events, and issues. (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 6; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 6)

Students are expected to realize this vision through five goals. The five goals are similar for SSHG and CWS curricula and include: the use of disciplinary thinking concepts when investigating issues, events, and developments; the development of skills and attributes required for transferable, discipline-specific inquiry; the development of an ability to apply appropriate measures to evaluate evidence and make informed judgments; the use of appropriate technology; and the building of collaborative relationships. The history courses, specifically, help students realize the vision of the program by helping them develop a sense of time as they work towards analysing how diverse groups have interacted over time and empathizing with people in past societies. The history courses aim to help students develop a better understanding of past events, developments, and societies so that they can interpret and analyse issues (historical and current).

Students are expected to work with primary and secondary sources in order to help them develop historical literacy skills through analysis and interpretation of evidence and information.

A student's connection to the curriculum is key. Students need to see themselves in how the curriculum is taught and how it applies to the broader world. The curriculum strives to help students develop the "knowledge, skills, and perspectives they need to become informed, productive, caring, responsible, and active citizens in their own communities and in the world" (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 3; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 3). While the MEO recognizes that the needs of learners are diverse, it is clear that critical literacy is an integral part of student academic success. Students are expected to become "critically literate in order to synthesize information, make informed decisions, communicate effectively, and thrive in an ever-changing global community" (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 3; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 3). In the SSHG curriculum, the focus of teaching and learning is the "development of transferable skills that students need in order to acquire and apply knowledge and understanding" (MEO, 2013b, p. 9; MEO, 2018b, p. 9). In the CWS curriculum, the focus of teaching and learning includes the development of ways of thinking. Students are expected to apply these skills when: critically examining information and evidence; assessing significance, developing understanding, empathy, and respect for different perspectives; reaching conclusions; and proposing solutions and courses of action to address problems.

The curriculum is planned using the logic of backward design, which sets learning objectives and performance before identifying the prescribed content (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). The curriculum consists of front matter, introduction and overview pages preceding each course, curriculum expectations pages for each course, and a glossary. The front matter includes: the table of contents; a preface; an introduction to describe the vision, goals, and importance of the curriculum; a section on the structure of the program; a section on assessment and evaluation of student achievement; and a section on considerations for program planning. The glossary appears at the end of the curriculum documents. In the introduction and overview pages preceding the Grades 7, 8, and 10 history courses, there is a chart which is intended to provide a starting point for planning purposes. The chart identifies overall expectations, related concept(s) of historical thinking, big ideas, and framing questions. The SSHG curriculum also includes a column for sample spatial skills/activities to be introduced in geography.

The overall expectations represent the knowledge and skills that students are expected to demonstrate and apply by the end of each grade. The SSHG and the CWS curricula identify overall and specific expectations for each grade – these represent the mandated curriculum. The specific expectations, which are not included in the overview chart, are more detailed in their description of the anticipated learning outcomes. The big ideas in the chart provide context for the overall expectations and related concepts of historical thinking, and “reflect the enduring understandings that students retain from their learning, transfer to other subjects, and draw upon throughout their lives” (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 8; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 8). Framing questions are broad and generally open-ended representations of the central questions related to the overall expectations, big ideas, and entire strands (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 8; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 8). They, along with the big ideas, “are intended to stimulate students’ critical thinking and to encourage them to consider the broader relevance of what they are studying” (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 8; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 8).

Curriculum expectation pages use numbered subheadings to introduce each overall expectation. Each overall expectation has a group of related specific expectations, which are represented using an expanded subheading. In planning learning activities for students, teachers use the subheadings to help them focus on certain skills and aspects of knowledge. For the most part, the specific expectations outlined in the curriculum are accompanied by examples and sample questions. The examples serve to illustrate the requirement identified in the expectation. Given in parentheses, the examples clarify “the kind of knowledge or skill, the specific area of learning, the depth of learning, and/or the level of complexity that the expectation entails” (MEO, 2013a, p. 24; MEO, 2013b, p. 19; MEO, 2018a, p. 25; MEO, 2018b, p. 20). The sample questions, requested by educators, suggest some questions that teachers might ask in the classroom. The examples and sample questions are intended as suggestions and do not represent complete or mandatory lists.

Knowledge of the curriculum structure and of the purpose of expectations, examples, and sample questions allowed me to determine a curriculum hierarchy for content analysis. From most to least “important,” the curriculum hierarchy includes: front matter (FM), course overviews (CO), big ideas (BI), framing questions (FQ), overall expectations (OE), specific expectations (SE), examples (E), sample questions (SQ), and glossary (G). The front matter,

course overviews, big ideas, and framing questions were designated as highly important because they represent the vision, goals, and overarching themes of the curriculum. They are, however, not part of the expectations pages. The overall and specific expectations, which represent the mandated curriculum, are viewed as equally, if not more, important. Since the examples, sample questions, and glossary do not represent complete or mandatory lists, they were viewed as less important, but still significant to analyze. Although there is no literature on this hierarchy of curriculum documents, there are obvious distinctions between the expectations (overall and specific), and examples. My conceptualization of a curriculum hierarchy is based on information about the value of overall and specific expectations as mandated curriculum, and everything else (e.g., examples, sample questions, etc.) as optional.

Student assessment and evaluation are based on content standards and performance standards. Content standards represent the overall and specific curriculum expectations identified for each discipline. Although both standards must be considered in instruction and assessment, evaluation is mainly concerned with students' achievement of the overall expectations. Performance standards are outlined in the province-wide achievement chart, which serves as a framework to help teachers plan instruction and "assess and evaluate student achievement of the expectations" (MEO, 2013a, p. 30; MEO, 2013b, p. 27; MEO, 2018a, p. 30; MEO, 2018b, p. 29). The achievement chart classifies "four categories of knowledge and skills and four levels of achievement" (MEO, 2013a, p. 33; MEO, 2013b, p. 29; MEO, 2018a, p. 33; MEO, 2018b, p. 29). The categories represent four interrelated areas of knowledge and skills and include: knowledge and understanding (of subject-specific content and its meaning/significance); thinking (and the use of critical/creative thinking); communication (conveying meaning); and application (using knowledge to make connections). The chart also outlines four levels of achievement, with level 3 representing the "provincial standard for achievement" (MEO, 2013a, p. 35; MEO, 2013b, p. 31). Although the study recognizes the value of assessment and evaluation in program analysis, it is limited by not including human participants. Therefore, it did not consider student assessment and evaluation.

Tools and Strategies of the Ontario Curriculum

The overall structure of the current curriculum is framed around six tools and strategies that have been incorporated into the curriculum “to help students achieve the vision for learning” in SSHG and CWS (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 7; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 7). These tools and strategies include the citizenship education framework, the concepts of disciplinary thinking, the inquiry process, big ideas, framing questions, and spatial skills. Figure 1 below, presented in the SSHG and CWS curriculum reveals the “interrelationship between these tools and strategies and the achievement of expectations” in the SSHG and CWS curriculum (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 8; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 8).

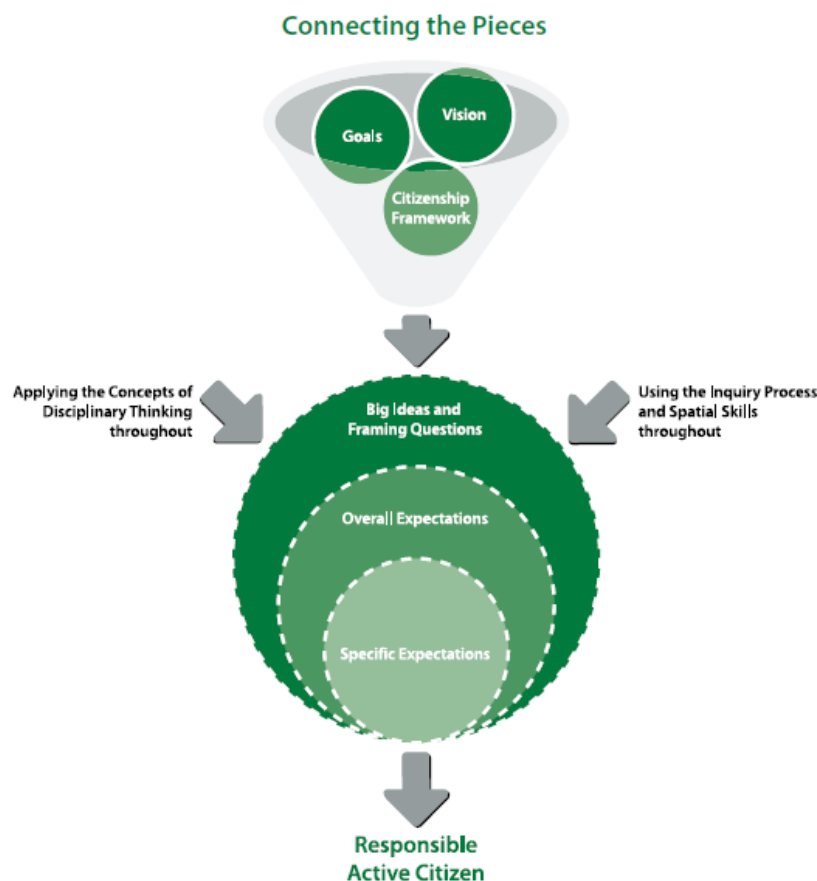


Figure 1: Interrelationships Between Curricular Tools, Strategies and the Achievement of Expectations (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 8; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 8)

Since big ideas and framing questions were already previously addressed, I will briefly describe the citizenship education framework, the concepts of disciplinary thinking, and the inquiry process.

Citizenship Education Framework

Schools play a vital role in citizenship education and the cultivation of social and political engagement (Fuhrman & Lazerson, 2005; Gibson & Levine, 2003; Pace, 2008). Citizenship education provides opportunities for students to develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with active, responsible citizenship. The citizenship education framework and the knowledge and skills identified in the curriculum expectations, when combined, bring “citizenship education to life” (MEO, 2013b, p. 10; MEO, 2018b, p. 10). The citizenship education framework draws on the four main elements of citizenship education: active participation, identity, structures, and attributes. Figure 2 below represents the MEO’s framework for citizenship education. It shows the four main elements of citizenship education, the ways in which students can develop the skills and attitudes associated with responsible, active citizenship, and some of the topics related to citizenship education. Teachers are expected to provide opportunities for students to develop these practices and attitudes as they work to realize the curriculum expectations.



Figure 2: Citizenship Education Framework (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 10; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 10)

The first element of the framework, active participation, involves working for the common good by participating in local, national, and global communities. Students may develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with active participation by investigating controversial issues, voicing informed opinions, and practicing collaborative and creative problem solving. The second element, identity, involves gaining a sense of personal identity as a member of local, national, and global communities. Students can gain a sense a personal identity by considering others' perspectives, investigating "moral and ethical dimensions of developments, events, and issues" (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 10; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 10), and developing their sense of connectedness to various communities. With Seixas' (2017) "ethical dimension of history," students explore how to respond to "past crimes and injustices whose legacies – either benefits or deficits – we live with today" (p. 602). Miles (2018) notes that it is "impossible to avoid addressing individual and collective identities" when examining legacies of historical injustice in contemporary society, and explores how teachers and students "might respond to the difficult knowledge of their implication in the reconciliation process" (p. 307). Simon's (2005, 2013) work, which focuses on historical trauma and collective memory, addresses this concern. In Simon's (2005) work on remembrance, learning, and ethics, for example, he argues that listening to testimonial accounts of trauma can potentially alter public memory.

The third element, structures, involves investigating the power and systems within societies. As such, students are provided with opportunities to develop their understanding of power dynamics and the importance of rules and laws within societies. In developing their understanding of how social, political, and economic institutions affect their lives, students also develop an understanding of the complex relationships between systems within societies. The fourth and final element, attributes, focuses on values, habits of mind, and character traits commonly associated with "responsible citizenship" (MEO, 2018a, p. 47). To develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with attributes, students are provided with opportunities to "explore issues related to personal and societal rights and responsibilities" (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 10; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 10). Students are expected to demonstrate respect for self and empathy for others, and are provided with opportunities to work "in a collaborative and critically thoughtful manner" (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 10; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 10). Empathy, respect,

inclusiveness, collaboration, and cooperation are just some of the attributes that are conducive to healthy relationships.

Concepts of Disciplinary Thinking

The concepts of disciplinary thinking, which stem in large part from Seixas' work on The Historical Thinking Project, "provide a way for students to develop the ability to think critically about significant events, developments, and issues, both within the curriculum and in their lives outside the classroom" (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 7; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 7). It is important for students to develop the ability to process content in ways best suited to each discipline (history, geography, civics), therefore each subject in the curriculum has its own way of thinking and doing. The concepts of disciplinary thinking that can be used in these disciplines include: significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, patterns and trends, interrelationships, and perspective. It is worth noting that interrelationships is listed as a social studies thinking concept, and is not listed as a historical thinking concept. These disciplinary concepts are often interrelated and are to be used when engaging in the inquiry process. As such, the curriculum identifies at least one concept of disciplinary thinking for each overall expectation, which is to be used to help strengthen students' investigations.

The six concepts listed above "provide the foundation for the concepts of thinking of geographic and historical thinking in Grades 7 and 8, as well as for the concepts related to each subject in Canadian and world studies in the secondary grades" (MEO, 2013b, p. 13; MEO, 2018b, p. 13). In history, for example, students are expected to apply concepts of historical thinking, which include historical significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, and historical perspective. Although analysis of primary source evidence is not listed as a concept of historical thinking in the curriculum, it is incorporated throughout the document. It is worth noting that ethical judgment has been ignored by the Ontario curriculum, which brings an additional set of questions pertaining to its value and significance in investigating issues of difficult history.

The concepts of historical thinking targeted in the curriculum form the basis for thinking and learning in the history courses. These concepts provide a framework to assist students with

the progressive development of disciplinary skills in history education, and advocates of historical thinking often argue that the approach can help advance students' historical consciousness (Cutrara, 2018; Duquette, 2014; Peck & Seixas, 2008; Seixas, 2002; Seixas and Morton, 2012; Seixas & Peck, 2004). Catherine Duquette (2014) for example, argues that there is a relationship between students' ability to think historically and the development of reflective historical consciousness. In an empirical study with secondary school students in Québec, Duquette (2014) asked students to follow four stages of a research design to investigate the ways in which historical consciousness influences the development of historical thinking and vice versa. The results from her inquiry allowed for the establishment of a developmental gradient which consists of four levels: primary, immediate, composite, and narrative. These four levels can be understood as representing non-reflective and reflective historical consciousness. At the primary and immediate levels, historical consciousness is non-reflective. Students with a primary or immediate level of historical consciousness viewed history as true and unchangeable accounts of the past. At the composite and narrative levels, historical consciousness is more reflective, and students perceive history as critical interpretations of the past (Duquette, 2014). With reflective historical consciousness, students become more aware of their own subjectivities and how the present influences the way they interpret the past.

Understanding how historians (and students) make meaning from the past involves metacognition, which helps cultivate historical consciousness. Historical consciousness necessarily involves an understanding of metacognition and of the ways in which knowledge construction is conditioned by several factors (McGregor, 2017). Some of these factors include context, the dynamic nature of and relationship with time (historicity), the various forms of making meaning that exist in our culturally diverse world, and the “varied purposes and uses of history and memory (including political, judicial, personal/identary) in contemporary society” (McGregor, 2017, p. 8). With that final factor in mind, one must take into consideration the relationship between history as a discipline and broader “cultural circumstances” within which one *does* history (Seixas, 2016, para. 1). Seixas (2016) has recently proposed a history-memory matrix for history education that stems from research on the disciplinary and cultural nature of historical knowledge production. Seixas (2016) suggests that the history-memory matrix can be used as a tool to help us understand the forms in which history is taught. Is the purpose of history education, for example, to support competency in disciplinary history? Or is the purpose to

strengthen collective identity? How can we navigate the bridge between disciplinary practices and public memory? The matrix will be discussed further in the Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks chapter.

McCallum and McLean (2016) note that the “methods of inquiry to achieve historical thinking skills and content continue to be a topic of active debate among history educators” (p. 67). Seixas, for example, has revisited the historical thinking framework since its inception with greater emphasis on narrative competence. These frameworks, Penny Clark (2011) argues, are “mutable” and “vary over time as well as from one theorist to another” (Clark, 2011, p. 11). Given history’s dynamic nature, “new discoveries or methods in the discipline gradually challenge and ultimately undermine current tenets” (Lévesque, 2011, p. 120). As such, one must keep in mind that these historical thinking concepts should be viewed as “developing, always problematic and incomplete, contingent on and limited by people’s own historiographical culture” (Lévesque, 2011, p. 120). My study investigates how we might further develop these concepts with Indigenous perspectives in mind.

Inquiry Process

The inquiry process provides a way for students to develop the skills required to think critically, “make informed judgements, and communicate ideas” (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 7; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 7). According to the critical thinking and critical literacy section in the curriculum introduction, critical thinking skills include “questioning, predicting, hypothesizing, analysing, synthesizing, examining opinions, identifying values and issues, detecting bias, and distinguishing between alternatives” (MEO, 2013a, p. 52; MEO, 2013b, pp. 50-51; MEO, 2018a, b, p. 52). These skills contribute to deeper and more meaningful understandings of the complex and multifaceted events and issues that students explore within and outside of the classroom. Students in social studies, history, and geography use critical thinking skills when assessing, analysing, and evaluating information, and when forming supported opinions. To think critically, students are expected to explore the values and opinions of others and detect bias. Students also need to look for implicit meanings, and use the evidence and information provided to form a personal opinion or plan of action. The MEO recognizes that students approach critical thinking

in diverse ways. In the Ontario curriculum, the development of these critical thinking skills is supported by the concepts of disciplinary thinking identified for each overall expectation, by the Inquiry section of each strand in the SSHG curriculum, and by Strand A on Inquiry and Skill Development in the CWS curriculum.

The inquiry processes for social studies, history, and geography follow a similar general model. The process consists of five components which are not to be practiced “in a linear fashion” (MEO, 2013a, p. 26; MEO, 2013b, p. 22; MEO, 2018a, p. 27; MEO, 2018b, p. 23). Additionally, it is important to note that not all of the investigations will involve all of the components. These components include: formulating questions; gathering and organizing information; interpreting and analysing information; evaluating information and drawing conclusions; and communicating findings “and/or plans of action” (MEO, 2013a, p. 26; MEO, 2018a, p. 27). It is important that the skills and strategies used in the inquiry process are taught explicitly. There are many ways in which students can approach each of the components of the historical inquiry process, however, it is important to consider student readiness, prior knowledge, resources, and time, and how they impact entry points into the inquiry process. By applying the historical inquiry process, students are expected to interpret and analyze historical evidence and information.

Critiquing Disciplinary Thinking

Although the disciplinary approach has gained much interest in Canadian history education over the last ten years, some critics have taken note of the ways in which this framework can potentially limit our understanding of the past. Kent den Heyer (2011) has presented several limitations in the disciplinary approach to history education. His criticism is that the rational, scientific framework is just one way to engage with the past. One of his main concerns is that the approach does not emphasize ethics, subjectivity and positionality, and social action, and therefore is not made to achieve wider democratic objectives. In challenging the claim that we require disciplinary forms of critical thinking to negotiate diverse historical claims in a multidisciplinary country, Clark (2011) notes that den Heyer is calling for a more favourable model that would acknowledge the ways in which “certain interpretations are privileged while others are marginalized” (p. 18). den Heyer (2011) describes an alternative orientation to the

study of history – one organized around a “disciplined ethic of truths” (p. 161). According to den Heyer (2011), who draws on Alain Badiou’s work on ethics, “historical work, with ethics at its core, positions knowledge and ways of knowing from or about the past as a warrant for claims centrally concerned with questions of justice grounded in particular situations” (p. 168). David Staley (2007) for instance, argues that teachers could develop students’ critical and historical thinking skills by asking them to consider future scenarios. This practice, den Heyer (2011) notes, would invite historical reasoning in terms of historical thinking skills and content.

In Cutrara’s (2009) critique of the disciplinary approach, she notes that the approach “does a continued injustice to the future of the Canadian nation-state” by structuring history education in a way which neglects the Canadian historical narrative outside a rational, disciplinary framework (p. 101). Similarly, McGregor (2017) notes that due to an over-emphasis on historical thinking skill-oriented strategies, the approach “fails to recognize that students are differently implicated by what they encounter in the history classroom, depending on their identities” (p. 12). Although historical thinking is designed to generate multiple interpretations of history based on evidence, it is not designed in a way that invites different ways of understanding the past outside the purview of the standard discipline (Cutrara, 2018). Here again we are faced with having to broaden our notion of historical perspective.

In this study, it is clear that there are “structural limitations of responding to the TRC using the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 250). Heather McGregor (2017), for example, notes that Indigenous ways of knowing and engagement with the past may appear to “come after” historical thinking and be measured against its cognitive and procedural criteria (p. 12). McGregor (2017) notes the different origins of historical thinking and Indigenous approaches, which lead to differences in the structure of each knowledge paradigm. The differences between historical thinking (as a disciplinary way of knowing) and Indigenous approaches (focused on ancestral and place-based knowledge), when misunderstood, “produce a greater likelihood of neglect, clash, or conflict between paradigms” (McGregor, 2017, p. 15). Failing to understand these differences, McGregor (2017) argues, could potentially contribute to the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous epistemologies in schools, and misrepresentation of Indigenous perspectives in the curriculum.

In an effort to help students learn how to negotiate relationships and “experiences of sameness and difference,” educators should strive to provide students with opportunities to apply and learn from diverse thinking approaches (McGregor, 2017, p. 15). Historical thinking comes with structural and ideological limitations, which Cutrara (2018) argues impose a settler grammar in history education and in the study of the past. Settler grammar in curricula promotes an image of a world built by settler societies, with historical investigations rooted in concepts of rational disciplinary thinking. In terms of settler grammar in Canadian history, Indigenous peoples are only present in light of the social, political, and legal systems that exhibit colonial dominance (for more on settler grammar, please see Calderon, 2014; Cutrara, 2018; Weitzer, 1990). Unfortunately, this understanding of the study of the past contributes to the gap that exists between Indigenous and disciplinary knowledge systems and limits the “space available to develop the respect, openness for truth, and room for relationality needed to develop relationships of reconciliation” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 253).

Indigenous scholar Dwayne Donald (2009a) describes the study of the past using the analogy of a fort. Commenting on Donald’s analogy, Cutrara (2018) notes that “if one was a settler inside the fort, Indigenous people could be imagined as absent, but the presence of Indigenous people is needed to rationalize the creation of the fort” (p. 257). According to Cutrara (2018), the fort sets up a:

duality of experiences and epistemic imaginings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and detaches the possibility of a literal or figurative meeting ground for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to learn from and with each other in the past, present, and future of Canada. (p. 257).

Historical thinking, Cutrara (2018) argues, acts like the fort and rejects the presence of Indigenous epistemologies as valid ways for constructing knowledge about the past. “Seixas uses disciplinary benchmarks,” she contends, “to create a fort around ‘appropriate’ history and leaves outside the fort understandings of the past that may direct one’s gaze elsewhere” (p. 257). In “denying the space for Indigenous epistemologies in the study of the Canadian past,” Cutrara (2018) notes that Seixas’ work contributes to the belief that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples “have no common ground for speaking the past to the present” (p. 257). Using the

analogy of a fort, Donald (2012a) portrays this as inhabiting “separate realities” (p. 4). Cutrara (2018) continues, stating that:

given his influence on historical thinking in Canada, Seixas’s (2012) argument...demonstrates how the practice, or future imagined practice, of history teaching in Canada is built on this duality of settler and Indigenous realities in ways that preclude the epistemological space for developing relationships needed by the TRC. (p. 257-258)

In continuing to frame the history curriculum with the disciplinary concepts of historical thinking, Cutrara (2018) believes that Canadians move further away from responding to the TRC’s Calls to Action.

McGregor (2017) also supports a postcolonial epistemology, suggesting that historical thinking “overlooks the potential for students to engage with the imperial legacy of racism and colonialism that continues to shape Canada in the present” (p. 12). Because of its overemphasis of a set of rules for a fixed record of the narration of a series of events, Cutrara (2018) notes that Seixas (2012) offers a portrait of historical thinking that appears to privilege an individual rational actor who objectively assesses historical evidence in search for truth. Although historical thinking may provide a rational means for making meaning from the past, the active engagement of Indigenous perspectives and knowledges in history education must be grounded in an awareness of the many ways in which historical thinking has marginalized and collided with Indigenous education (McGregor, 2017). Understanding the ways in which Indigenous world-views conflict with disciplinary frameworks, though difficult, is an essential part of the effort to present Indigenous ways of learning and making meaning from the past (Cutrara, 2018; Marker, 2011; McGregor, 2017; Smith, 2008; Smith, 1999; Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019). However, simply understanding how Indigenous world-views conflict with disciplinary frameworks will not lead to reconciliation. Reconciliation is a process. Rather, I argue that Indigenous world-views and perspectives should be better integrated alongside disciplinary frameworks in history education.

Revisions to Ontario’s social studies, history, and geography programs for Grades 1 to 8, and Canadian and world studies courses for Grades 9 and 10 are meant to support the province’s

commitment to respond to the TRC's Calls to Action 62 and 63, which focus on education in support of reconciliation. Writing about the teaching of Canadian history, Thomas Peace (2015) ponders about what recent historiography and the TRC Calls to Action mean for how we teach and learn to understand Canada's past. Moving forward, how should history education, and the discipline of history itself, be altered to integrate more meaningful engagements with Indigenous perspectives and knowledges?

Integrating Indigenous histories helps provide a richer understanding of the past, something that is hardly possible simply using the historical thinking concepts. Although these historiographies are conceptually different, they can be compatible if they are integrated in ways that are appropriate. For example, one of the Indigenous epistemic themes listed in Marker's (2011) work is Indigenous perspectives and narratives on the histories of colonization. Rather than simply exploring colonialism or colonization as significant concepts linked to settlement in Canada, we should be seeking opportunities to consider Indigenous sources to better understand the short- and long-term impacts of colonialism and colonization. Amy von Heyking (2011) suggests that educators can make use of Indigenous oral histories as well as written accounts by settlers as a possible way to help students address the epistemological issues of historical thinking. This use of primary source evidence would be an excellent opportunity to include and explore diverse counter narratives. In this case, these diverse sources would serve to reflect multiple individuals' perspectives and experiences, which could broaden students' understanding of the past.

Moving Forward

The roots of injustice lie in history and it is there where the key to the regeneration of Aboriginal society and a new and better relationship with the rest of Canada can be found. (George Erasmus, Address for the Launch of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People)

History education in Canada has, for some time, disregarded Indigenous perspectives and knowledges in curriculum and in the classroom. Despite this fact, Gibson and Case (2019) maintain that historical thinking *can* be used to respond to the TRC's Calls to Action by: (1) problematizing "the study of history to enable more sensitive and complex investigations of Indigenous topics; (2) creating "space for alternative conclusions and interpretations"; (3)

nurturing “the examination of history from Indigenous perspectives” and inviting “ethical judgments about the historical treatment of Indigenous people” (p. 267). A deeper understanding of historical perspectives, they note, “encourages teachers and students to avoid generalizing about *the* Indigenous perspective, and instead recognize a diversity of Indigenous viewpoints on events and issues in the past and present” (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 269). This recognition may broaden our understanding of historical and Indigenous perspectives and of Canadian history more broadly.

In order to respond to the TRC’s Calls to Action, it is necessary to invite students to respect diverse epistemologies and historiographies and consider the different ways of making meaning from the past (Brownlie, 2009; Cutrara, 2018). Although this study investigates a historical thinking concept, perspective-taking, it does not mean to limit the learning to a set of disciplinary thinking concepts. Nicholas Ng-A-Fook and Robin Milne (2014), for example, note that residential school survivor testimonies should not be mobilized in schools simply to illustrate the application of historical thinking concepts such as historical significance (i.e., the importance of residential schooling for Indigenous peoples). This approach to learning about and from the residential school system reduces the difficulty and feelings aroused within their narratives, and frames the testimonies in light of disciplinary thinking concepts as a way to address “a specific category of knowledge and skills within the Ontario achievement chart” (Ng-A-Fook & Milne, 2014, p. 93). In my study, perspective-taking is being used as a way to measure how often students are encouraged to interact with the content in terms of context, evidence presented, and diverse perspectives of multiple historical actors.

What is meant by historical perspective and how it can be adopted in classrooms is particularly relevant in light of the recent revisions to the Ontario curriculum. For example, den Heyer (2014) describes the provincial K-12 social studies program in Alberta, and its call for teachers to concentrate on two central themes, citizenship and identity, through multiple perspectives. These themes are to be addressed through Indigenous and francophone perspectives in light of their diverse interpretations of Canada’s past. The English Canadian perspective, den Heyer (2014) notes, is not specified in the program yet it frames most of the content in the provincial high school standardized test. This dominant perspective is problematic and conflicts with the program’s vision and goals to address citizenship and identity through Indigenous and

francophone perspectives. In David Scott's (2011) study, which examined how practicing high school teachers understood and integrated multiple perspectives, he noted an absence of engagements with Indigenous and francophone perspectives in the classroom. Scott (2011) also noted that there was some resistance, and that the practicing teachers did not provide the space for these perspectives.

den Heyer (2014) presents an alternative interpretation of historical perspective by asking practicing teachers (student teachers) to create alternative or counter-stories as a means of transforming their individual and collective perspectives on the past. This leads to another issue of historical thinking – representation. den Heyer (2014) suggests that practicing teachers struggle to avoid mythical, stereotypical representations of otherness. den Heyer (2014) and Donald (2009) note that these tensions extend beyond struggles to avoid cultural reductive representations. In an attempt to move beyond counter-narratives, Donald (2012) proposes moving towards the pursuit of ethical relationships by modeling how we might question colonial myths in Canada. These myths have supported a national ideology that places Indigenous peoples, and their histories and perspectives “outside accepted versions of nation and nationality” (Donald, 2012, p. 100). It is clear that we need engagements that invite us to question our assumptions and prejudices (Donald, 2009). Research suggests that methods of ethical learning offer ways in which teachers can initiate critical pedagogies of remembrance in an effort to raise awareness of the ways in which the colonial encounter has shaped the identities of Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals in Canada (Dion, 2007). In doing so, we might create an ethical space that could foster critical engagements between Indigenous people and Canadians. Attentiveness to this space could potentially decolonize education and contribute to the re-imagining of Indigenous-Canadian relations (Battiste, 2002; Donald, 2009; Simon, 2000; Tupper, 2012). As such, educators must strive to advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous voices and experiences in the official, taught, learned and tested curriculum.

Educators should have access to support and resources to help them select appropriate stories, sources, and pedagogies that invite relational and respectful engagement with Indigenous perspectives and knowledge, as well as historical thinking (McGregor, 2017). For example, rewriting our life histories (individually and collectively) while contrasting them with alternative texts and counter-narratives such as oral histories, autobiographies, and historiographies

encourages students to develop their capacity to recount (narrative competence) and tolerate the difficult emotions (affective domain) that arise when encountering otherness (Farley, 2009; Ng-A-Fook & Milne, 2014). Students should be aware, however, that understanding these stories and sources as “fragments of a complex and often unknowable past” leave us “with a flawed and limited historical account” (Taylor & Farr Darling, 2014, p. 309). Susan Dion’s (2009) research, for example, reveals that providing Indigenous counter-narratives is simply not enough to reform history education. She argues that teachers and students are attached to dominant versions of history informed by historical culture that marginalize Indigenous histories and perspectives.

I assert that educators must reject curricula that offer students distorted versions of Indigenous histories in exchange for curricula that offer critical perspectives of the context that contributed to this fragmentation (Battiste, 2013; Ng-A-Fook & Smith, 2017). In teaching history, educators should strive to help students understand the “historical formations of present relationships” (McGregor, 2017, p. 11). This necessarily involves an exploration of colonization, colonizing relations, and resultant inequities in order to understand the context that contributed to the fragmented relationships that exist in Canada (Battiste, 2013; McGregor, 2017; Ng-A-Fook and Smith, 2017). How should we, then, think about the colonial past and its legacy?

Learning “about and through colonialism,” Cutrara (2018) argues, “can lead to the transformation that the TRC has called for” (p. 253). “It is this work,” she attests, “that can lead to reconciliation” (p. 253). Although teachers *are* teaching students about these topics (e.g., colonization and colonialism, treaties, residential schools, reconciliation, racism, etc.), scholars in the field of Indigenous history education in Canada argue that they are not always doing so in ways that encourage deep, meaningful explorations. According to Marker (2011), attempts to integrate some of the previously ignored aspects of colonization, such as racism and inequities, are often oversimplified. The mythic, reductive national narrative that exists in Canada influences the ways in which we discuss history, identity, and citizenship, and it has come to shape institutions and the ways in which non-Indigenous people conceptualize past and present relations with Indigenous people (Donald, 2009; Mackey, 2012). When considering history education and Indigenous stories, it is important to avoid the trap of simply integrating *more* stories about Indigenous people (Cutrara, 2018; Lévesque, 2016a) or positioning Indigenous people as mythical others (Donald, 2009; Mackey, 2012). This way, Canadians can begin to

engage in a re-thinking of their understanding of themselves, Indigenous peoples, and of their relations with Indigenous peoples (Dion, 2009).

Treaty education, for example, can potentially shed light on the “failure of governments in implementing the letter and spirit of treaties and agreements to which we are all party, or failure to finalize agreements at all” (McGregor, 2017, p. 11). As such, treaty education would help challenge the stereotypical view that Indigenous communities demand and rely on handouts from governments (McGregor, 2017; Tupper, 2012; Tupper & Cappello, 2008). Jennifer Tupper (2012), for instance, argues that treaty education can potentially help students learn from and through past issues, events, and experiences “in ways that inform not only their historical consciousness, but their dispositions as Canadian citizens, and their relationships with one another” (p. 143). Although Tupper’s (2012) work focuses on treaty education, “it is relevant to broader conversations about the role and value of including more diverse stories/experiences in national histories” (pp. 143-144). The interconnections of citizenship and education, “particularly with respect to possibilities for engaging differently in the world,” Tupper (2012) notes, are “part of the necessary and urgent process of reconciliation” (pp. 143-144).

Michael Marker (2011) recommends new ways of understanding and making meaning from history. Although the approach involves “sacrificing some conventional ways of teaching Canadian history,” it is this work that might enable educators to respond to the TRC Calls to Action in ways that are more meaningful (Marker, 2011, p. 111). Marker (2011) discusses four themes of Indigenous historical consciousness, which echo the ways in which Elders and traditional knowledge specialists have referenced, and make sense of, the past. The four Indigenous epistemic themes stated earlier include: (1) relationships with landscape, animals, and nature; (2) relationships between local landscape, time, and place; (3) the circular nature of time “and the ways oral tradition is integrated with recurring events”; and (4) “indigenous narratives and perspectives on the histories of colonization that have attempted to displace and replace indigenous knowledge” (Marker, 2011, p. 98).

In line with Marker’s themes, Cutrara (2018) suggests that “developing reconciliatory relationships of respect as called for by the TRC requires that we respect the stories that help us develop a responsive understanding and stewardship of the environment” (p. 261). In light of relationships with (local) landscape, animals, and nature, for example, Marker (2011) notes that

historical texts explaining Indigenous starvation and relocation “as a result of the extermination of the bison on the Plains” do not typically “account for the loss of a deep spiritual webbing between humans and the buffalo” (p. 103). Indigenous histories include “moral teachings from encounters such as Owl, Raven, Wolf, and Bear” (Marker, 2011, p. 104). These animals have significant connections to families in Indigenous communities in Canada, therefore a history that marginalizes animals is incomplete (Marker, 2011).

Indigenous peoples do not view history as a linear progression (Marker, 2011). In light of the circular nature of time, Indigenous peoples view history as a “spiralling of events and themes that appear and reappear within circles of seasons and that are identified in oral traditions” (Marker, 2011, p. 100). As such, adding historiographies that emphasize the circular nature of time are vital to a decolonizing curriculum. McGregor (2017) notes that “Indigenous knowledge relies on openness to, and the credibility of, orality for a continual (re)making of meaning in the present,” which includes “sharing memories, testimony and story” (p. 6). “Memory work in Indigenous traditions,” she continues, “is a practice often connected to place that can facilitate recognition of the presence of the past, moral lessons for individuals, as well as collective, cultural continuity.” (p. 6). When it comes to investigating difficult knowledge in the curriculum, one must consider how the curriculum engages in practices connected to place in ways which facilitate moral lessons.

Although all four Indigenous epistemic themes are important, I wish to emphasize Indigenous perspectives and narratives on the histories of colonization. In order to respect these testimonies as truth, Cutrara (2018) argues that we require an approach to teaching and learning that is based more on bearing witness. Cutrara (2018) argues that we should not focus solely on assessing the credibility of stories and evidence. In providing Indigenous peoples with the space to share their experiences of colonialism, we provide opportunities for students to understand Indigenous peoples’ responses to assimilation and abolition (Cutrara, 2018; Marker, 2011). However, here the danger is to fall yet again into the trap of victimization, which emphasizes exclusively the negative consequences of assimilation and abolition. Rather, the focus should be more explicitly on their responses, that is, their historical agency as individuals and communities to challenge, negotiate, or resist acts of assimilation and abolition.

Learning about and from Indigenous narratives in light of the context in which they are told, respecting these stories, and believing them as truth is “one of the most powerful tools for reconciliation” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 264). However, with the disciplinary framework influencing educational outcomes in Canada, Indigenous epistemologies “can only be present within a colonial grammar of understanding” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 264). In light of the historical thinking concepts, Indigenous perspectives and stories “become open to assessment and evaluation in ways that suit the demands of the colonizer more than the truths of the storyteller” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 264). Like Cutrara (2018), I believe that “telling stories, sharing experiences, protecting knowledge, restoring spirit, and learning history can all exist together” (p. 265). “The process of listening without judgement or analytical disciplined rigour,” she suggests, “is not a less demanding way of understanding the past” (p. 265). It simply represents a way of understanding the past that “invites a shift in how and what we understand as truth, and how and what stories we will use to narrate this land” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 265). “As a tool of resistance and self-preservation,” Cutrara (2018) continues, “respecting testimony as truth in our study of the past begins to rewrite the history of colonialism and develop new ways toward reconciliation” (p. 265). Here the question returns to the nature of truth. With historical thinking, truth is reference-based on argumentation from evidence. With Indigenous epistemologies, how are we to conceive truth and how are students supposed to adjudicate between these narratives?

Marker’s (2011) research was not meant to serve as an attack on historical thinking or historical consciousness. Cutrara (2018) notes that Marker’s research was meant to serve as an invitation to consider and discuss how “Indigenous epistemologies could contour and broaden the idea of historical consciousness in Canada” (p. 256). Seixas (2012) responded to Marker’s (2011) proposal, inquiring whether historical consciousness is oxymoronic or dialogic to Indigenous epistemologies. Since historical consciousness stems from Western epistemologies, it is clear to both Seixas (2012) and to Marker (2011) that historical consciousness is oxymoronic to Indigenous epistemologies. Like Cutrara (2018) and Marker (2011), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008) notes that Indigenous epistemologies and the discipline of history collide as a result of their dissimilarities. In responding to Marker (2011), Seixas (2012) counters with an appeal to the historical thinking concepts. Using the description of each concept (Benchmark), Seixas (2012) invites scholars to consider the “consequences of taking seriously the claims to alternative epistemologies” when studying the past (p. 127). “Alternative epistemologies,” Cutrara (2018)

notes, “such as Indigenous epistemologies” (p. 256). Seixas’ (2012) response reveals his position and belief that Indigenous epistemologies are simply not compatible with historical thinking.

Seixas (2012) supports the inclusion of more Indigenous narratives, and believes that the Benchmark of ethical dimension potentially offers a space to explore the idea of truth. As mentioned earlier, with Seixas’ (2017) “ethical dimension of history,” students explore how to respond to “past crimes and injustices whose legacies – either benefits or deficits – we live with today” (p. 602). In understanding the present in light of past conflict, crises, and developments, historical consciousness involves an ethical dimension and knowledge of the relationship between agency and the (un)intended consequences of action (Seixas, 2011; Wilschut, 2010). Cutrara (2018) notes that Seixas (2012) finds shared goals between the ethical dimension and Indigenous perspectives on colonialism. When understood using an ethical dimension lens, Indigenous stories can be situated in terms of historical context. Ethical dimension, as a historical thinking concept, and Indigenous epistemologies come together and overlap around “debts of memory, and the obligations for reparations and restitution” (Seixas, 2012, p. 135).

Cutrara (2018) notes that Marker’s (2011) application of Indigenous historical consciousness and the historical consciousness referenced by Seixas are “not necessarily at odds with one another, because the understanding of historical consciousness that they start from differs from one another” (p. 259). Seixas (2012), for example, argues that a cosmopolitan history education should be our goal for a multicultural country such as Canada. “The idea that Indigenous epistemologies escaped the requirements of cosmopolitanism,” Cutrara (2018) suggests, “was intended to be Seixas’ (2012) definitive conclusion about how and why Indigenous epistemologies were oxymoronic when paired with historical consciousness study of the Canadian past” (p. 266). However, cosmopolitanism has many definitions, and Cutrara (2018) suggests that Seixas’ understanding reflects earlier ideas of cosmopolitanism. David T. Hansen (2009), for example, notes that cosmopolitanism can be defined as a “reflective openness to the world combined with reflective loyalty to the local” (p. 128). Therefore, much like in Indigenous epistemologies, “learning for a cosmopolitan future imagines learning as a communal activity” that looks to the past and present “in both global and local contexts, to transform our focus on one to a focus on the whole” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 266, referencing Forte, 2010; Goodale, 2006). “This sense of relationality to each other, to the past, and to epistemologies,” Cutrara

(2018) argues, is necessary for reconciliation and for “a cosmopolitanism that reflects and respects the uniqueness of local environments” (p. 266).

This chapter sought to present recent literature on truth, perspective-taking, and difficult history. Inviting students to approach Canada’s past with truth, respect, and relationality (Cutrara, 2018) and to be reflexive of their responses to difficult histories may be an appropriate way to approach difficult knowledge in history (Epstein, 2009). It is clear that the structural and ideological limitations of historical thinking contributes to the gap that exists between Indigenous and disciplinary knowledge systems and thereby limits the “space available to develop the respect, openness for truth, and room for relationality needed to develop relationships of reconciliation” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 253). We should not focus solely on assessing the credibility of evidence, for example. This approach can be problematic when Indigenous perspectives and stories “become open to assessment and evaluation in ways that suit the demands of the colonizer more than the truths of the storyteller” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 264). One of the main challenges with this research is in relation to existing literature on this topic. Although there is a wealth of excellent information on decolonizing methodologies and the clash between Indigenous epistemologies and disciplinary frameworks, the study of difficult histories, to my knowledge, has never been approached from the methodological angle chosen in this study. The concepts presented in the literature review served to situate the thematic data collected in the content analysis. As such, it is important to show how each of these concepts fit together when theorists worked on each concept individually. The following chapter attempts to do so.

CHAPTER III: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Introduction

Critical theory is the paradigm underpinning the research design and the qualitative, conceptual methods by which the data was collected and analyzed. According to Robin (1996), the term critical refers to “the detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice, and democracy” (p. 22). Noted scholars Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas (2016) have published work on history education in light of critical theories, reminding audience of the power of groups in what gets defined as “official memory” (p. 16). Much of their research working in conflict and post-conflict societies has explained how official historical narratives are produced in classrooms by investigating entry points where teachers and students were expected to engage with discourses in which a group in conflict recognized another group’s suffering and sought solidarity with the others.

Through the critique of conditions of oppression, critical theory research allows one to describe what could potentially be by seeking transformation of these historical and structural conditions (Thomas, 1993, referenced in Glesne, 2016). My research fits under the critical theory paradigm because it is concerned with critiquing the ways in which certain marginalized groups of people are situated in a historical, sociopolitical context that potentially undermines true justice and democratic citizenship (Glesne, 2016). My research contributes to history education knowledge by identifying entry points in the revised curriculum that can possibly inform the taught curriculum in ways that might help teachers in Ontario introduce difficult knowledge using perspective-taking and Indigenous epistemic themes. The main goal with this research is to support the integration of Indigenous knowledges and teaching.

Much like Bekerman and Zembylas (2016), I urge educators to acknowledge and investigate the unsettling feelings that arise when studying difficult historical events. According to Epstein and Peck (2017), “it is within a critical sociocultural framework that the concept of difficult histories fruitfully can be explored” because the approach considers the emotional dimensions of teaching and learning and creates opportunities to analyze narratives in ways that help to expose the assumptions and omissions that structure historical narratives (p. 8, referencing Peck, 2010). Epstein and Peck’s (2017) understanding of a critical sociocultural

approach to research builds on the “significant theoretical foundation presented by Bekerman and Zembylas” (p. 6). “Like them,” Epstein and Peck (2017) assert:

we conceive of historical narratives as embedded in complex webs of power relations that influence whose and which historical narratives are legitimated, as well as how and why historical narratives are constructed, appropriated, contested and otherwise taken up in schools and societies. (p. 7)

Critical and sociocultural theories allow for an examination of the contexts in which narratives circulate. These theories are also concerned with the purposes that these narratives serve and the perspectives and identities that they privilege or neglect (Collin & Reich, 2015; Epstein & Peck, 2017; Segall, 1999). In investigating the purposes that these narratives appear to serve, students are able to assess how context and perspective serve explicit aims (Epstein, Mayorga & Nelson, 2011; Rüsen, 2004). This investigation could potentially lead to an even deeper understanding of historical narratives.

Recently, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2019) have written that curriculum studies are concerned with conveying how disciplinary approaches in education connect to power relations in society. For this reason, I have decided to examine difficult knowledge in the curriculum using a critical sociocultural approach. This approach is embedded in three key theoretical and conceptual frameworks (Epstein & Peck, 2017). The first framework is a disciplinary approach grounded in the historical thinking concepts (Seixas & Morton, 2012). The second framework is a sociocultural approach to history knowledge which examines the ways in which historical narratives are influenced by cultural, social, and political contexts (Wertsch, 2002). The third framework is organized around the broader related concept of historical consciousness, that is, “how the past is experienced and interpreted in order to understand the present and anticipate the future” (Rüsen, 1987, p. 286). In support of moving beyond simple curricular inclusion of Indigenous content, for this study I have chosen to broaden the concept of historical consciousness to include Indigenous consciousness.

The approaches (disciplinary and sociocultural) differ conceptually from consciousness, in that one uses the approaches as ways to uncover forms of consciousness (historical, Indigenous). The disciplinary and sociocultural approaches represent ways in which we can

engage with difficult knowledge, and ways in which we can uncover forms of consciousness while engaging with difficult histories. One approach uses a scientific model of questions, theories, and methods to arrive at an evidence-based interpretation and representation of the past (disciplinary). The other approach examines how the sociocultural elements of identity affect how people engage with the past. These approaches can be used to engage within the types of consciousness. Historical consciousness and Indigenous consciousness represent conceptual ways of thinking about the past, and are broader and more complex, conceptually, than the theoretical approaches used in this study. Consciousness is about how we internalize knowledge, make it our own, and use it as a way to interpret the past, present, and future. Though different, historical consciousness and Indigenous consciousness often rely, in some way, on the two approaches in order to arrive at a mental representation or at a way of imagining the world.

How these approaches relate or contribute to these forms of consciousness – one being historical and one being Indigenous – is not simply a question of progression. It is important to consider how one might engage with these forms of consciousness in sites of pedagogy such as classrooms and textbooks, specifically when the knowledge is considered contested or difficult. These and other sites of pedagogy (e.g., monuments, national historic sites, public performances, Indigenous landscape features) are connected to historical consciousness “by the ways in which they communicate a relationship between the past, present, and future through narrative” (Anderson, 2017, p. 9). Before describing the key theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are embedded in the critical sociocultural approach applied in this study, it is necessary to first better understand Stephanie Anderson’s (2017)’s proposed Narrative Dimension for Canadian history education.

Narratives and Canadian History Education

In her work on sites of pedagogy, historical consciousness, and national narratives, Anderson (2017) presents a Framework of Canadian National Narratives – the Narrative Dimension. The Canadian framework Anderson (2017) describes “reflects the national narratives that are frequently constructed and communicated in sites of pedagogy, and points to the narrative organization of historical consciousness” (p. 26). She recommends that curricular requirements in history education “critically expose students to a country’s master national

narrative templates, and those narratives that contest and rebuke them through frameworks” such as the Canadian one presented in her article (Anderson, 2017, p. 27). The two master national narrative templates include Master National Narrative Template 1.0 and Master National Narrative Template 2.0.

Master National Narrative Template 1.0 (NN 1.0), according to Anderson (2017), represents the “progressive, unified, Euro-Western, colony-to-nation storyline of Canada” (p. 16). It developed in the 19th and early 20th century, when “romantic notions about national identity” were a main concern of historians (Anderson, 2017, p. 16; references Lopez & Carretero, 2012). During this time, national histories were primarily used to communicate narratives of nationhood and belonging in sites of pedagogy (Anderson, 2017; Smith, 1991; Stanley, 2014). This national narrative template, Anderson (2017) argues, “adheres to a meta-narrative of Canadian history that communicates the struggle and progressive triumph of early European settlers in taming the Canadian wilderness” (Anderson, 2017, p. 17). It therefore often marginalizes, racializes, or completely omits individuals or groups “considered to be at odds with, or outside the purview of, its main cultural project by positioning them as abject others” (Anderson, 2017, p. 17). These groups often include cultural minorities, Québécois and French Canadians, and Indigenous individuals and communities.

Master National Narrative Template 2.0 (NN 2.0) emerged mid-20th century, and includes stories of cultural minorities and Indigenous individuals and communities “through a storyline of appropriation, reconciliation, and redemption” (Anderson, 2017, p. 19). This template emerged “amidst modernist epistemologies of nationality within the field of history, whereby national identities came to be known as social constructions and invented traditions” (Anderson 2017, p. 20; references Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). According to Anderson (2017), this template conveys Canada as a “progress-oriented, generous, tolerant, multicultural mosaic” (p. 16) and “offers a compelling storyline of social cohesion that includes typing present-day Canada to a longer course of events linked to a trajectory of human rights” (p. 19). This template, she notes, recognizes “some of the historical wrongdoings of the Canadian state through a narrative that highlights national reconciliation and redemption” (Anderson, 2017, p. 20). Anderson (2017) reports that this narrative template is represented in sites of pedagogy that “recognize past policies, actions, and legislation that racialized, harmed, or violated Canada’s

Indigenous and ethno-cultural minority groups” by emphasizing apologies and compensation provided by the federal government (p. 21). This is the case, Ian Radforth (2012) notes, with communities affected by the Komagata Maru incident and the internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War. “By emphasizing reconciliation and redemption,” Anderson (2017) notes, this national narrative template “forges a new social memory of progress that ignores how many current-day inequities and problems often stem from past legacies of wrongdoing” (p. 21). This observation has also been noted by scholars such as Donald (2009) and John Ralston Saul (2014).

The Counter National Narrative, which “conveys competing, omitted, or silenced aspects of Canadian history through national narratives that trouble the storylines” of the two master national narrative templates is not itself a master national narrative template (Anderson, 2017, p. 15). These narratives overlap and evolve over time. Counter National Narrative 3.0 (NN 3.0), Anderson (2017) writes, “often captures competing, omitted, or silenced national narratives through parallel or alternative forms of Canadian identity that contest, rebuke, or intervene in the storylines of Master National Narrative Templates 1.0 and 2.0” (p. 21). The postmodernist critique of history, Anderson (2017) contends, questions notions of progress, narrative constructions, and the neutrality/objectivity of historians (see also Lévesque, 2014). “Expressions of NN 3.0 influenced by the postmodernist critique of history,” Anderson (2017) notes, are evident in sites of pedagogy that “disrupt meta-narratives of national progress and improvement” (p. 22). According to Cesar Lopez and Mario Carretero (2012), this narrative is embedded in historiography that “views identities as complex, multifaceted phenomena that are constantly changing and never permanent or exclusive” (p. 146). Anderson (2017) argues that this counter national narrative dimension offers a “more nuanced perspective on Canadian identity, through narratives grounded in land, place, or global forces” (p. 15). What I would like to see in the history curriculum is a manifestation of this narrative that is “influenced by decolonization” and reflects “Indigenous epistemologies and knowledges” (Anderson, 2017, p. 25).

Anderson’s (2017) article suggests that these national narrative frameworks could potentially contribute to a novel curricular requirement – the Narrative Dimension (see Figure 3 below). This would involve critical engagement with “a country’s master national narrative

templates and those that trouble them” (Anderson, 2017, p. 27). It would also involve engaging with “personal and shared histories and identities” (experiences with historical culture) as well as “critical reflection on historical knowledge production as it relates to various epistemologies” (Anderson, 2017, p. 27). In addition to the current disciplinary model applied to the Canadian history curriculum, I argue that encounters with historical knowledge production should also include Indigenous epistemologies.



Figure 3: The Narrative Dimension (Anderson, 2017)

In the classroom, narratives in Canadian history have attempted to include multiple, diverse perspectives “while still maintaining the importance of a multicultural and inclusive national identity” (Miles, 2018, p. 305). “Any approach that celebrates multiple or interconnected Canadian narratives,” Miles (2018) suggests, “is insufficient” (p. 305). That being said, attempts to challenge the nation building narrative are evident in Anderson’s (2017) work. As previously discussed, there have been many debates over the place of Indigenous historical consciousness in history education and curricula. Many scholars, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have attempted to “trouble the rapport between disciplinary history and Indigenous knowledge systems” (Anderson, 2017, p. 11). As previously discussed in the Introduction chapter, the history curriculum in Ontario is currently framed around the tools and strategies that

have been incorporated “to help students achieve the vision for learning” in SSHG and CWS programs (MEO, 2013a, b, p. 7; MEO, 2018 a, b, p. 7). These tools and strategies include the concepts of disciplinary thinking, the inquiry process, big ideas, framing questions, spatial skills, and the citizenship education framework. The Ontario curriculum draws on a model of active, responsible citizenship through the citizenship education framework. This framework emphasizes four main elements of citizenship education: active participation, identity, structures, and attributes. With a better understanding of Anderson’s (2017) Narrative Dimension and the structure of the current curriculum in mind, I now turn to the key theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding my research in order to present the framework used for the analysis. I will begin with the disciplinary approach to history education.

Disciplinary Approach

Disciplinary approaches to educational research are grounded in theories of constructivist learning. Historical thinking, for example, is scaffolded and presented in relation to inquiry questions or evidence, which students evaluate and synthesize in an effort to interpret the past (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Freedman, 2015; Monte-Sano, 2011). Disciplinary approaches, Epstein and Peck (2017) note, caution against presentism – what Denos and Case (2006) refer to as the “antithesis of historical perspective” (pp. 46-47). The MEO defines historical perspective as a historical thinking concept that “requires students to analyse past actions, events, developments, and issues within the context of the time in which they occurred” (MEO, 2013a, p. 10; MEO, 2013b, p. 131; MEO, 2018a, p. 105; MEO 2018b, p. 139). I incorporated a disciplinary approach to examine how difficult knowledge topics engage historical perspective using evidence, historical context, and diverse perspectives of multiple historical actors. With this in mind, I limited my examination of historical perspective to Seixas’ (2006) model of historical thinking concepts.

I justify my use of the historical thinking concept of perspective-taking by drawing on the recent work of Gibson and Case (2019). In their article on reshaping Canadian history in response to the TRC’s Calls to Action, Gibson and Case (2019) propose three changes to help support reconciliation in Canadian history education. In making a case for the proposed changes, Gibson and Case (2019) assert that historical thinking can “usefully advance the reforms called

for by the TRC” (p. 254). They argue that the reforms articulated in the Calls to Action can be achieved by: (1) strengthening the centrality and representation of Indigenous histories and perspectives in social studies and history curricula; (2) “teaching students to think historically so they are better prepared to interpret and question the ethnocentric and colonialist assumptions in the narratives they encounter”; and (3) developing integrated and multidisciplinary courses that focus on Indigenous world-views and ways of knowing (p. 276). These changes will be discussed in more detail momentarily.

I chose to limit my examination of historical perspective to Seixas’ model because it is the one used in the history curriculum in Ontario. Indeed, this disciplinary approach often promotes historical distance by discounting affective responses to narratives in favour of more detached, critical evaluations. As a result, disciplinary approaches are often critiqued for their lack of focus on the “broader interpretive frameworks in which all historical narratives are embedded” (Epstein and Peck, 2017, p. 3). Disciplinary approaches can limit students’ historical understanding by overlooking the role that political, social, and cultural dynamics play in the “framing of dominant or alternative historical narratives or the functions that they serve” (Epstein and Peck, 2017, p. 3). “For research on the development of historical consciousness,” Carla Van Boxtel (2019) notes, “or its manifestation in historical thinking and reasoning,” we must also consider the historical, social, and cultural contexts “in which students learn about the past and use their historical understanding” (p. 66). This is why it is important to also consider sociocultural approaches to research.

Sociocultural Approach

While disciplinary approaches conceptualize the product of historical thinking as a scientific approach founded in Western cultural thought, sociocultural approaches suggest that historical narratives reflect an “internal culturally mediated framework – which in turn reflects broader societal beliefs and knowledge – that the individual draws upon to think historically” (Epstein & Peck, 2017, p. 4, referencing Wertsch, 2002 p. 26). In her work on historical consciousness in teaching and learning, Van Boxtel (2019) notes that sociocultural theory on learning suggests that development and learning are “socially and culturally situated” (p. 66). This theory, Van Boxtel (2019) reports, is grounded in Lev Vygotsky’s work on cognitive

development, and is based on the idea that “development begins with interactions between people which – through a process of internalization – results in the development of higher mental abilities” (p. 66).

Sociocultural approaches examine how context influences the historical narratives that are produced (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Wertsch, 2002). These approaches situate historical narratives in light of political, social, and cultural contexts, and provide a “usable past” (Wertsch, 2002, p. 31). While the usable past is often meant to “create and maintain collective identities from which community members may derive a sense of self and belonging” (Epstein and Peck, 2017, p. 3), it can also create boundaries based on markers of difference such as nationality, ethnicity, or religion. “The extent to which people appropriate historical narratives,” Epstein and Peck (2017) attest, “vary not just among individuals but also within individuals over time” (p. 3). It is also dependent on settings, the purposes for, and the political, social, and cultural contexts in which the historical narratives are circulated and used (Barton & McCully, 2010; Epstein & Peck, 2017; Peck, 2017; Zembylas, 2017).

Disciplinary and sociocultural approaches, Epstein and Peck (2017) note, “differ in their assumptions about historical thinking and the nature of historical narratives” (p. 4). With disciplinary approaches to research, the goal of historical thinking is to produce a historical narrative that is based on analysis and synthesis of evidence and is as objective and truthful as possible (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Freedman, 2015). In contrast, sociocultural approaches to research emphasize a “mental model of human thought and action conditioned by the historical, political, and cultural contexts in which an individual has learned to act and think” (Epstein & Peck, 2017, p. 4). This mental model is what Wertsch (2002) refers to as the “internal culturally mediated framework” (p. 26). This framework shapes historical narratives by urging individuals to understand their and others’ perspectives in relation to the narratives they encounter (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Peck, 2010). It also examines the functions that these narratives appear to serve (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2016; Epstein & Peck, 2017). Individual behaviours are shaped by many factors, and an awareness of these circumstances helps provide richer perspectives. A sociocultural approach to history knowledge examines the ways in which historical narratives are influenced by cultural, social, and political contexts (Wertsch, 2002). These are important considerations.

In Terrie Epstein's (1997) review of sociocultural approaches to young people's historical understanding, she describes a study she conducted in an urban Midwestern U.S. high school. In this study, Epstein assessed relationships between students' racial identities and experiences and their historical perspective-taking in two eleventh-grade U.S. history classes. She found that, while European American students considered individuals and events related to the nation's progress to be most significant, African American students considered individuals and events related to African American equality and freedom to be the most important. These differences in historical perspective also shaped the students' opinions about primary and secondary source evidence and the credibility of historical sources for information on history (Epstein, 1997). While European American students ranked textbooks and teachers as the most credible historical sources, African American students ranked family members as most credible. The African American students recognized that the textbook was incomplete, and that it omitted or marginalized their histories. Epstein also noted that many African American students developed two perspectives on U.S. history to cope with the divergence between the conventional historical perspectives presented in school (i.e., about the progressive development of the nation state) and the alternative perspectives presented by family and community (i.e., about enslavement, segregation, and violation of human rights) – what Epstein (1997) refers to as double historical consciousness. Pedagogy geared exclusively towards the development of historical thinking does not consider the issues that arise when historical knowledge and perspectives, as presented in the classroom, differ from those that students from diverse communities have constructed.

In Keith C. Barton's (2001) work on a sociocultural perspective on children's understanding of historical change, he notes how children use specific cultural tools when engaged in activities pertaining to history. This observation is under the assumption that cognitive activity regularly draws on procedures, objects, and symbols that stem from certain historical, cultural, and institutional contexts (Barton, 2001). Individuals draw from a set of cultural tools (e.g., physical objects or representational systems such as language), which in turn shape how they engage with the world. "If any cultural tool inevitably provides both affordances and constraints," Barton (2001) notes, "then surely students will be better served by educational institutions that provide them with a variety of such tools, so that the advantages of one may make up for the limitations of others" (p. 907). Rather than "limiting students to a single

framework for understanding history,” Barton (2001) argues, “schools might attempt to give them experience looking at the past through different lenses, by using a variety of narrative and non-narrative tools” (p. 907). Narrative, Barton (2001) notes, “is not the only approach to history” (p. 883). Historical information can also be presented through an “analytical frame that focuses on relationships among societal institutions and group or individual behaviour at given moments in history” (Barton, 2001, p. 883). Both analytical and narrative approaches may coexist.

Sociocultural research encourages teaching students to understand their and others’ positionalities and how they relate to the historical narratives that they come across in and outside of the classroom (Peck, 2010). It also encourages students to examine the various functions that narratives serve (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2016; Epstein & Peck, 2017). Sociocultural research on the construction of historical knowledge serves to extend our understanding of how certain contexts (social, cultural) and factors (race, ethnicity, social class) influence historical understanding (Epstein, 1997). As such, in support of sociocultural research and perspectives, my research will examine how the difficult histories presented in the curriculum are framed in light of these considerations. It will ask, for example, whether the expectations (specific and overall) associated with difficult histories invite students to consider their own backgrounds and how they shape their understanding of these difficult histories. It will also examine whether these expectations encourage the exploration of their and others’ positionalities.

Historical Consciousness and Indigenous Historical Consciousness

The notion of “usable past,” referenced in the discussion on sociocultural approaches and emerging from historical consciousness, refers to significant aspects of the past that individuals and groups appropriate to understand the present and envision the future. This usable past can take shape in the form of lessons, examples, or narratives that influence peoples’ vision and understanding of history. Historical consciousness, according to Rüsen (2004), “should be conceptualized as an operation of human intellection rendering the present actuality intelligible while fashioning its future perspectives” (p. 67). He argues that historical learning necessarily involves “narrative competence” – “the ability to narrate a story by means of which practical life

is given an orientational locus in time” (p. 80). As mentioned earlier in the Introduction and Literature Review chapters, most of the focus on historical consciousness within history education draws on Rüsen’s (2004) seminal work. For the purpose of this particular study, I wish to draw attention to what Anderson (2017) refers to as historical consciousness as “discipline-oriented historical thinking” (p. 10).

“Discipline-Oriented Historical Thinking” (Anderson, 2017)

Seixas (2004) defines historical consciousness as “individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors that shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understanding to those of the present and the future” (p. 10). In Canada, Seixas (2006) has promoted history education “using questions of historical consciousness to stress how history is constructed and derived from the academic field” (Anderson, 2017, p. 10). As mentioned earlier, Seixas’ (2004, 2006) conceptualization of historical consciousness can be developed through the six interrelated disciplinary historical thinking concepts - the Benchmarks (Seixas, 2011; Seixas & Morton, 2013).

Lévesque’s (2018) recent work on debates over official sites of memory has sparked conversation about the competencies of historical consciousness. Indeed, his recent work on monuments as sites of historical consciousness triggered a lively debate over complementary frameworks on the relationship between history and memory. In discussing the competencies of historical consciousness, mainly inquiry competence, historical thinking competence, orientation competence, and narrative competence, a model emerges as a preliminary matrix and starting point for discussion on how individuals engage in issues of commemoration – a “supplementary matrix of historical consciousness” (Lévesque, 2018, in commentary). A helpful table emerges in the commentary for Lévesque’s (2018) work on official sites of memory, and is not meant to be used as an assessment tool for evaluating progression in student competence in historical consciousness. Rather, it represents an intriguing way to think about public memory and historical consciousness.

Before the emergence of this supplementary matrix of historical consciousness, Lévesque (2016b) previously drew on Seixas’ (2016) work on the history-memory matrix in an attempt to

move beyond narratives and competencies in history education. Seixas' updated matrix of Rüsen's historical consciousness, Lévesque (2016b) notes, reveals how "historical thinking and narrative representations inform public memory and vice versa" (para. 3). Lévesque notes, however, that Seixas' (2016) vision of memory and life practice "lacks the practices and methods used to generate cultural and public narratives" (Lévesque, 2016b, para. 4). Lévesque's (2016) revised history-memory matrix places history education at the junction between disciplinary history and cultural life practice because "it is located in a strategic position where students can learn the competencies of historical consciousness...and the competency to construct historical narratives for different purposes" (para. 5). History education, Lévesque (2016b) notes, "is the context within which learners acquire, develop, and internalize the mental and cognitive procedures of historical consciousness" (para. 7). This context, he writes, extends beyond schooling "to include the multiple forces with which a culture transmits and understands itself over time" (para. 7). Lévesque (2016b) argues that history educators must:

(re)conceptualize the development of students' historical consciousness, not exclusively as a practice of public memory or a set of scholastic competencies, but as the effective result of the interplay between historical culture, public memory, practical life, schooling, and the practice of disciplinary history. (para. 7)

The blue zone in Lévesque's (2016b) revised history-memory matrix, representing disciplinary history, relates to generating research questions drawn from "personal and cultural life interests and theories" and using historical thinking methods to "generate evidence-based narrative interpretations" (para. 8). The red zone in his matrix, representing culture and life practice, relates to life experiences and cultural practices (e.g., diaries, storytelling, visits to the museum) "to produce stories for life purposes, orientation, and identity formation, which in turn, inform public memories" (para. 8). These zones fall within the white zone, historical culture, which represents "the totality of discourses in which a society understands itself and its future by interpreting and narrating the past" (para. 8). This culture, Lévesque (2016b) argues, "must be analyzed in a broad, transdisciplinary fashion" to better understand the nature of life in a given society (para. 8).

Nordgren and Johansson (2015) recently integrated concepts of historical consciousness and cultural diversity to promote "intercultural competence" in history education (p. 6).

Intercultural competence, Epstein and Peck (2017) note, refers to “the ability to construct evidence-based historical narratives (disciplinary approach), as well as the capability to deconstruct the assumptions and values that structure historical narratives, including those of one’s own making and of the societies in which one lives” (p. 5). As discussed earlier, Lévesque (2011) notes that to contextualize the past, one must consider the personal, the sociocultural, and the contemporary contexts in an attempt to make sense of a historical actor’s actions, intentions, and beliefs. A historical thinking framework, Lévesque (2018) contends, must contextualize historical thinking in the “sociocultural and ontological contexts in which historical thinking realizes its function of critical analysis and judgment” (in commentary). These sociocultural and ontological contexts are what he refers to as historical culture, “distinctive historical cultures which encompass the totality of discourses in which a society understands itself and its future by narrating the past” (Lévesque, 2018, para. 7). Lévesque (2018) argues that, as a theory, historical consciousness offers “a more robust model (and body of knowledge) to commemoration because it situates the debates and people’s own positionality within the context of an internally-mediated cultural environment” that shape’s an individual’s judgments, thinking, and identity (in commentary).

With historical consciousness in mind, McGregor (2015) has noted that some engagements are missing from the model of historical thinking prevalent in history education in Canada. According to McGregor (2015), these missing engagements include, but are not limited to, “...the historian’s positionality, changing identity/ies...the historicity of the discipline; other contextual conditions (i.e., the role of place) for making and remaking our stories; and, the practices of suspending opinion...and asking self-reflexive questions in the encounter with epistemological (and other forms of) difference” (p. 297). Unfortunately, historical consciousness as discipline-oriented historical thinking is simply not enough to allow for “full engagement with the silenced histories and urgent identity questions...that permeate and shape contemporary Canadian society” (Anderson, 2017, p. 6). This is because historical thinking’s “tenets do not explicitly address the frequently hidden master national narrative templates (or those that contest and rebuke them) that are communicated in sites of pedagogy” (Anderson, 2017, p. 5). This is why I wish to broaden the concept of historical consciousness by analyzing the extent to which the curriculum engages Indigenous historical consciousness.

McGregor (2017) notes the different origins of historical thinking and Indigenous approaches, which lead to differences in the structure of each knowledge paradigm. Seixas (2012) has previously focused on the difficulties that arise between Indigenous epistemologies and the current historical thinking model in his work “Indigenous Historical Consciousness: An Oxymoron or a Dialogue?” As stated earlier, the differences between historical thinking (as a disciplinary way of knowing) and Indigenous approaches (focused on ancestral and place-based knowledge), when misunderstood, “produce a greater likelihood of neglect, clash, or conflict between paradigms” (McGregor, 2017, p. 15). Failing to understand these differences, McGregor (2017) argues, could potentially contribute to the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous epistemologies in schools, and misrepresentation of Indigenous perspectives in the curriculum.

Although historical consciousness and Indigenous historical consciousness are different, I chose to include an examination of difficult knowledge using the Indigenous epistemic themes outlined in Marker’s (2011) work as a framework. With that in mind, my study examined whether the difficult histories are framed by relationality (with land, animals, nature, time, and place), the circular nature of time and oral tradition, and Indigenous narratives on the history of displacement/replacement of Indigenous knowledge.

Integrated Framework

For the purpose of my study, I created an integrated framework consisting of historical and sociocultural perspective lenses, and Indigenous historical consciousness. Disciplinary approaches do not consider the role that political, social, and cultural dynamics play in the interpretation and production of historical narratives. With reflective historical consciousness, students become more aware of their own subjectivities and how the present influences the way they interpret the past (Duquette, 2014). I have therefore chosen to incorporate a sociocultural approach to better understand how these subjectivities may come into play. Historical consciousness was included as a way to draw attention to Indigenous consciousness specifically. Here I introduce two related ideas – historical consciousness and Indigenous consciousness – that are not conceptually the same, and have considered Seixas’ critique described earlier in the Literature Review.

Exploring the ways in which difficult histories are situated using a combination of historical perspective, sociocultural perspective, and Indigenous historical consciousness frameworks provides a novel approach when examining this knowledge in the curriculum. The combination of theoretical frameworks is preferable for my study because they apply to the visions and goals of the SSHG and CWS curriculum in Ontario. Historical thinking concepts are emphasized in the history curriculum, and represent a disciplinary approach to teaching and learning history. For the purpose of my study, I have chosen to focus specifically on one historical thinking concept, historical perspective. Since I have chosen to focus specifically on historical perspective, it is important to consider how social, cultural, and political contexts influence the ways in which students analyse past events and issues. As such, it is also necessary to incorporate a sociocultural framework that assesses whether students are urged to understand their and others' identities and positionalities.

Sociocultural frameworks provide a “usable past” (Wertsch, 2002, p. 31), which aligns with the purpose of historical consciousness. Over time, we develop forms of historical consciousness – some more sophisticated than others. Marker’s (2011) research on Indigenous consciousness, for example, invites us to consider how the concept could expand the notion of historical consciousness in Canada. This extension could potentially lead to the development of alternative forms of historical consciousness. Although historical thinking and historical consciousness collide with Indigenous epistemologies, Cutrara (2018) draws a link between Indigenous epistemologies and the requirements of cosmopolitanism. These requirements include learning to navigate the junction where individual and cultural differences collide in global and local contexts.

As discussed earlier, Seixas (2012) has previously argued that Indigenous epistemologies are oxymoronic because they escape the requirements of cosmopolitanism, however, his understanding of cosmopolitanism reflects a cosmopolitanism “of another time” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 267). Cutrara (2018) uses the concept of relationality to connect Indigenous epistemologies to cosmopolitanism. I apply Indigenous consciousness, investigated through the epistemic themes outlined in Marker’s (2011) work, to broaden the idea of historical consciousness in Canada. Like Anderson (2017), I am curious to learn about what curricular imperatives, in addition to the historical thinking concepts, are needed to “reconcile history’s disciplinary tools with practices

of historical consciousness that will engage learners with the moral dilemmas associated with Canada's colonial legacy, silenced histories, and multiple shifting identities in the present" (p. 6). Though not an explicit objective of the Ontario curriculum, I applied Indigenous historical consciousness in my analysis to investigate whether difficult knowledge was represented using Indigenous epistemic themes. This inclusion allowed me to gain insight into whether Indigenous historical consciousness is currently being incorporated as a way to develop historical consciousness when faced with difficult knowledge.

The integrated framework seen in Figure 4 below demonstrates how I have combined the interrelated frameworks to examine the Ontario curriculum using the lens of difficult knowledge. With the integrated framework, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are represented as gears, working together to generate knowledge and develop forms of consciousness. This cogwheel model is present in the curriculum, in a graphic depicting the inquiry process (as seen on p. 23 of 2013 SSHG curriculum and p. 24 of 2018 version, and p. 27 of 2013 CWS curriculum, and p. 28 of 2018 CWS curriculum). I have chosen to adapt it to fit the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of my own study, and although it is simplified, my goal with this model is to present the frameworks in a way which suggests movement.



Figure 4: Integrated Framework

This study considered how the official curriculum makes use of one of Seixas' historical thinking concepts, historical perspective, examined through evidence, context, and use of diverse perspectives. It also considered how the curriculum makes use of sociocultural perspectives when it comes to difficult histories, by asking whether the curriculum asks students to consider their own backgrounds and how they shape their identities, positionalities, and understanding of these difficult histories. To further investigate difficult histories using the lens of Indigenous historical consciousness, I drew on Marker's (2011) work on Indigenous epistemic themes to explore the extent to which these histories integrate Indigenous narratives on colonialism; relationality with local landscapes, land, animals, nature, time, and place; and the circular nature of time "and the ways oral tradition is integrated with recurring events" (Marker, 2011, p. 98).

Difficult knowledge, I argue, can be examined using these three related frameworks. I believe that a critical sociocultural approach allows for a different, thoughtful exploration of how difficult knowledge is (re)presented in the revised history curriculum in Ontario because it "foregrounds how power relations shape the broader political and cultural settings in which historical narratives are produced and circulated" (Epstein & Peck, 2017, p. 8). For example, the introduction of Indigenous Content Requirements in Canada, represented in the overall and specific expectations outlined in the Ontario curriculum, may be critiqued as an attempt to evade the "the transformative project of decolonization with a liberal project of curricular inclusion of Indigenous content" (Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019, p. 20). In using a critical sociocultural approach to investigate representations of difficult knowledge, how might one assess whether the revised curriculum dodges the transformative project of decolonization?

I created a table to show some of the ways in which each approach (disciplinary and sociocultural) can potentially fit both forms of consciousness (historical and Indigenous). In considering the results for difficult knowledge topics in the curriculum, one could ask the questions in each cell in Table 1 below to consider the relationships that exist between the approaches and the forms of consciousness. I wish to clarify that this research is not about how these approaches address or contribute to Indigenous ways of knowing or reconciliation, but rather it is about how these approaches can be used to investigate the presence/absence of Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing in the curriculum.

The questions in Table 1 attempt to address these inclusions and exclusions by asking specific questions about the narratives and perspectives that are represented in the history curriculum.

Table 1: Approaches and How They Engage Forms of Consciousness

Approach	Historical Consciousness	Indigenous Historical Consciousness
Disciplinary approach/ historical perspective	Which perspectives are represented, and what evidence is present? What does this say about the representation of difficult knowledge and how it might shape the development of historical consciousness?	Are Indigenous narratives and/or perspectives represented, and what evidence is present? What does this say about the representation of difficult knowledge?
Sociocultural approach/ perspective	Are identities and/or positionalities considered? Could this result contribute to the development of a more reflective historical consciousness?	Are identities or positionalities considered? How does the result integrate the consideration of Indigenous identities?

This research draws on Gibson and Case’s (2019) recent article on reconciliation in Canadian history education. As mentioned previously, they argue that the reforms called for by the TRC can be achieved in three ways: by strengthening the centrality and representation of Indigenous histories and perspectives in social studies and history curricula; by “teaching students to think historically so they are better prepared to interpret and question the ethnocentric and colonialist assumptions in the narratives they encounter”; and by developing integrated and multidisciplinary courses that focus on Indigenous world-views and ways of knowing (p. 276).

The first change proposes that educators strengthen the centrality and representation of “Indigenous histories, perspectives, epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies” in Canadian history courses (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 254). This change, Gibson and Case (2019) argue, necessarily involves going beyond adding “more Indigenous historical content into a predominantly Euro-Canadian curriculum” (p. 254). Rather than exploring historically marginalized groups from Euro-Canadian perspectives, Tim Stanley (2000) notes that this effort requires engaging with sources, voices, and meanings from the perspectives of marginalized groups.

The second change proposes that educators “alter the way history has traditionally been taught as an established body of conclusions about the past that students are expected to accept” (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 254). This change is currently underway, as is seen in the historical thinking approaches currently implemented in curricula throughout Canada. Gibson and Case (2019) note that this change is “especially important for overcoming the discriminatory views” about Indigenous individuals and communities that students may have “encountered in school, society, and the media” (p. 254). As discussed earlier, research on the challenges and possibilities “that exist when historical thinking and Indigenous ways of knowing are used to teach Canadian history” is currently limited to the work of scholars such as Cutrara (2018), Marker, (2011), McGregor (2017), and Miles (2018) (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 265). Gibson and Case (2019) argue that “the obstacles to reconciling” historical thinking and Indigenous ways of knowing “are surmountable if we recognize that the six historical thinking concepts are second-order considerations, while the four themes that Marker mentions are first-order consideration” (p. 272). “First-order considerations,” Gibson and Case (2019) maintain, “offer statements about how the world is and how it functions” (p. 272). Gibson and Case (2019) provide examples of first-order statements: “the earth is round, animals and humans are interconnected, and the passage of time is circular” (p. 272). “Second-order considerations raise questions about first-order statements” and:

do not presume to offer substantive answers about, for example, whether time is circular or linear. They simply invite students to consider continuity and change over time in order to form their own conclusions about emerging patterns in human and natural affairs (linear or circular). (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 272)

When speaking about Indigenous ways of knowing and thinking about the past, for example, people “may be describing particular beliefs within the Indigenous worldview about the past, whereas references to the historical thinking framework identify categories of questions to guide inquiries into the past” (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 272). In light of this idea, Gibson and Case (2019) “do not see an irreconcilable tension between these two” (p. 272). This supposed lack of an irreconcilable tension is promising for history education.

My application of historical perspective mainly allowed me to identify the evidence typically associated with difficult knowledge in curricula. In turn, this allowed me to explore

whether/how diverse perspectives from various historical actors are represented when the knowledge is considered difficult. How is colonialism represented, for example? One of the elements of Indigenous historical consciousness, according to Marker (2011) is “indigenous narratives and perspectives on the histories of colonization that have attempted to displace and replace indigenous knowledge” (p. 98). This led me to consider whether the MEO encourages students to explore colonialism from Indigenous perspectives or from settler perspectives. What kind of narratives might circulate as a result? Marker (2011) notes that the past is a reference point for Indigenous peoples “to communicate truths and identities that bind their worlds together” (p. 97). My application of sociocultural perspective allowed me to explore whether the difficult knowledge results urged students to understand their and others’ perspectives, positionalities, and/or identities, and how they relate to the historical narratives encountered in and outside of the classroom (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Peck, 2010).

This chapter sought to explain the critical sociocultural approach used to interpret difficult knowledge content in the curriculum. Although the three key frameworks associated with this approach were not meant to be integrated in this manner, I argue that this approach provides a way to explore how disciplinary and sociocultural frameworks can be applied to investigate the presence/absence of Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing in the curriculum, and how these perspectives can contribute to the development of forms of consciousness.

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

Research Design: Content Analysis

This study drew on qualitative research methodologies to closely examine the revised curriculum. In also taking into consideration the 2013 curriculum, studying how the revised curriculum represents difficult knowledge and perspective-taking allowed me examine “what has stayed the same and what has changed” (MEO, 2013a, p. 104; MEO, 2013b, p. 131; MEO 2018a, p. 104; MEO 2018b, p. 139). Before performing the analysis, I considered the following questions: Who is the curriculum designed for? For what purpose(s)? Who designed it? It was also important to consider my positionality and how this might influence the study. I attempted to ensure objectivity by doing a systematic, methodical study that used step-by-step procedures. The goal with this systematic review was to “offer a thorough yet condensed view on the evidence” obtained through the qualitative study (O’Leary, 2014, p. 257). This review offers a “transparent, verifiable and replicable approach” by using an explicit, reproducible methodology (O’Leary, 2014, p. 257). I used transformational validity to approach issues of trustworthiness and rigor. Transformational validity is concerned with whether or not the investigation “advances a social agenda or offers cultural criticism” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 311). My investigation offers cultural criticism, therefore I approached transformational validity by analyzing my own background and agenda and making my moral commitment explicit (Eisenhart, 2006; Glesne, 2016).

Curriculum analysis involves isolating a particular set of content, in this case difficult knowledge in history curricula, and analyzing the content standards that describe what students are expected to understand and how they are expected to apply the content. Analysis occurred at the intended level, which focuses primarily on the official curriculum content in terms of the student expectations outlined at both the overall and specific levels. The data source for this project consisted of official history curriculum documents (Grades 7, 8, 10) for Ontario as they provide a scope of the content that teachers are expected to incorporate in the classroom. The documents were obtained from the MEO website, and allowed me to analyze the content and expectations outlined in the revised history courses. Electronic versions of the texts were accessed online through the provincial ministry, and hard copies were printed for document analysis. Since the study focused on the current state of the representation of difficult knowledge

in the history curriculum, glossary terms bearing difficult knowledge were the main data sources that were collected. A preliminary comparative analysis was performed to determine differences between the 2013 and 2018 curricula in terms of topics presented and their re-occurrence and context throughout the texts.

In this study, a content analysis of the revised curriculum was performed to generate replicable inferences from qualitative and quantitative data to their context (Bergman, 2010; Krippendorff, 2004). With content analysis, the researcher must make explicit the “context relative to which data are analyzed” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 26), and “categories have to be justified in terms of what is known about the data’s context” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 49). Sources of contextual knowledge for this study include theoretical frameworks and concepts (historical thinking, sociocultural perspectives, and forms of consciousness). The results were situated in terms of the contexts in which the documents were produced (i.e., following the TRC Calls to Action and specifically in response to Calls to Action 62 and 63 as outlined by the ministry), and in light of the theoretical frameworks and concepts that emerged from the literature review. The content analysis was used to gain a better understanding of the specific actions that appear to be prioritized in the documents (Butler, 2015), which allowed me to assess the curriculum to identify strengths and weaknesses in order to build on the successes and identify blind spots.

A content analysis was performed to: (1) assess the current curriculum with the aim of potentially contributing to future curriculum; and (2) identify strengths and weaknesses to build on the successes and identify blind spots. Three distinct approaches were used to identify common themes arising from the curriculum documents: (1) conventional content analysis, where the coding categories were derived from text data; (2) directed content analysis, where analysis and coding was guided by theory; and (3) summative content analysis, where coded content was counted and compared and the underlying context was interpreted (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). To enhance internal validity, I kept online and hard copy records of the memos written about the development of these themes and their definitions. These memos were reviewed throughout data collection and analysis, to provide context and information about the common themes across the results. During each stage of content analysis, results were displayed in tables, and the memos were consulted to assist with the interpretation of results. To ensure

internal validity, frequency coding was repeated multiple times for each document, as “some duplication of efforts is essential” for reliability (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 129).

Conventional Content Analysis

Existing literature on my research approach is limited, therefore a conventional content analysis was used to allow coding categories to emerge from the content/ presented in curriculum front matter and program overviews (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002). In this way, I was able to gain insights about the goals of Ontario’s history program without necessarily imposing my own preconceived coding categories. This is how I came to describe the curriculum hierarchy. The curriculum hierarchy was divided into two columns, as seen in Table 2 below. On the left, there is text that, although significant, is *not* considered directly related to student learning outcomes. The front matter, course overviews, and glossary make up this part of the hierarchy. The right column represents text that *is* directly related to student learning outcomes. These levels, from most to least significant, include learning expectations (overall and specific), big ideas and framing questions (help set the context for overall and specific expectations), and examples and sample questions.

Table 2: Curriculum Hierarchy

Text that is not directly related to learning outcomes (still significant)	Text that is directly related to learning outcomes (most significant)
Front Matter (FM)	Overall Expectations (OE)
Course Overviews, not including table (CO)	Specific Expectations (SE)
Glossary (G)	Big Ideas (BI)
	Framing Questions (FQ)
	Examples (E)
	Sample Questions (SQ)

The top-to-bottom hierarchy for the column on the right in Table 2 above was identified by taking into consideration the value of overall and specific expectations as representations of the mandated curriculum with priority status. Specific expectations guide how teachers can frame the overall expectations, and teachers can use big ideas to frame students’ investigations by applying specific concepts (examples). The framing questions that pair with the big ideas

suggest ways in which teachers can invite their students to consider the content. The big ideas and framing questions, although significant texts, were given lower priority status for this analysis because they are seen as being more informative than prescriptive.

As described earlier, the specific expectations are accompanied by examples and sample questions. Shown in parentheses, the examples clarify “the kind of knowledge or skill, the specific area of learning, the depth of learning, and/or the level of complexity that the expectation entails” (MEO, 2013a, p. 24; MEO, 2013b, p. 19; MEO, 2018a, p. 25; MEO, 2018b, p. 20). The sample questions, requested by educators, suggest some questions that teachers might ask in the classroom. The examples and sample questions are intended as suggestions and do not represent complete or mandatory lists. Knowledge of this curriculum hierarchy served to facilitate the assessment of the representation of difficult knowledge by providing a coding category.

Directed Content Analysis

After gaining a sense of the overarching goals and visions of the history courses (and the curriculum in general), I examined the curriculum glossaries in both the 2013 and 2018 curricula to identify terms that could potentially be considered difficult knowledge, as defined by Epstein and Peck (2017), Pitt and Britzman (2003), and other scholars (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Simon, Rosenberg & Eppert, 2000). In this study, difficult knowledge serves as an initial coding category. Exploring the curriculum glossaries for both the 2013 and 2018 policy documents allowed me to generate a comparative list of results. A decision scheme was created and used to decide whether or not the glossary item could be considered difficult knowledge. With a decision scheme, the data collected is “the outcome of a predefined sequence of decisions” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 135). The decision scheme was inspired by Jesse Butler’s (2015) analysis of Ontario’s Indigenous Education Policy and was developed when reviewing the literature on difficult knowledge. With my decision scheme, I first asked whether the information explicitly presents contested depictions of past violence and oppression, as per Epstein and Peck’s (2017) definition of difficult histories. For content that explicitly presents contested depictions of past violence and oppression, I then asked whether they involve: (1) “narratives of historical traumas such as

genocide, slavery, and forms of social hatred” (Pitt & Britzman, 2003, p. 756); or (2) questions of democracy, human rights, and equity (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Simon, Rosenberg & Eppert, 2000). Results categorized as difficult knowledge were then subjected to the summative content analysis.

Summative Content Analysis

The summative content analysis made up the main part of the study. The terms categorized as difficult knowledge in the glossaries were explored in light of their re-occurrence throughout the 2013 and 2018 documents. Although entire documents were scanned manually and electronically for inclusion of the terms, history curricula were analyzed most closely in light of the presence/absence of these terms.

A summative content analysis was used to identify and quantify data in text to further understand the context of the content. The aim was to understand potential underlying meanings of the content (Babbie, 1992). For the first part of the summative content analysis, data analysis began with a search for the identified content (i.e., glossary terms bearing difficult knowledge). Using both an electronic and manual word search, word frequency counts were recorded for each glossary term bearing difficult knowledge identified in the 2013 and 2018 curricula during the directed content analysis. The curriculum hierarchy of the terms were identified, and context was interpreted using existing theories on historical perspective (Seixas, 1993, 2006, 2011, 2012, 2013), sociocultural perspectives (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Van Boxtel, 2019; Wertsch, 2002), and Indigenous epistemic themes (Marker, 2011; Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019). The summative approach to qualitative content analysis allowed me to interpret the context associated with the use of difficult knowledge, and provided basic insights into how this content can be used (Babbie, 1992). It is, however, limited by an inattention to the broader, therefore I chose to look at the 2013 curricula to get a broader and more comparative look at these terms.

I examined the texts to determine how much attention is devoted to difficult knowledge, their purposes for including difficult knowledge, how they utilize multiple perspectives generally and Indigenous perspectives specifically, and how they engage sociocultural perspectives. This approach involved creating a codebook for the content analysis. Evidence and pages of the

curriculum were cited to add rigor and reliability to the study, and the data was summarized into tables to highlight relative emphases of content embedded in the curricular documents. The data was analyzed to create codes and categories of data through “line-by-line inductive coding” (Miles & Huberman, 1984). All pages that included references to difficult knowledge were photocopied and coded. This process allowed me to consider the difficult histories that are presented, the ways in which they are framed and the purposes that they appear to serve.

Units of analysis in coding the curriculum included words and paragraphs. Topics were organized at multiple levels (e.g., grade, curriculum hierarchy, etc.), tallied for quantification, and thematic analysis was performed through coding (O’Leary, 2014). This approach allowed me to explore how difficult histories are represented in the revised curriculum in Ontario, and whether the content is presented in ways that engage historical and sociocultural perspectives. This analysis allowed me to consider how much space is dedicated to difficult knowledge, and how much of this space attempts to incorporate historical perspective, generally, and Indigenous perspectives, specifically. The difficult histories presented in the curriculum were analyzed in terms of: (1) curriculum hierarchy; (2) historical perspective; (3) sociocultural perspectives; and (4) Indigenous epistemic themes as elements of Indigenous consciousness. Table 3 below, modified from a combination of Hess, Stoddard, and Murto’s (2008) work and Yilmaz Senem’s (2013) content analysis of a high school physics curriculum, was used to collect information about difficult knowledge topics found in the revised history curriculum.

Table 3: Contextualizing Difficult Knowledge Topics

Term	Freq. 2013	Freq. 2018	Curriculum Hierarchy	Historical Perspective	Sociocultural Perspective	Indigenous Consciousness
	#	#	Front Matter (FM) Overview (O) Glossary (G)	- Evidence - Context - Diverse perspective	- Positionality - Identity	- Relationality - Circular nature of time, oral tradition, recurring events - Indigenous narratives on history of displacement of Indigenous knowledge
			Overall Expectation (OE) Specific Expectation (SE) Big Idea (BI) Framing Question (FQ) Example (E) Sample Question (SQ)			

To contextualize the difficult knowledge results, content codes were assigned based on: curriculum hierarchy (CH); the engagement of historical perspective (HP) and whether this involved using evidence (E), understanding historical context (C), and/or exploring diverse perspectives (D); the engagement of sociocultural perspectives (SP) and whether the difficult knowledge results reference positionality (P), and/or identities (I); and the integration of Indigenous epistemic themes using relationality (R), the circular nature of time, oral tradition and recurring events (O), and/or Indigenous narratives on the history of displacement/replacement of Indigenous knowledge (N). Frequency coding analysis allowed me to understand representations of the (mis)treatment of Indigenous peoples in comparison to the exploration of other perspectives in light of difficult knowledge. It is worth noting that some of the concepts in the curriculum have similar meanings but are represented using different words. For example, many concepts relate to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit (FNMI) individuals (e.g., Indigenous peoples, Aboriginals, etc.). Each of these concepts were considered equally in the study.

Research Questions in Relation to Method, Frameworks, and Analysis

Table 4 below outlines my research questions in relation to the method (content analysis), frameworks (conceptual and theoretical), and analysis.

Table 4: Research Questions and the Approaches Used to Answer Them

Research Questions	Approach
Which difficult knowledge topics appear in the glossary? Which of these glossary terms appear in the Grades 7, 8, and 10 history curricula?	- Directed content analysis and decision scheme used to identify difficult knowledge topics in glossary - Summative content analysis performed to identify and quantify data in text to further understand context of the content
How are these topics framed? What are some of the purpose(s) they appear to serve?	- Curriculum hierarchy used to distinguish mandated results (e.g., overall and specific expectations) from non-mandated results (e.g., examples, sample questions) - Explored how topics were framed using a critical sociocultural approach embedded in disciplinary and sociocultural approaches, and Indigenous historical consciousness
To what degree does the curriculum engage perspective-taking when dealing with difficult knowledge? How does the curriculum address multiple perspectives, generally, and Indigenous perspectives, specifically?	Considered Marker's (2011) work on Indigenous epistemic themes and consciousness

Sample Analysis

The following tables (5 and 6) offer a glimpse at how passages in the curriculum were analyzed. The glossary term identified as a difficult knowledge topic in this example is *colonialism* and the tables are from the analysis of the 2018 SSHG curriculum. In applying the decision scheme to the glossary term, I first asked whether the information in the glossary explicitly presents contested depictions of past violence and oppression, as per Epstein and Peck’s (2017) definition of difficult histories. The definition, which emphasizes political control by one nation over another and the “subjugation of one or more groups of people to another” (MEO, 2018b, p. 213), I argue, does present depictions of past oppression. For content that explicitly presents these types of depictions, I then asked whether they involve: “narratives of historical traumas such as genocide, slavery, and forms of social hatred” (Pitt & Britzman, 2003, p. 756); or questions of democracy, human rights, and equity (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Simon, Rosenberg & Eppert, 2000). In this case, the content involves questions of democracy, human rights, and equity.

Frequencies were included as the comparative component of the analysis, as a way to measure how often the difficult knowledge appears in the 2013 and 2018 curriculum. Although each key word occurrence in the 2018 curriculum was explored individually, Table 5 below presents a summary of results for one level of the curriculum hierarchy – the front matter (FM).

Table 5: Sample Table for Difficult Knowledge in the Front Matter

Term	Freq. 2013	Freq. 2018	Curriculum Hierarchy	Historical Perspective	Sociocultural Perspective	Indigenous Consciousness
colonialism	0	13	4 FM	Key theme across the four results is the impact on various communities, including FNMI (context and diverse perspectives are implied but not explicitly integrated in these results)	No mention of positionality or identity	No mention of: relationality with land, nature, time, place; the circular nature of time, represented in oral tradition and recurring events; Indigenous narratives on history of displacement of Indigenous knowledge

This sample analysis was included to show how I categorized results that were not part of the mandated curriculum expectations pages. A second table (Table 6) reveals how I analyzed results for the mandated curriculum expectations pages at another level of the curriculum hierarchy – examples (E). The results were analyzed in light of a critical sociocultural approach grounded in historical perspective, a sociocultural perspective, and Indigenous consciousness.

In analysing the text using a disciplinary framework, I consulted the aspects of historical perspective outlined in Seixas' (2006) work to examine whether the passages encourage perspective-taking using evidence (E), historical context (C), and diverse perspectives of multiple historical actors (D). In terms of historical perspective in the front matter, a key theme across the four FM results for *colonialism* emerged, and that is the impact and legacy that colonialism has had on various communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities. This implicitly engages historical perspective through diverse perspectives (D) because it asks students to consider the impact on various individuals and communities over time. To consider the impact, students should have an understanding of the historical context as well. Students would need to explore multiple perspectives to gain a deeper understanding of the historical context and of the impact that the event/process/issue has had on multiple individuals and communities. For the reasons outlined above, I have assigned the passage a (C) and a (D), for context and diverse perspectives. One must note, however, that the text does not explicitly mention context or diverse perspectives. The text needs to explicitly engage historical perspective in order to be considered significant for the purpose of this study. To broaden the historical perspective lens and move beyond Seixas' conceptualization, I also investigated the extent to which these passages invited students to consider sociocultural perspectives. The front matter passages for *colonialism*, however, did not reference sociocultural perspectives through the consideration of positionalities or identities.

In terms of Indigenous consciousness in the front matter, the passages containing *colonialism* do not explicitly draw on any of the epistemic themes outlined in Marker's (2011) work on Indigenous historical consciousness: mainly relationality with land, animals, nature, time, place (R); the circular nature of time, represented in oral tradition and recurring events (O); and Indigenous narratives on history of displacement/replacement of Indigenous knowledge (N). Although two of the front matter passages make reference to the impact colonialism has had on

Indigenous communities and individuals in Canada, the passage does not explicitly mention the use of Indigenous narratives to understand the impact.

The second sample analysis, represented in Table 6 below, reveals how I analyzed text from the mandated curriculum expectations pages. The table shows how I analyzed results in the SSHG curriculum for another level of the curriculum hierarchy – examples (E).

Table 6: Sample Table for Difficult Knowledge as an Example

Term	Freq. 2013	Freq. 2018	Curriculum Hierarchy	Historical Perspective	Sociocultural Perspective	Indigenous Consciousness
colonialism	0	13	Example (E), as seen on p. 15	N/A	N/A	N/A

It is often difficult to categorize examples in light of historical and sociocultural perspectives because they are mainly presented as a single substantive concept or series of words. *Colonialism*, as a one-word example, cannot be categorized as engaging historical perspective using evidence, historical context, and/or diverse perspectives. Nor can the one-word concept be categorized as engaging sociocultural perspective by urging students to consider their and others' positionalities and/or identities. The example, *colonialism*, is set in the context of a specific expectation (SE) about communicating results of inquiries. It is important to situate an example within the specific expectation, to see if, by extension, the term is meant to be used in a way that engages historical and/or sociocultural perspectives. Situated within a specific expectation about communicating results of inquiries, this result, therefore, does not seem to engage historical perspective using evidence, historical context, or diverse perspectives. The text also does not encourage students to consider their and others' positionalities and/or identities, and it does not engage Indigenous historical consciousness.

This chapter sought to describe the curriculum content analysis used to analyze Ontario's revised curriculum. In providing sample tables to show parts of the analysis, I hoped to make my method transparent and reveal my thought process. I now turn to the findings.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the main findings in light of the research questions: (1) Which difficult knowledge topics appear in the history curriculum? How are these topics framed? More specifically, how are these difficult knowledge topics/difficult histories represented in history courses in Ontario (Grades 7, 8, and 10)? What are some of the purpose(s) these representations appear to serve?; and (2) To what degree does the curriculum promote perspective-taking and/or Indigenous perspectives when dealing with difficult knowledge as it relates to the (mis)treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada? How does the curriculum address multiple perspectives, generally, and Indigenous perspectives, specifically? Although this study reviewed and considered results from the 2013 curricula, I have only focused on analysing results for the 2018 documents because the results in the 2013 curricula were all included in the revised versions. I have included page references gathered from the 2013 analysis to reveal where overlap exists. Since I am developing my research on a comparison of the curricula it is essential to reference these details.

This section is sub-divided into two main parts. The first part presents the glossary terms that were categorized as difficult knowledge in the elementary SSHG curriculum and results from the contextual analysis. The second part presents the glossary terms categorized as difficult knowledge in the secondary CWS curriculum, as well as results from the contextual analysis.

Social Studies, History and Geography Curriculum Results

Of the 278 glossary terms in the 2018 SSHG curriculum, eight were categorized as difficult knowledge using the decision scheme (see Table 7 below for the list of terms). Word frequency counts revealed the content's occurrence throughout the SSHG text for the 2013 and 2018 versions of curricula. The study focused on six of the difficult knowledge topics. Results with word frequencies less than three were not explored in depth because they did not provide a rich data source. These topics typically only appeared twice in the document – once in the glossary, and once as an example or sample question. Since the examples and sample questions are viewed as suggestions and do not represent mandated content, these topics were not explored further.

Table 7: Difficult Knowledge in the SSHG Curriculum

Term	2013 Frequency	2018 Frequency
British Columbia Qualification of Voters Act (1872)	2	2
Chinese Immigration Act (1885)	2	2
Colonialism	0	13
Colonization	0	9
Genocide	0	4
Komagata Maru	3	3
Pass System	0	3
Residential School System/Residential Schools	9	50

Please refer to the table in Appendix A for full results of the contextual analysis. What follows is a review of the results for each of the six topics identified in the glossary

Colonialism

The glossary definition for *colonialism* refers to it as a policy of:

establishing political control by one nation over another nation or region, sending settlers to claim the land from the original inhabitants, and taking its resources. It is a philosophy of domination, which involves the subjugation of one of more groups of people to another. (MEO, 2018b, p. 213)

The concept did not appear in the 2013 document, and appears 13 times in the revised 2018 SSHG curriculum. It is presented in the front matter (FM) four times: 1) once in the introduction to the social studies programs (p. 11); 2) once in the introduction to the history programs (p. 12); 3) once under information about the strands for social studies Grades 1 to 6 (p. 22); and 4) once under information about the strands for history and geography Grades 7 and 8 (p. 22). In the front matter, the introduction to the history programs states that students will “learn about the impact of colonialism, the Indian Act, the residential school system, treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 12). A common theme across these four front matter results is the expectation of students to explore the role and legacy of colonialism in Canada, and how it continues to impact various individuals and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Although these results do not explicitly engage

disciplinary approaches through historical perspective, to understand the role and legacy of colonialism in Canada, students must understand context and diverse perspectives. Therefore, the results for the disciplinary approach analysis are considered implicit examples of historical perspective through context and diverse perspectives. These results do not take into consideration identities, subjectivities, and/or positionalities, therefore sociocultural perspectives were considered absent.

Colonialism is also found in the course overview (CO) pages preceding the Grade 5 social studies course. One result explicitly addresses disciplinary approaches through perspective-taking by referencing the use of primary and secondary source evidence to “investigate, from a variety of perspectives, relationships within and interactions between these communities as well as the impact of colonialism” (MEO, 2018b, p. 109). The communities referenced include Indigenous nations and European settler communities before 1713, and treaties, historical images, and diaries are listed as examples of primary source evidence. The text alludes to the exploration of relationships within and between Indigenous nations and European settler communities, therefore can be viewed as implicitly engaging sociocultural perspectives. A second result in the course overview pages presents colonialism in light of the expectation of students to begin to understand the impact of colonialism on Canada (p. 109). This result does not consider identities, subjectivities, and/or positionalities, therefore sociocultural perspectives were considered absent.

The course overview pages include a course overview table, “meant to provide a starting point for planning instruction” (MEO, 2018b, p. 143). Two results appear in the course overview table, under framing questions (FQ), and both focus on the ways in which colonialism has shaped Canada (pp. 110 and 111). Although these results do not engage historical perspective, sociocultural approaches, or Indigenous historical consciousness, both of the framing questions are meant to provide context for overall expectations (OE) concerning FNMI and European settlers.

Colonialism also appears as an example (E) in both Grade 5 and Grade 6 social studies, under a specific expectation (SE) about communicating results of inquiries (p. 115 and p. 129, respectively). These results, however, do not implicitly or explicitly engage historical perspective, sociocultural perspectives, or Indigenous historical consciousness. Finally,

colonialism appears three times in the glossary (G). One result appears as the definition, and the other two are found under the glossary terms *colonization* and *imperialism*.

Colonialism does not appear in the Grade 7 and 8 history curriculum. Although the front matter suggests that the history program for Grades 7 and 8 will encourage students to “learn about the impact of colonialism...on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 12), and “learn about the legacy of colonialism and how it continues to impact people in Canada today” (p. 22), there are actually no opportunities for this kind of learning in the revised Grade 7 and 8 history curriculum.

Colonization

According to the glossary term definition, *colonization* refers to “the process in which a foreign power invades and dominates a territory or land base inhabited by indigenous peoples by establishing a colony and imposing its own social, cultural, religious, economic, and political systems and values” (MEO, 2018b, p. 213). *Colonization* also did not appear in the 2013 document, but appears nine times in the 2018 SSHG curriculum. Of the nine results, six are examples. This concept appears as an example in both Grade 5 and 6 social studies, under a specific expectation about communicating results of inquiries (p. 115 for Grade 5 example and p. 129 for Grade 6 example). In Grade 6 social studies, *colonization* and *decolonization* both appear as examples for this specific expectation (as seen on p. 129), and it is worth noting that *decolonization* was not found in the 2013 curriculum.

In Grade 5 social studies, *colonization* appears as an example and sample question in the context of a specific expectation which asks students to “describe the main motives for Europeans’ exploration of Indigenous lands that were eventually claimed by Canada and for the establishment of permanent European settlements” (MEO, 2018b, p. 115). The sample question asks, “What were some beliefs and attitudes of European settlers about land ownership and Indigenous people? What was the significance of these beliefs/attitudes for colonization and European settlement?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 116). The sample question engages historical perspective by asking students to consider diverse perspectives, and to imagine how European settlers felt about land ownership and Indigenous peoples.

Colonization also appears as an example in Grade 6 social studies, under a specific expectation which asks students to “identify the main reasons why different peoples migrated to Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 129). This concept does not appear in the Grade 7 history curriculum, and of the nine results for *colonization*, only one was from the Grade 8 history program. In Grade 8 history, the concept appears as an example, “a dance representing aspects of the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples,” in the context of a specific expectation which asks students to communicate results of inquiries using appropriate formats and vocabulary for specific audiences (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Aside from the sample question which asks students to consider the beliefs and attitudes of European settlers, the results for *colonization* do not integrate disciplinary approaches, sociocultural approaches, or Indigenous historical consciousness, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Finally, *colonization* appears twice in the glossary. One result appears as the definition, and the other is found under the glossary term *colonialism*.

Genocide

In the curriculum glossary, *genocide* is defined as “the planned, systematic destruction of a national, racial, political, religious, or ethnic group” (MEO, 2018b, p. 216). This concept also did not appear in the 2013 document, and appears four times in the 2018 SSHG curriculum. Three of the four results are in the history curriculum, with the final result appearing as the glossary term. *Genocide* appears as a sample question in Grade 7 history, in the context of a specific expectation asking students to identify factors contributing to key events and trends in Canada between 1800 and 1850. The sample question asks, “Who or what was most responsible for the genocide of the Beothuk?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 154). Similarly, the genocide of the Beothuk is included as an example in the Grade 7 history curriculum, in the context of a specific expectation asking students to identify social and economic changes between 1800 and 1850 (p. 154). In addition, *cultural genocide* appears as an example in the Grade 8 history curriculum, under a specific expectation about communicating results of inquiries (p. 160). Finally, the concept appears once in the glossary.

Komagata Maru

The *Komagata Maru* incident refers to an event that took place before World War One. In May 1914, a ship carrying hundreds of Indian citizens seeking entry into Canada, “all of whom were British subjects,” arrived in Vancouver (MEO, 2013b, p. 205; MEO, 2018b, p. 219). Most of the passengers were not allowed to disembark the ship, which was “detained in port for two months” before being sent back to India (MEO, 2013b, p. 205; MEO, 2018b, p. 219). *Komagata Maru* yields three identical results in both the 2013 and 2018 documents. Of the three results in the 2018 curriculum, *Komagata Maru* appears as a sample question and example in Grade 8 history, and as a glossary term. The sample question asks “Who provided newspaper coverage of the Komagata Maru incident? Whose perspectives do these stories provide? What other sources might you consult when investigating the perspectives of South Asians trying to immigrate to Canada in this period?” under a specific expectation about gathering and organizing “information and evidence about perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNMI, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period, using a variety of primary sources” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165; similar result in 2013b, p. 153). The example refers to “a poem written from the perspective of a passenger on the Komagata Maru” under a specific expectation about communicating results of inquiries (MEO, 2018b, p. 166; similar result in 2013b, p. 154). Both the sample question and example promote perspective-taking through the exploration of diverse perspectives and evidence, however, neither result engages sociocultural perspective.

Pass system

The *pass system*, according to the MEO (2018b), was “an informal administrative policy that restricted the movement of First Nations people by requiring them to obtain a pass from an Indian agent in order to leave the reserve” (p. 222). *Pass system* did not appear in the 2013 curriculum, however, it appears three times in the 2018 document – twice as an example in Grade 8 history, and once as a glossary term. One example references the pass system in light of communicating results of inquiries (p. 160), and the other example references the “loss of decision-making power to federal Indian agents, including the denial of personal rights and freedom under the pass system” in the context of a specific expectation about analysing “some

ways in which challenges affected FNMI individuals, families, and communities during this period (1890-1914), with specific reference to treaties, the Indian Act, the reserve system, and the residential school system (MEO, 2018b, p. 163). The second example seems to be the only result that implicitly suggests the exploration of diverse perspectives through evidence including treaties and the Indian Act. Neither result engages sociocultural perspective.

Residential school system/residential schools

The *residential school system*, according to the MEO (2018b) definition, was a “network of government-funded, church run schools for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children, the goal of which was to eradicate Indigenous languages, traditions, knowledge, and culture and to assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream settler society” (p. 223). *Residential school* appears nine times in the 2013 curriculum and 50 times in the 2018 curriculum. This concept appears in the front matter four times: 1) once in the introduction to the history programs (p. 11 of 2018 SSHG) in light of the impact of the schools; 2) once in a new sub-section on Indigenous education in Ontario in the introduction chapter (p. 15); 3) once in a new sub-section on cultural safety in the introduction chapter (p. 15); and 4) once in a new sub-section on Indigenous expertise and protocols in the chapter on considerations for program planning (p. 38). In the new sub-section on Indigenous education in Ontario, the result is situated within the recent curriculum revisions, and how they strengthen “the learning connected with Indigenous perspectives, cultures, histories, and contemporary realities, including those related to the residential school system and treaties” (MEO, 2018b, p. 15). The new sub-section on cultural safety draws attention to the fact that teachers must “be aware that some students may experience emotional reactions when learning about issues that have affected their own lives, their family, and/or their community, such as the legacy of the residential school system” (MEO, 2018b, p. 15). Finally, in the sub-section on Indigenous expertise and protocols, the curriculum describes how teachers can provide students with opportunities to learn from “Elders, Métis Senators, knowledge keepers, knowledge holders, residential school survivors and intergenerational survivors” (MEO, 2018b, p. 38).

Outside the front matter, *residential school* first appears as an example and sample question in the Grade 6 social studies curriculum, in the context of a specific expectation asking students to “describe significant events or developments in the history of two or more First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities in Canada...and how these events affected the communities’ developments and/or identities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 130). This result is similar to the result in the 2013 document, however, the example in the 2013 document is not tied to a specific expectation explicitly about Indigenous peoples (see MEO, 2013b, p. 122). The sample question asks, “What are some ways in which the residential school experience affected FNMI families and communities?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 130). Although the wording differs slightly, the sample question in 2013 is similar to the one in 2018, in that it asks about the impact of the residential school system on “First Nations families and communities” (MEO, 2013b, p. 122).

Residential school also appears in the course overview pages preceding the Grade 7 and 8 history courses. It appears under the information about the concepts of historical thinking. More specifically, it appears under the related questions for cause and consequence, and asks, “Why did the residential school system meet with growing resistance from Indigenous families during this period? What happened when parents resisted the removal of their children? Why did some parents not resist?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 139). This question also appears later in the curriculum, as a sample question in Grade 8 history and in the context of a specific expectation about describing “significant examples of cooperation and conflict in Canada during this period (1890-1914)” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). Under the specific expectation associated with the sample question, resistance among Indigenous families to residential schools appears as an example (p. 167).

Residential school also appears in the overview page preceding the Grade 8 history course. This result makes reference to how students in Grade 8 will “consider the impact of the Indian Act, the residential school system, the Numbered Treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 155). This concept also appears in the Grade 8 history course overview table twice under overall expectations and once as part of a framing question. The first overall expectation is concerned with having students “describe various significant people, events, and developments in Canada between 1850 and 1890, including the Indian Act, treaties between Indigenous nations and the Crown, and the residential school system, and explain their impact” (MEO, 2018b, p. 156 and p. 158). The

second overall expectation is similar but for a different time period – between 1890 and 1914 (p. 157 and p. 163). The second overall expectation does not mention the Indian Act or treaties – just the residential school system. The framing question in the overview table asks, “What has been the lasting impact of the Indian Act and the residential school system?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 157).

Residential school appears as a specific expectation twice (SE) in Grade 8 history. One expects students to “identify key factors that contributed to the establishment of the residential school system...and explain the impact of the system on Indigenous individuals and communities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 161). This specific expectation falls under the overall expectation described above, which states that students will “describe various significant people, events, and developments in Canada between 1850 and 1890, including the Indian Act, treaties between Indigenous nations and the Crown, and the residential school system, and explain their impact” (MEO, 2018b, p. 158). It is also associated with four of the sample question results. The sample questions include: “Which factors were the most influential in the establishment and administration of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 161); “Why were family connections and language among the first things targeted by residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162); “Why is education about the residential school system a key focus of the calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162); and “What does the imagery in the photographs of Thomas Moore, a First Nations child, supposedly taken before and while he was in residential schools, reveal about the process of assimilation, which residential schools were established to achieve?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162). The last question engages perspective-taking by incorporating primary source evidence of Thomas Moore.

The other specific expectation expects Grade 8 students to “analyse some ways in which challenges affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals, families, and communities during this period (1890-1914), with specific reference to treaties, the Indian Act, the reserve system, and the residential school system” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163). Although this specific expectation (B1.2) in the 2013 version does not explicitly mention Indigenous peoples, “Native residential schools” is listed as an example of a challenge facing “different individual, groups, and/or communities in Canada between 1890 and 1914” (MEO, 2013b, p. 152).

The three examples provided for the revised 2018 specific expectation refer to: the “disruption of families, including loss of parental control and responsibility, as rights of Indigenous parents were disregarded when their children were removed and placed in residential schools” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163); “the ongoing impact of the residential school system on the development of parenting skills and family/community bonding” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163); and “the legacy of abuse from the residential school system” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164). Four of the sample questions listed for this specific expectation ask: “Why was it challenging for Indigenous students either to return to their communities or live in non-Indigenous communities after attending residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164); “In what ways is this term (‘intergenerational trauma’) relevant to a discussion of the impact of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164); “How did these rivalries (between Christian churches) contribute to the development of the residential school system?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164); and:

When you investigate the short- and long-term impact that residential schools had on First Nations children and their families, what actions do you think have to be taken to make amends? In this context, how is an apology different from reconciliation? (MEO, 2018b, p. 164)

Of the 50 results for *residential school*, 11 are examples. In addition to the examples listed above, one result refers to the establishment of residential schools under a specific expectation about formulating questions “to guide investigations into perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada between 1850 and 1890” (MEO, 2018b, p. 159; similar result in 2013b, p. 149). Another result refers to the schools in the context of a specific expectation about communicating results of inquiries (p. 160; similar result in 2013b, p. 150). Another example refers to the expansion of the system, in the context of a specific expectation about formulating “questions to guide investigations into perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada between 1890 and 1914” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164). Another example refers to analysing an interactive map that details the expansion of the residential school system in Canada (p. 165). This example appears under a specific expectation

about analysing and constructing maps “as part of their investigations into some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period, with a focus on exploring their spatial boundaries” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165).

The increase and expansion of residential schools in Canada appears again, as an example under a specific expectation about identifying “factors contributing to some key issues, events, and/or developments that specifically affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit in Canada between 1890 and 1914...and explain the historical significance...for different individuals and/or communities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166; similar result in 2013b, p. 154). Three sample questions associated with this example and specific expectation include: “Why did the number of residential schools increase during this period? What was the significance of this expansion for First Nations and Métis children and their families?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166; similar result in 2013b, p. 154); “What was the Bryce Report? How did Ottawa respond to it? What does this response tell you about the government’s attitudes towards First Nations children? How did these attitudes contribute to the continuing development of the residential school system?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166); and “How did the attitudes of churches and the federal government influence the design and conditions of residential schools during this period?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167).

Another example result concerns “Ottawa’s establishment of per student funding of residential schools in 1891” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). It appears under a specific expectation about identifying “key political and legal changes that occurred in and/or affected Canada during this period...and explain the impact of some of these changes on various individuals, groups, and/or communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals and/or communities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). A related sample question asks, “What impact did the Truancy Act of 1891 have on the treatment of students in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167).

Residential school appears as a sample question several times. Of the 50 results, 22 are sample questions. In addition to the sample questions listed above, the one and only result for *residential school* in Grade 7 history asks, “What have you concluded about why some religious institutions in Canada felt the need to establish residential schools? What evidence supports your conclusions?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153). This is set in the context of a specific expectation which states that students will “evaluate evidence and draw conclusions about perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities, on some

significant events, developments, or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153).

Another sample question in Grade 8 history asks:

In 1883, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald stated that ‘When the school is on the reserve the child lives with its parents, who are savages, he is surrounded by savages. Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence.’ What does this statement contribute to your understanding of the establishment of the residential school system? What does it imply about the policies the government would pursue with respect to First Nations? (MEO, 2018b, p. 160 of 2018)

This sample question appears under a specific expectation about interpreting and analysing evidence using various tools.

A sample question in Grade 8 history asks, “Where would you look for information on student deaths in residential school? Why are school/government records of such deaths incomplete? How do these incomplete records affect our ability to determine the truth about this issue? What other sources could you consult to gain a fuller understanding” “When you are conducting research, what challenges do you face in gathering, organizing, and storing Indigenous primary sources?” “Where could you find documents that reveal the perspective of the federal and provincial governments on the North during this period? Where would you find information on the perspectives of people who lived in this region?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). This is in the context of a specific expectation about gathering and organizing a variety of primary source evidence “about perspectives of different groups and communities,” including Indigenous communities (MEO, 2018b, p. 165).

In the context of a specific expectation about assessing the credibility of sources, another sample question for Grade 8 history asks, “Why is it important to examine many types of sources with different viewpoints when examining the impact of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). In the context of a specific expectation about interpreting and analysing evidence, a sample question for Grade 8 history asks, “What do these sources tell you about similarities and differences in the residential school experience of First Nations and Métis children?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Under the same specific expectation, another sample question asks, “What do

accounts of First Nations and Métis survivors of residential schools tell you about their differing experiences?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Under a specific expectation about evaluating evidence and drawing conclusions “about perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNMI communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166), the curriculum asks, “What conclusions have you drawn about educational policies and practices in residential schools compared to educational policies/practices in non-Indigenous communities?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). There are interesting and provocative questions and comparisons.

Finally, *residential school* appears in the 2018 glossary a total of four times: twice, as *residential school system* and *residential schools*, and twice under the definition for the TRC. In 2013, *residential school* appears twice in the glossary (p. 209). The TRC was not part of the glossary in 2013. In the 2018 glossary, *residential school* appears twice under *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)*. The TRC, which has been added to the 2018 document, is defined as:

A federally commissioned investigative body whose mandate was to learn the truth about the experience of residential school survivors and, in so doing, to create a historical record of and promote awareness and public education about the history and impact of the residential school system. (MEO, 2018b, p. 226)

Canadian and World Studies Curriculum Results

Of the 282 glossary terms in the 2018 CWS curriculum, 11 were categorized as difficult knowledge using the decision scheme (see Table 8 below for the list of terms). Word frequency counts revealed the content’s occurrence throughout the CWS text. The study focused on nine of the difficult knowledge topics. As with the elementary curriculum, results with word frequencies less than three were not explored further because they did not provide a rich data source for the secondary curriculum.

Table 8: Difficult Knowledge in the CWS Curriculum

Term	2013 Frequency	2018 Frequency
Antisemitism	5	5
Colonialism	0	6
Colonization	0	2
Enemy Aliens	11	12
Genocide	6	6
Holocaust	9	11
Holodomor	6	6
Internment	8	9
Pass System	0	2
Residential School System/Residential Schools	13	30
Sixties Scoop	0	6

Please refer to the table in Appendix B for full results of the contextual analysis.

Antisemitism

The MEO defines *antisemitism* as “the opposition to, and hatred of, Jews throughout history” (2013a, p. 171; 2018a, p. 179). *Antisemitism* appears five times in both the 2013 and 2018 CWS curriculum. The results for both documents are nearly identical and include four examples and one glossary term. In Grade 10 Academic history, the concept is presented in the context of an example of the impact of “attitudes towards as well as discrimination against and other significant actions affecting non-Indigenous ethnocultural groups in Canada” between 1914 and 1929 (MEO, 2018a, p. 114; similar result in 2013a, p. 113). In Grade 10 Applied history, ‘antisemitism’ appears as the following example: “an oral presentation on racism and/or antisemitism in Canada” under a specific expectation about communicating ideas, arguments, and conclusions (MEO, 2018a, p. 135; similar result in 2013a, p. 129). It also appears as an example of the “challenges facing immigrants and other non-Indigenous ethnocultural minorities in Canada...with a particular emphasis on forms of discrimination” (MEO, 2018a, p. 137; similar result in 2013a, p. 131). “With a particular emphasis on forms of discrimination” was added to the 2018 curriculum and was not part of this result in the 2013 document. Finally, *antisemitism* is presented as an example to help students “explain the significance of the Holocaust for Canada and people in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141; similar result in 2013a, p. 134).

Colonialism

Colonialism did not appear in the 2013 document, but appears six times in the 2018 CWS curriculum. It is presented in the front matter once in the introduction to the history programs, in light of the “impact of colonialism” (MEO, 2018a, p. 11). It also appears as part of a framing question for Grade 10 Academic and Applied history (p. 108 and 132, respectively), and asks about how colonialism had an impact on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada. Finally, this concept appears three times in the glossary. One result appears as the definition, and the other two are found under related glossary terms *colonization* and *imperialism*. It does not appear in the Grade 10 Academic or Applied history programs, or throughout the curriculum aside from the front matter, framing questions, and glossary.

Enemy Aliens

According to the MEO glossary, *enemy aliens* refer to individuals “residing in Canada who were citizens of states at war” with Canada (MEO, 2013a, p. 174; MEO, 2018a, p. 183). During World War I, many of the individuals classified as enemy aliens were Ukrainians, and were either forced to carry identity papers or were interned. During World War II, many of the individuals classified as enemy aliens were Japanese Canadians, who were “rounded up and sent to camps and had their property confiscated” (MEO, 2013a, p. 174; MEO, 2018a, p. 183).

This concept appears 11 times in the 2013 curriculum, and 12 times in the 2018 curriculum. The results across curriculum documents are very similar. *Enemy aliens* appear as an example five times, as a sample question twice, and in the glossary a total of five times. Most of the examples were in light of the internment and treatment of enemy aliens, in the context of a specific expectations asking students to explain the “impact on Canadian society and politics of some key events and/or developments during World War I” (MEO, 2018a, p. 113; similar result in 2013a, p. 112) and analyse ways in which people in Canada cooperated and/or came into conflict “with a focus on explaining key issues that led to those interactions and/or changes that resulted from them” (MEO, 2018a, p. 117; similar result in 2013a, p. 116). *Enemy aliens* also appear as examples in the context of specific expectations about describing key social developments in Canada between 1914 and 1929 (MEO, 2013a, p. 130; MEO, 2018a, p. 136),

describing the impact that World War I had on the lives of people in Canada (MEO, 2013a, p. 130; MEO, 2018a, p. 137), and explaining how World War II affected non-Indigenous Canadians (MEO, 2013a, p. 116; MEO, 2018a, p. 118). Although there is overlap in the 2013 and 2018 results, there are more references to Indigenous peoples in the 2018 results.

The sample questions ask, “What does the term ‘enemy alien’ mean? Which groups did the Canadian government consider to be enemy aliens during World War I? What was the significance of Canada’s treatment of these groups?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 113). In the 2013 document, the sample question only asks about the significance of this (mis)treatment (p. 113).

In addition to appearing in the glossary three times under the term definition, *enemy aliens* also appear under the term definition for *internment* twice. There was overlap with this result and with some of the results for the *internment* key word search, as will be seen momentarily.

Genocide

Genocide appears six times in both the 2013 and 2018 CWS curriculum. In both the 2013 and 2018 curricula, the concept appears as an example four times, and once as both a sample question and glossary term. In Grade 10 Academic history, “genocide in East Timor” appears as an example in the context of key developments related to “Canada’s participation in the international community” (MEO, 2018a, p. 122; similar result in 2013a, p. 119). The Armenian, Rwandan, and Srebrenican genocides appear as an example in the context of assessing the significance of public acknowledgements and commemoration of tragedies and domestic and international human rights violations (p. 128; similar result in 2013a, p. 124). In Grade 10 Applied history, a sample questions asks about Canada’s involvement during the Rwandan genocide (p. 147; similar result in 2013a, p. 139) in the context of explaining the significance of responses “by Canada and Canadians” to events and developments (MEO, 2018a, p. 147).

An example in Grade 10 Applied history includes “government recognition of the Holocaust and Holodomor and the genocide in Armenia, Rwanda, and/or Srebrenica” in the

context of the acknowledgement of consequences and the commemoration of past events (MEO, 2013a, p. 140; MEO, 2018a, p. 147). The specific expectation under which this result appears asks students to focus on “human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world” (MEO, 2013a, p. 140; MEO, 2018a, p. 147). *Genocide* also appears as an example in the Grade 10 Open Civics and Citizenship program, in the context of a specific expectation about identifying examples of human rights violations (p. 162; similar result in 2013a, p. 154). Finally, the concept appears in the glossary.

Holocaust

The *Holocaust* is described as the “systematic, state-sponsored persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by the Nazis and their collaborators between 1933 and 1945” (MEO, 2013a, p. 176; MEO, 2018a, p. 185). *Holocaust* appears nine times in the 2013 curriculum, and 11 times in the 2018 curriculum. The results across curriculum documents are very similar. In the 2018 curriculum, two of the results are specific expectations, six are examples, two are sample questions, and one is a glossary term.

This concept first appears in Grade 10 Academic history, as an example in the context of responding or connecting with a major event (p. 119; similar result in 2013a, p. 117). It also appears as an example under a Grade 10 Academic history specific expectation about “assessing the significance of public acknowledgments and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (MEO, 2013a, p. 124; MEO, 2018a, p. 128). In an example for Grade 10 Applied history, *Holocaust* appears in the context of a specific expectation about responses of people in Canada to events and development, and how these responses are significant for identities and heritage (p. 141; similar result in 2013a, p. 136). In another example for Grade 10 Applied history, *Holocaust* appears in the context of government recognition in a specific expectation about the acknowledgement and commemoration of past events “with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world” (MEO, 2013a, p. 140; MEO, 2018a, p. 147).

Interestingly, *Holocaust* also appears in a specific expectation for students in Grade 10 Academic history. Students are expected to “analyse the impact of the Holocaust on Canadian

society and on the attitudes of people in Canada towards human rights” (MEO, 2013a, p. 117; MEO, 2018a, p. 119). This concept also appears as an example for this specific expectation, in the context of more open refugee policies, “including those affecting Holocaust survivors and other displaced persons” (MEO, 2013a, p. 117; MEO, 2018a, p. 119). The only sample questions listed under this expectation ask, “Do you think the Holocaust affected Canadians’ views about Canada’s treatment of First Nations, Métis and Inuit? Why or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 119). This is a new sample question. There were no sample questions provided for this specific expectation in the 2013 curriculum.

Holocaust also appears in a specific expectation for students in Grade 10 Applied history. Students are expected to “explain the significance of the Holocaust for Canada and people in Canada” (MEO, 2013a, p. 134; MEO, 2018a, p. 141). One of the sample questions for this expectation asks, “Do you think that the Holocaust affected Canadian’s views about Canada’s treatment of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit in this country?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141). This is also a new sample question. This question and the one described about are two new additions to the revised curriculum.

The final example, *Holocaust Day*, appears in Grade 10 Open Civics and Citizenship in the context of a specific expectation about commemoration and recognition in Canada (p. 165; similar result in 2013a, p. 157). The final result for this concept appears in the glossary.

Holodomor

In the glossary, *Holodomor* is described as a “famine in the Ukraine in 1932-33, engineered by the Soviet government under Stalin, during which millions of Ukrainians starved” (MEO, 2013a, p. 176; MEO, 2018a, p. 185). *Holodomor* appears six times in both the 2013 and 2018 curriculum. Five of these results are examples, and one is a glossary term. The first two examples appear in Grade 10 Academic history, in the context of responses and connections to major international events and developments (p. 119; similar result in 2013a, p. 117), and assessing the “significance of public acknowledgements and/or commemorations in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (MEO, 2013a, p. 124; MEO, 2018a, p. 128). The next two examples appear in Grade 10 Applied history.

These results are very similar to the results in Grade 10 Academic history, in that they are presented in light of responses to events (p. 141; similar result in 2013a, p. 134) and acknowledgement and commemoration of past tragedies and human rights violations (p. 147; similar result in 2013a, p. 140). The final example, *Holodomor Memorial Day*, appears in Grade 10 Open Civics and Citizenship in the context of a specific expectation about commemoration and recognition in Canada (p. 165; similar result in 2013a, p. 157). Finally, this concept appears in the glossary.

Internment

“In the context of Canadian history,” *internment* refers to the “detention, confinement, or incarceration of people, often enemy aliens, under the federal War Measures Act” (MEO, 2013a, p. 177; MEO, 2018a, p. 186). *Internment* appears eight times in 2013 and nine times in 2018. It appears as an example in the 2018 curriculum a total of five times, a sample question three times, and as a glossary term.

“Internment of enemy aliens” appears as an example in Grade 10 Academic history, below a specific expectation about explaining the impact of events and developments during the First World War (MEO, 2018a, p. 113; similar result in 2013a, p. 112). The second example, “internment camps for enemy aliens,” appears in Grade 10 Academic history, below a specific expectation about analysing some ways in which people in Canada “cooperated and/or came into conflict with each other” between 1929 and 1945 (MEO, 2013a, p. 116; MEO, 2018a, p. 117). The third example, “Ukrainian- and Japanese-Canadian internment” appears in the context of a specific expectation about assessing public acknowledgements and commemoration of human rights violations (MEO, 2013a, p. 124; MEO, 2018a, p. 128). The fourth example, “internment of enemy aliens,” appears in Grade 10 Applied history, in light of a specific expectation about describing the impact the First World War had on the lives of people in Canada (MEO, 2013a, p. 130; MEO, 2018a, p. 137). The final example appears in Grade 10 Applied history, in light of apologies for the “internment of Japanese Canadians” (MEO, 2013a, p. 140; MEO, 2018a, p. 147). This example appears under a specific expectation about acknowledgement and commemoration.

In Grade 10 Applied history, a sample question asks, “Why might diaries and letters of Japanese Canadians living in internment camps be a good source on their experiences and perspectives? What other sources would you need to consult to explore other people’s perspectives on the internment of the Japanese?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 128; MEO, 2018a, p. 134). This sample question is presented in the context of a specific expectation about organizing relevant evidence on parts of Canadian history, “ensuring that their sources reflect different perspectives” (MEO, 2013a, p. 128; MEO, 2018a, p. 134). It is a clear example of perspective-taking as a disciplinary approach because it draws on evidence to gain diverse perspectives. Another sample question in Grade 10 Applied history asks, “In what ways was the internment of Japanese Canadians in World War II similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141). This question is suggested in the context of a specific expectation about describing responses to major international events. This is a new question and was not in the 2013 version. Finally, *internment* appears in the glossary.

Residential school system/residential schools

Residential school appears 13 times in the 2013 curriculum, and 30 times in the 2018 curriculum. Of the 30 results in the 2018 curriculum, four results are in the front matter: 1) once in the introduction to the history programs in light of the impact of the schools (p. 11); 2) once in a new sub-section on Indigenous education in Ontario (p. 15); 3) once in a new sub-section on cultural safety (p. 15); and 4) once in a new sub-section on Indigenous expertise and protocols under the “chapter” on considerations for program planning (p. 40). Much like the elementary SSHG curriculum, a common theme across these four front matter results emphasizes students learning the impact and legacy of the residential school system. The remaining results include one specific expectation, 12 examples, nine sample questions, and four glossary items.

In Grade 10 Academic history, one of the examples listed refers to using a concept map to help students “assess the short- and long-term consequences of residential schools” for Indigenous individuals and communities (MEO, 2013a, 2018a, p. 110). This example appears in

the context of a specific expectation about interpreting evidence using “various tools, strategies, and approaches appropriate for historical inquiry” (MEO, 2013a, 2018a, p. 110).

Two examples in Grade 10 Academic history refer to the continued operation of these schools in light of a specific expectation about the main causes of key developments and policies that affected Indigenous peoples in Canada, and how they impact their communities (p. 117 and p. 123; similar result in 2013a, p. 120). Two examples in Grade 10 Applied history also refer to the continued operation of these schools, both in light of a similar specific expectation outlined above (p. 140 and p. 144; similar result in 2013a, p. 136). A related sample question for the first example asks, “How did the continued operation of residential schools affect FNMI individuals and communities in Canada during this period?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 140).

Another example in Grade 10 Academic history is presented in the context of assessing “the significance of public acknowledgements and/or commemoration” of past tragedies and human rights violations (MEO, 2013a, p. 124; MEO, 2018a, p. 128). A relevant sample question suggestion for this expectation asks, “What events led to Stephen Harper’s statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools in 2008? Did this apology lead to changes in attitudes towards and/or in policies directed at FNMI individuals and communities in Canada? Why or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 129).

In Grade 10 Applied history, one of the examples refers to using the concept of historical perspective “when evaluating evidence about residential schools” in the context of a specific expectation about using the concepts of historical thinking when evaluating evidence and forming conclusions about events, developments, and issues (MEO, 2013a, p. 129; MEO, 2018a, p. 135). This is a clear example of a result that engages historical perspective using evidence.

Interestingly, one of the specific expectations for Grade 10 Academic history asks students to “describe how the residential school system and other government policies and legislation, as well as the attitudes that underpinned them, affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114). It also expects students to consider the long-term consequences of these systems and policies. This specific expectation did not exist in 2013. Rather, the expectation states that students will “describe attitudes towards and significant actions affecting ethnocultural minority groups in Canada,” and lists ‘residential schools’ as an

example (MEO, 2013a, p. 131). An example listed under the revised specific expectation makes reference to “mandatory attendance at residential schools” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114). A sample question suggested under the specific expectation asks, “How did the experiences of children in residential schools differ from the experiences of children in training schools and in public schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114).

A similar example result is found in Grade 10 Applied history. In this case, “mandatory attendance in residential schools” is listed under a specific expectation about describing some challenges facing Indigenous peoples in Canada (MEO, 2018a, p. 137). Two relevant sample questions under this specific expectation ask, “Why was it mandatory for status Indians to attend residential schools? What were the goals of these schools?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 131; MEO, 2018a, p. 137) and “How did the residential school experiences of First Nations and Métis children differ?” (MEO, 2018a, p.137).

One of the sample questions in Grade 10 Academic history asks, “How was Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s apology for residential schools viewed by Indigenous people? By various non-Indigenous Canadians?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 127). A variant of this question appears in 2013 as well and is suggested under a specific expectation about identifying key developments and issues “that have affected the relationship between the federal/provincial governments and First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities” and analysing these developments and issues “from various perspectives” (MEO, 2013a, p. 123; MEO, 2018a, p. 127). “Ottawa’s apology for the residential school system” also appears as an example for a Grade 10 Applied history specific expectation that asks students to describe issues and developments that have affected relations between the government and Indigenous individuals and communities (MEO, 2013a, p. 139; MEO, 2018a, p. 146). The “Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement” also appears as an example for this specific expectation (MEO, 2018a, p. 146).

In Grade 10 Applied history, apologies for the school system are addressed as an example under a specific expectation about acknowledgement and commemoration of past tragedies and human rights violations (p. 147; similar result in 2013a, p. 140). A related sample question asks, “What was the purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Do you think the commission was an effective response to the history of residential schools? Why, or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 148). This question has been added to the 2018 curriculum.

Another sample question in Grade 10 Applied history asks, “In what ways was the internment of Japanese Canadians in World War II similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of FNMI in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141). This result was previously addressed in the results for ‘internment.’ Another sample question in Grade 10 Applied history asks, “What are some ways in which the residential school system continues to affect the lives of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals and communities in Canada?” under a specific expectation about describing key developments and policies that affected Indigenous peoples, and their continued impact on their lives (MEO, 2018a, p. 146).

Finally, *residential school system* and *residential schools* appear in the glossary, as part of their glossary term listing. *Residential schools* also appear twice, under the glossary for *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)* (p. 194). In 2013, *residential schools* only appeared twice in the glossary. As was the case with the SSHG curriculum, the TRC was not found in the glossary of the 2013 CWS curriculum.

Sixties Scoop

Sixties Scoop refers to the removal of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children “from their homes and their subsequent placement in the foster care system” (MEO, 2018a, p. 192). In most cases, the children were placed with non-Indigenous families, “without consent of their parents, guardians, or communities” (MEO, 2018a, p. 192). *Sixties Scoop* does not appear in the 2013 curriculum, but appears six times in the 2018 CWS curriculum. It appears as an example twice, a sample question twice, and in the glossary twice. The first time it appears is as an example for Grade 10 Academic history, under a specific expectation about describing “social conflict and/or inequality in Canada” and analysing them “from multiple perspectives” (MEO, 2018a, p. 121). A sample question also appears under this particular specific expectation, and asks, “What was the Sixties Scoop? What was the goal of this policy? How did Indigenous people view this policy? How were Indigenous people affected by this policy? Do you think this policy was a continuation of earlier government policies targeting FN and/or I children? Why or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 121).

In Grade 10 Applied history, *Sixties Scoop* appears as a sample question that asks, “What was the Sixties Scoop? What attitudes underpinned this policy? In what ways were they a continuation of government attitudes towards Indigenous peoples?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 143). This sample question was suggested in the context of a specific expectation about describing key political developments and government policies that impacted Indigenous people in Canada, and how it affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals and communities. *Sixties Scoop* also appears as an example in Grade 10 Applied history, in the context of a specific expectation about developments and issues that affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities in Canada (MEO, 2018a, p. 144). Finally, this concept appears twice in the glossary. In addition to appearing as the glossary term itself, it also appears in the definition, in the context of “victims of the Sixties Scoop” (MEO, 2018a, p. 192).

This chapter sought to provide information about the main findings for this study. The following chapter will describe these results in more detail, and will situate them in light of the theories and concepts outlined in the literature review.

CHAPTER VI: INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter, we found that the revised SSHG and CWS curricula address some of the previous version's limitations, and that there are still ways in which the curricula can be improved. This chapter will be sub-divided into two main parts. The first part will discuss the glossary terms that were categorized as difficult knowledge, and the main thematic results from that part of the study. The second part will discuss my observations in light of the critical sociocultural approach in order to present limitations of the study and propose ways to move the research forward.

Difficult Knowledge in the History Curriculum

There are over 35 new terms in the 2018 SSHG curriculum glossary, and more than 25 are related to Indigenous histories, cultures, and perspectives. Similarly, of the 35+ new terms in the 2018 CWS curriculum glossary, more than 25 of these terms are related to Indigenous histories, cultures, and perspectives. These additions include terms that could potentially promote difficult conversations in the classroom – events and issues related to colonialism, colonization, the pass system, and the Sixties Scoop, for example.

These difficult knowledge topics were not the only ones that were closely examined in the study. In order to gain a sense of the ways in which diverse perspectives are represented in light of difficult histories, the analysis also considered the ways in which the curriculum represented other difficult knowledge topics such as genocide (Grades 7, 8, and 10), the Komagata Maru incident (Grades 7 and 8), Holodomor (Grade 10), antisemitism and the Holocaust (Grade 10), and the internment of enemy aliens (Grade 10). This part of the chapter will begin with a brief discussion of the results for these terms.

Genocide

Genocide appears in the history curriculum for Grades 7, 8, and 10. It did not previously appear in the 2013 SSHG curriculum, and was added to the 2018 document a total of four times. “Genocide of the Beothuk” appears twice in the revised version – once as part of a sample question and once as an example of some key changes that occurred in and affected Canada

between 1800 and 1850 (MEO, 2018b, p. 153 and 154, respectively). Both results are found in the Grade 7 history curriculum. The sample question asks, “Who or what was most responsible for the genocide of the Beothuk?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153). It is worth noting that the 2013 SSHG document previously represented this as the “extinction of the Beothuk” in Newfoundland (MEO, 2013b, p. 144). This change in vocabulary can be considered significant because it invites students to consider not only how contact between Europeans and the Beothuk led to the extinction of the Beothuk, but also how the term genocide can be applied and understood in relation to the Beothuks’ experiences of European contact and settlement. This presents an excellent opportunity for students to study the theories surrounding the extinction of the Beothuk.

Similarly, an example in Grade 8 history references *cultural genocide* in the context of communicating results of inquiries (MEO, 2018b, p. 160). This is a first for the curriculum document as it did not previously include this concept. Now, *cultural genocide* is listed alongside examples such as “residential school system, racism, assimilation, pass system” and reconciliation (MEO, 2018b, p. 160). It is an important sign of a progressive move forward, though much work is still to be done if we hope to support teachers who are tasked with introducing this difficult topic in the classroom.

Although interesting, the results in the Grade 7 and 8 history curriculum do not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural approaches, and they do not draw on Indigenous epistemic themes. In asking the questions outlined in Table 1 from Chapter 3 and Table 4 in Chapter 4, I concluded that these results do not engage historical or sociocultural perspectives because they do not address concepts such as evidence, diverse perspectives, identities, subjectivities, and or positionalities.

The results for *genocide* in the 2018 CWS curriculum are a little disappointing. Unlike the SSHG curriculum, the CWS curriculum does not include *cultural genocide*. *Genocide* appears six times total in both the 2013 and 2018 CWS curriculum. The results are similar, and are mainly presented in Grade 10 Academic and Applied history as examples in the context of Canada’s response to the genocide in East Timor (as seen on p. 122 of the 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 119 of 2013 CWS curriculum), public acknowledgement, commemoration and government recognition of the Armenian, Rwandan, and Srebrenican genocides (as seen on p.

128 and p. 147 of the 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 124 and p. 140 of the 2013 CWS curriculum). The one sample question, framed as a response by Canada, is found in Grade 10 Applied history, and asks about Canada's involvement in Rwanda (as seen on p. 147 of the 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 139 of the 2013 CWS curriculum). One example appears in Grade 10 Open civics and citizenship, in the context of a specific expectation about identifying examples of, and responses to, human rights violations (as seen on p. 162 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 154 of 2013 CWS curriculum).

Much like the results for the Grade 7 and 8 history curriculum, the results for Grade 10 history do not explicitly engage historical perspectives and they do not engage Indigenous epistemic themes. Although not explicit, there is one result which could potentially be perceived as an invitation to consider sociocultural perspectives. An example for Grade 10 Applied history, this result is set in the context of a specific expectation about describing some ways in which Canada has acknowledged and/or commemorated past human rights violations and tragedies. The specific expectation that this result is tied to suggests that students are expected to use this information to explain the significance “of these acknowledgements/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (MEO, 2013a, pp. 139-140; MEO, 2018a, p. 147). Though the result itself does not engage sociocultural perspectives by framing the difficult knowledge with concepts associated with one's identity, subjectivity, and/or positionality, it is part of a specific expectation about impacts on identity. As a result, it can be considered an implicit example of engaging sociocultural perspective when dealing with difficult knowledge. This kind of result was very common in the study, and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Komagata Maru

The results for *Komagata Maru*, which appear in the 2018 SSHG curriculum, clearly engage disciplinary approaches through historical perspective. Of the three results, one is part of a sample question and another is an example for Grade 8 history. The sample question asks, “Who provided newspaper coverage of the Komagata Maru incident? Whose perspectives do these stories provide? What other sources might you consult when investigating the perspectives of South Asians trying to immigrate to Canada in this period?” (MEO, 2013b, p. 153; MEO,

2018b, p. 165). This result clearly engages historical perspective through evidence (e.g., newspaper coverage of the incident) and the exploration of diverse perspectives (South Asians). It is an excellent way to engage disciplinary approaches through historical perspective. The example also presents a way to engage disciplinary approaches through historical perspective. This example, found in Grade 8 history, references “a poem written from the perspective of a passenger on the Komagata Maru” in the context of a specific expectation about communicating results (MEO, 2013b, p. 154; MEO, 2018b, p. 166). This result engages historical perspective by inviting students to write a poem from the perspective of an individual personally affected by the Komagata Maru incident. In order to better understand these perspectives, it would be necessary to consult appropriate primary source evidence.

Although these results clearly engage disciplinary approaches through historical perspective, both the sample question and the example fail to engage with sociocultural perspectives. Sociocultural perspectives were considered absent because the results did not address identity, subjectivities, and/or positionalities.

Holodomor

Holodomor appears six times in both the 2013 and 2018 CWS curriculum. The results in the 2013 and 2018 documents are similar, and are mainly in the context of Canada’s response to (p. 119 and p. 141 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 117 and p. 134 of 2013 CWS curriculum), government recognition of, public acknowledgement of, and commemoration of (p. 128 and p. 147 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 124 and p. 140 of 2013 CWS curriculum) international events. The results are not framed using the concepts related to historical perspective (context, evidence, and diverse perspectives), and therefore do not appear to promote this disciplinary approach. There are three results which could potentially be perceived as invitations to consider sociocultural perspectives, although they are not explicit. Each of the three examples are set in the context of specific expectations about analysing or describing responses to events or developments and explaining their significance for identities in Canada (p. 119, 141, and 147 of 2018 CWS curriculum). Although these results do not engage sociocultural perspectives by framing the difficult knowledge with concepts associated with one’s identity, subjectivity, and/or

positionality, these results are part of specific expectations about impacts on identity. As a result, they can be considered implicit examples of engaging sociocultural perspective when dealing with difficult knowledge.

Antisemitism and the Holocaust

Antisemitism appears in the Grade 10 history curriculum, however, the results do not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives. The concept is found a total of five times in both the 2013 and 2018 documents, in both Academic and Applied history. The examples are in the context of “attitudes towards as well as discrimination against...non-Indigenous ethnocultural groups in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114; similar result in 2013a, p. 113), “challenges facing immigrants and other non-Indigenous ethnocultural minorities in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 137; similar result in 2013a, p. 131), and the “significance of the Holocaust for Canada and people in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141; similar result in 2013a, p. 134). None of the results integrate concepts related to historical and sociocultural perspectives.

Holocaust also appears in the Grade 10 history curriculum. Interestingly, this concept is featured in two specific expectations for Grade 10 Academic and Applied history. As mentioned earlier, the overall and specific expectations represent the mandated curriculum. According to the first specific expectation, by the end of the course, students in Grade 10 Academic history will be able to “analyse the impact of the Holocaust on Canadian society and on the attitudes of people in Canada towards human rights” (MEO, 2013a, p. 117; MEO, 2018a, p. 119). A sample question related to this specific expectation asks, “Do you think the Holocaust affected Canadians’ views about Canada’s treatment of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit? Why or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 119). This question has been added to the 2018 document and invites students to consider the ways in which this international event contributed to Canadians’ understanding of Canada’s treatment of Indigenous peoples, which is an interesting angle to take when learning about the Holocaust.

According to the other specific expectation, by the end of the course, students in Grade 10 Applied history will be able to “explain the significance of the Holocaust for Canada and people in Canada” (MEO, 2013a, p. 134; MEO, 2018a, p. 141). Once again, a related sample

question asks whether the Holocaust may have affected Canadian's views about the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada (as seen on p. 147 of 2018 CWS curriculum). Much like the sample question in the Academic history course, this one has also been added to the 2018 CWS document. *Holocaust* appears a total of nine times in 2013 and 11 in 2018. The two new additions in 2018 are both sample questions related to how the event may have affected views about the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada (as seen on p. 119 and p. 141 in the revised document). It is interesting that the revised curriculum attempts to draw ties between the Holocaust and the treatment of Indigenous peoples. Surely, this would lead to difficult conversations about Canada's past.

The other results for *Holocaust* are represented as examples in the context of Canada's response to (p. 119 and p. 141 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 117 and p. 136 of 2013 CWS curriculum), and public acknowledgement and commemoration of (p. 128 and p. 147 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 124 and p. 140 of 2013 CWS curriculum) major international events. These results, however, do not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives.

A few of the results are situated in the context of understanding impacts on identities. These results are mainly examples set in the context of specific expectations about explaining the significance of responses to international events for identities in Canada (as seen on p. 119 and p. 141 of the 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 117 and p. 136 of the 2013 CWS curriculum). As such, they represent examples of instances where sociocultural perspectives are implicitly used to frame one's understanding of a difficult knowledge topic.

Internment of Enemy Aliens

When it comes to the Grade 10 history curriculum, there is a lot of overlap in results for *internment* and *enemy aliens*. *Internment* appears eight times in 2013 and nine times in 2018, and *enemy aliens* appears 11 times in 2013 and 12 times in 2018. The results for *enemy aliens* are mainly represented as examples (with one sample question) set in the context of the politics of key events during World War I (p. 113 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 112 of 2013 CWS curriculum), cooperation and conflict (p. 117 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 116 of 2013 CWS curriculum), and the impacts on different people in Canada (including Indigenous peoples) (p.

118, p. 136, and p. 137 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 116 and p. 130 of 2013 CWS curriculum). These results do not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives. For more detailed information about these results, please refer to the table in Appendix B.

The results for *internment*, however, are much more interesting. While most of the results are situated in contexts similar to those outlined above for *enemy aliens*, two sample question results for Grade 10 Applied history stand out. The first question asks, “Why might diaries and letters of Japanese Canadians living in internment camps be a good source on their experiences and perspectives? What other sources would you need to consult to explore other people’s perspectives on the internment of the Japanese?” (MEO, 2013a, p. 128; MEO, 2018a, p. 134). This question is posed in the context of a specific expectation about selecting and organizing relevant evidence, ensuring that these sources reflect different perspectives. Although it clearly engages historical perspective through evidence (e.g., diaries and letters) and diverse perspectives (e.g., Japanese Canadians), it does not engage sociocultural perspectives because it does not encourage students to consider identities, subjectivities, and/or positionalities.

The second sample question asks, “In what ways was the internment of Japanese Canadians in World War II similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141). It is posed in the context of a specific expectation about responses of Canada and people in Canada to international events. It is asking students to draw ties between internment and the residential school system, which is an interesting approach – one not available in the 2013 version. This question implicitly engages historical perspective through the use of evidence and diverse perspectives. Though it does not explicitly call for these engagements, in order to understand the ways in which internment was similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of FNMI children in residential schools it is necessary to understand diverse perspectives through the exploration of relevant primary and secondary source evidence.

The remaining results for *internment* are represented as examples, and do not explicitly engage perspective-taking. They are mainly presented in the context of specific expectations concerning examples of cooperation and conflict (p. 117 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 116 of 2013 CWS curriculum), and of public acknowledgment and commemoration of domestic and international human tragedies and human rights violations (p. 128 of 2018 CWS curriculum and

p. 124 of 2013 CWS curriculum). The final example result for *internment* references apologies for the internment of Japanese Canadians as a form of acknowledgement of the consequences of past events (p. 147 of 2018 CWS curriculum and p. 140 of 2013 CWS curriculum). The specific expectation tied to this example suggests students are expected to also “explain the significance of these acknowledgements/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (MEO, 2013a, p. 140; MEO, 2018a, p. 147). Though this does not explicitly engage sociocultural perspective, it does reference identities and will be discussed more in the sociocultural perspective section of this chapter.

Colonialism and Colonization

Colonialism was added to the revised 2018 SSHG and CWS documents, and did not appear in the 2013 curriculum. It now appears 13 times throughout the 2018 SSHG curriculum and six times throughout the 2018 CWS curriculum. This concept is found in the front matter and program overviews for both of the revised documents, which is significant. Although these sections of the policy document do not represent the mandated curriculum, they still represent the main visions and goals of the programs. In the four front matter results for the 2018 SSHG curriculum, *colonialism* appears in the introduction to the social studies programs and in the introduction to the history programs, mainly in light of the role, impact, and/or legacy of colonialism. Similarly, in the one front matter result for the 2018 CWS curriculum, *colonialism* appears in the introduction to the history programs (p. 11). Again, this concept appears in light of the impact of colonialism.

In the overview for Grade 5 social studies, the 2018 SSHG document states that students will use “primary sources, such as treaties, historical images, and diaries, as well as secondary sources,” to “investigate, from a variety of perspectives, relationships within and interactions between these communities as well as the impact of colonialism” (MEO, 2018b, p. 109). Although not part of the mandated curriculum, this result is a very explicit example of historical perspective through evidence and diverse perspectives. It also refers to “relationships within and interactions between” Indigenous nations and European settler communities (MEO, 2018b, p. 109), which could potentially allude to the engagement of sociocultural approaches by drawing

on relationality. The revised SSHG document also references students' understanding of the impact of colonialism in the overview for Grade 5 social studies (p. 109). The two framing questions listed in the overview for Grade 5 social studies ask, "What are some ways in which colonialism has shaped Canada" (MEO, 2018b, p. 110) and "How does colonialism still affect Canada today" (MEO, 2018b, p. 111). These questions do not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives.

Similarly, the two framing questions listed in the overviews for Grade 10 Academic and Applied history in the 2018 CWS curriculum ask students to consider the ways in which colonialism continued to have an impact on Indigenous peoples between 1929 and 1945 (see p. 108 for Academic history and p. 132 for Applied history). Again, *colonialism* appears in light of the impact of colonialism, but does not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives. If it had appeared in light of the impact of colonialism on identity, then it would have been coded as implicitly engaging sociocultural perspective.

In addition to the results outlined above, *colonialism* also appears as an example in Grade 5 and 6 social studies. The examples are both in the context of communicating results, and do not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives. This result is not considered significant. Although *colonialism* now appears a total of 13 times throughout the SSHG curriculum, it does not appear once in the Grade 7 or 8 history programs. Similarly, the revised CWS curriculum now references *colonialism* a total of six times, but not once does the term actually come up in the mandated curriculum. Table 9 below reveals the curriculum hierarchies associated with results for this concept in the 2018 SSHG and CWS curricula.

Table 9: SSHG and CWS Curriculum Hierarchies for Colonialism

SSHG Curriculum	CWS Curriculum
4 Front Matter	1 Front Matter
2 Overview	0 Overview
2 Overview – Framing Question	2 Overview – Framing Question
2 Example	0 Example
3 Glossary	3 Glossary

The glossary defines *colonialism* as a policy of political control – a “philosophy of domination, which involves the subjugation of one or more groups of people to another” (MEO,

2018b, p. 213). With the front matter emphasizing students learning about the impact of colonialism, it is surprising to note the lack of entry points provided in the mandated curriculum, especially in the history curriculum. Although the front matter suggests that the history program for Grades 7 and 8 will encourage students to “learn about the impact of colonialism...on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 12), and “learn about the legacy of colonialism and how it continues to impact people in Canada today” (MEO, 2018b, p. 22), there are actually no opportunities for this kind of learning in the Grade 7 and 8 history curriculum. This absence represents missed opportunities to learn “about and through colonialism,” a learning initiative that “can lead to the transformation that the TRC has called for” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 253). These missed opportunities will be explored in the following section of this chapter.

Colonization was also added to the revised 2018 SSHG and CWS documents, and did not appear in the 2013 curriculum. Although it only appears in the glossary of the 2018 CWS document, it appears a total of nine times in the 2018 SSHG document, mainly throughout the mandated curriculum. Although not part of the Grade 7 or 8 history curriculum, a particularly significant sample question for Grade 5 social studies asks, “What were some beliefs and attitudes of European settlers about land ownership and Indigenous people? What was the significance of these beliefs/attitudes for colonization and European settlement?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 116). These sample questions represent opportunities to engage historical perspective through diverse perspectives. This sample question is set in the context of a specific expectation about describing “main motives for Europeans’ exploration of Indigenous lands that were eventually claimed by Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 115). This sample question seems to represent Anderson’s (2017) Master National Narrative Template 1.0 in that it appears to follow “a meta-narrative of Canadian history that communicates the struggle and progressive triumph of early European settlers in taming the Canadian wilderness” (p. 17). It is interesting that the SSHG curriculum decided to emphasize European settler perspectives for the purpose of better understanding colonization. Again, this represents a missed opportunity to learn about and from colonization and from the perspectives of Indigenous individuals and communities.

The one and only example for Grade 8 history refers to “a dance representing aspects of the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples” in the context of communicating results of

inquiries (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). This result suggests that students would need to understand Indigenous peoples' perspectives in order to better understand the impact of colonization. This result implicitly suggests that students would engage historical perspective through diverse perspectives. It does not, however, engage sociocultural perspectives because it does not explicitly address the impact on identity.

Pass System

Although a new addition to the 2018 SSHG and CWS documents, *pass system* appears three times in the SSHG curriculum and twice in the CWS curriculum. In the Grade 8 history curriculum, *pass system* is represented as an example in the context of a specific expectation about communicating results of inquiries (p. 160) and in the context of a specific expectation about analysing the ways in which challenges affected Indigenous peoples pre-World War One (p. 163). The Grade 10 Applied history curriculum represents 'pass system' as an example of how challenges affected Indigenous peoples post-World War One (p. 137). These results do not explicitly address historical or sociocultural perspectives.

Residential School System

The results for *residential school* are significant and make up the largest part of the study. One finding to discuss is the significant increase in occurrences for both the 2018 SSHG and CWS documents. *Residential school* appears nine times in the 2013 SSHG curriculum and 50 times in the 2018 curriculum, and 13 times in the 2013 CWS curriculum and 30 times in the 2018 curriculum. The front matter for both revised documents now include multiple references to the residential school system, which is significant as this was not the case in 2013. Although the study meant to focus specifically on the mandated expectations, it is still important to note the results in the front matter, as they represent the visions and goals of the programs. It is important to keep these in mind when reviewing the overall and specific expectations outlined in the mandated curriculum, as they allow for an assessment of the policy's successes and shortcomings. In reviewing the entry points provided in the mandated curriculum, one can assess

whether the document successfully supports the visions and goals of the program presented in the front matter and overview pages.

First, I will discuss the common results for the 2018 SSHG and CWS curricula, which are found throughout the front matter. In the revised SSHG and CWS curriculum documents, *residential school* appears in the front matter a total of four times: 1) once in the introduction to the history programs (p. 11 in 2018 SSHG and p. 15 in 2018 CWS) in light of the impact of the schools; 2) once in a new sub-section on Indigenous education in Ontario in the introduction chapter (p. 15 in 2018 SSHG and CWS); 3) once in a new sub-section on cultural safety in the introduction chapter (p. 15 in 2018 SSHG and CWS); and 4) once in a new sub-section on Indigenous expertise and protocols in the chapter on considerations for program planning (p. 38 in 2018 SSHG and p. 40 in 2018 CWS).

In the new sub-section on Indigenous education in Ontario, the result is situated within the recent curriculum revisions, and how they strengthen “the learning connected with Indigenous perspectives, cultures, histories, and contemporary realities, including those related to the residential school system and treaties” (MEO, 2018a,b, p. 15). This invites me to consider whether the revisions succeed with this aim. The sentence focuses on residential schools and treaties, therefore one should (hopefully) find opportunities to engage in learning connected with Indigenous perspectives, histories, cultures, and realities throughout the mandated curriculum. This, however, was not the case, as will be discussed.

The new sub-section on cultural safety draws attention to the fact that teachers must “be aware that some students may experience emotional reactions when learning about issues that have affected their own lives, their family, and/or their community, such as the legacy of the residential school system” (MEO, 2018a,b, p. 15). Though not part of the mandated curriculum, this is an important consideration. In noting the potential emotional reactions students may experience when learning about issues that have personally affected their lives, or those of their family and/or community, the curriculum imagines students relating to the material on an emotional level. Although this particular result is not an explicit example of engagement with identities, relationality, or positionality, it suggests that perhaps we may see these kinds of opportunities in the remaining results for *residential school*.

Finally, in the sub-section on Indigenous expertise and protocols, the curriculum describes how teachers can provide students with opportunities to learn from “Elders, Métis Senators, knowledge keepers, knowledge holders, residential school survivors and intergenerational survivors” (MEO, 2018a, p. 40 and 2018b, p. 38). This represents a promising step towards more engagement with Indigenous oral histories and perspectives in and outside of the classroom. In learning from these individuals and how they derive meaning from the past, students could potentially learn more about Indigenous historical consciousness, and how it differs from historical consciousness as “discipline-oriented historical thinking” (Anderson, 2017, p. 10).

Considering the front matter alone, one might imagine that the history curriculum itself should provide plenty of opportunities for engagement with Indigenous perspectives and histories. There were also results in the course overview pages for the SSHG curriculum (but not for the CWS curriculum). Though not part of the mandated curriculum, the course overview pages provide a description of the visions and goals for each course. In the overview pages for history, Grades 7 and 8, the following is included as an example of questions related to the historical thinking concept cause and consequence: “Why did the residential school system meet with growing resistance from Indigenous families during this period? What happened when parents resisted the removal of their children? Why did some parents not resist?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 139). This result also refers to a question in Grade 8 history (seen on p. 167). Under the specific expectation associated with the sample question, resistance among Indigenous families to residential schools appears as an example (p. 167).

The second result in the course overview pages is found for Grade 8 history. It states that students “will consider the impact of the Indian Act, the residential school system, the Numbered Treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada” (MEO, 2018b, p. 155). The third and fourth results in the course overview pages (seen on p. 156 and p. 157) are found in the overview table, and reference two overall expectations, which appear in the Grade 8 history curriculum and will be described momentarily. The fifth result in the course overview pages is also found in the overview table, and references a framing question. The question asks, “What has been the lasting impact of the Indian Act and the residential school system?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 157). The impact of the residential school system is a common theme

in the SSHG curriculum. This was to be expected, as the front matter suggested that students would gain a better understanding of the impact of the residential school system.

Of the 50 results in the 2018 SSHG curriculum, two are represented in overall expectations, and two results are represented in specific expectations in the history curriculum. This is significant because the overall expectations and their related specific expectations represent the mandated curriculum – what students are expected to be able to *do* with the knowledge. In each strand in history, the expectations are organized into three sections: Applications, Inquiry, and Understanding Historical Context. The first overall expectation in the 2018 SSHG curriculum, organized into Understanding Historical Context, is for Grade 8 history and states that students will “describe various significant people, events, and developments in Canada between 1850 and 1890, including the Indian Act, treaties between Indigenous nations and the Crown, and the residential school system, and explain their impact” (MEO, 2018b, p. 158). This is an important expectation to include in the curriculum, and suggests that the MEO is taking steps to respond to the TRC’s Calls to Action. By making the residential school system a part of the mandated curriculum, the MEO is making an effort to emphasize the significance of this and other examples of the kinds of relationships that have existed in Canada. These relationships can be better understood through explorations of the Indian Act and treaties between Indigenous nations, for example, which are also emphasized in this overall expectation. This is a great way to start the difficult conversations that need to happen in schools. The expectation itself, however, does not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives, and does not engage Indigenous historical consciousness.

This overall expectation includes a specific expectation that states that students will “identify some key factors that contributed to the establishment of the residential school system...and explain the impact of the system on Indigenous individuals and communities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 161). In identifying these key factors, students will come to understand historical context. This expectation implicitly engages historical perspective through context, and invites students to consider the impact on Indigenous individuals and communities. This suggests that students would need to explore Indigenous perspectives to better understand the impact. Since the result does not urge students to consider their and others’ positionalities, this result

does not engage sociocultural perspectives. It also clearly does not offer opportunity to engage Indigenous historical consciousness.

The specific expectation includes four sample question results for *residential school*. The questions are very interesting and read: “Which factors were the most influential in the establishment and administration of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 161); “Why were family connections and language among the first things targeted by residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162); “Why is education about the residential school system a key focus of the calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162); and “What does the imagery in the photographs of Thomas Moore, a First Nations child, supposedly taken before and while he was in residential schools, reveal about the process of assimilation, which residential schools were established to achieve?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162). These are all significant questions, for a variety of reasons. First, it is interesting that one of the questions addresses ties to family connections and language – these connections are significant for Indigenous peoples and this type of question invites students to consider the devastating consequences of the residential school system. The last question is particularly significant for this study because it draws on historical evidence. However, it could potentially be problematic for reasons that will be discussed further in the disciplinary approaches section of this chapter, particularly when it concerns assessing the credibility of evidence.

The second overall expectation in the 2018 SSHG curriculum, also organized under Understanding Historical Context and for Grade 8 history, is similar to the other expectation in that it states that students will “describe various significant people, issues, events, and developments in Canada between 1890 and 1914, including the residential school system, and explain their impact” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163). Once again, it does not explicitly engage historical or sociocultural perspectives, and does not engage Indigenous historical consciousness.

The second specific expectation in the 2018 SSHG curriculum is not related to the overall expectation described above. The specific expectation states that students will be able to “analyse some ways in which challenges affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals, families, and communities during this period (1890-1914), with specific reference to treaties, the Indian Act, the reserve system, and the residential school system...and how some of these challenges continue to affect Indigenous peoples today” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163). Although this specific

expectation (B1.2) in the 2013 SSHG curriculum does not explicitly mention Indigenous peoples, “Native residential schools” is listed as an example of a challenge facing “different individual, groups, and/or communities in Canada between 1890 and 1914” (MEO, 2013b, p. 152). I have noticed that, outside of references to “Native languages” and “Native studies” in the front matter, as part of credit requirements (MEO, 2013a, p. 19; MEO, 2018a, p. 20), the MEO has removed *Native* from the 2018 elementary and secondary school history curricula, and no longer reference “Native women” (2013a, p. 119), “Native land claims” (2013b, p. 114), or “Native residential schools” (2013b, p. 152, 154). For many Indigenous academics, *Native* is viewed as a derogatory term, therefore this can be seen as an attempt to remove such outdated terminology from the curriculum, and by extension, the classroom.

In returning to the specific expectation, to understand how challenges affected and continue to affect Indigenous communities, one would need to have an understanding of Indigenous perspectives. The evidence listed in the 2018 SSHG curriculum specific expectation, mainly treaties and the Indian Act, would shed light on some of the challenges Indigenous peoples faced and continue to face. Although this example implicitly engages historical perspective through evidence, context, and diverse perspectives, it does not explicitly engage sociocultural perspectives.

The specific expectation includes three examples and four sample question results for *residential school*. The examples address: the “disruption of families, including loss of parental control and responsibility, as rights of Indigenous parents were disregarded when their children were removed and placed in residential schools” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163); “the ongoing impact of the residential school system on the development of parenting skills and family/community bonding” (MEO, 2018b, p. 163); and “the legacy of abuse from the residential school system” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164). The four sample questions ask, “Why was it challenging for Indigenous students either to return to their communities or live in non-Indigenous communities after attending residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164); “In what ways is this term (‘intergenerational trauma’) relevant to a discussion of the impact of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164); “How did these rivalries (between Christian churches) contribute to the development of the residential school system?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164); and “When you investigate the short- and long-term impact that residential schools had on First Nations children

and their families, what actions do you think have to be taken to make amends? In this context, how is an apology different from reconciliation?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 164). Again, these examples and sample questions are interesting for a variety of reasons. Specifically, I wish to draw attention to how apologies differ from reconciliation. This will be discussed in greater detail momentarily.

Of the 30 results in the 2018 CWS curriculum, none are represented in overall expectations, and one result is represented in a specific expectation in the Grade 10 Academic history curriculum. The specific expectation states that students in Grade 10 history will “describe how the residential school system and other government policies and legislation, as well as the attitudes that underpinned them, affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals and communities during this period...and explain some of their long-term consequences” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114). This appears to be another way of looking at the impact, which is a common theme in the CWS curriculum results. A related example result references “mandatory attendance at residential schools” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114), and a related sample question asks, “How did the experiences of children in residential schools differ from the experiences of children in training schools and in public schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 114). This is an interesting example of a comparative question to ask, as it could encourage students to consider their own experiences in public schools to help answer the question. This, in turn, could potentially encourage students to engage sociocultural perspectives by considering identities. Unfortunately, the MEO does not take advantage of this opportunity by explicitly engaging sociocultural perspectives. This result simply engages historical perspective through the exploration of diverse perspectives. In asking students to consider how the experiences of children in residential schools differ from those in training and public schools, it would be necessary to better understand the diverse perspectives of children who have attended these schools.

The remaining results for the SSHG and CWS include examples, sample questions, and references in the glossary. The curriculum hierarchies can be seen in Table 10 below.

Table 10: SSHG and CWS Curriculum Hierarchies for Residential School

SSHG Curriculum	CWS Curriculum
4 Front Matter	4 Front Matter
2 Overview	0 Overview
2 Overview – Overall Expectations	0 Overview – Overall Expectations
1 Overview – Framing Question	0 Overview – Framing Question
2 Overall Expectations	0 Overall Expectations
2 Specific Expectations	1 Specific Expectations
11 Examples	12 Examples
22 Sample Questions	9 Sample Questions
4 Glossary	4 Glossary
50 Total	30 Total

The remaining results first address the occurrences in the 2018 SSHG curriculum before moving on to the results for the CWS curriculum. To begin, *residential school* only appears once in the Grade 7 history curriculum, as a sample question which asks, “What have you concluded about why some religious institutions in Canada felt the need to establish residential schools? What evidence supports your conclusions?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153). This question is framed in the context of a specific expectation which states that students will “evaluate evidence and draw conclusions about perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153). This question explicitly engages historical perspective by asking students to consider evidence to support their own personal conclusions. This result does not engage sociocultural perspectives, though, because the questions do not ask reflective questions about how the difficult knowledge relates to identities, subjectivities, and/or positionalities.

The remaining results, a mixture of examples and sample questions, are from the Grade 8 history curriculum. Of the 50 results identified when searching the 2018 SSHG curriculum for *residential school*, 11 results are examples. In addition to the examples listed above, the remaining results refer to the schools in light of specific expectations about: formulating questions “to guide investigations into perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNM and/or I communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada between 1850 and 1890” (MEO, 2018b, p. 159; similar result in 2013b, p. 149) and between 1890 and 1914 (p. 164); and communicating results

of inquiries (as on seen on p. 160 of 2018 SSHG curriculum and p. 150 of 2013 SSHG curriculum). Another example refers to analysing an interactive map that details the expansion of the residential school system in Canada (p. 165). This example appears under a specific expectation about analysing and constructing maps “as part of their investigations into some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period, with a focus on exploring their spatial boundaries” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). These difficult knowledge results are not framed using historical or sociocultural perspectives, and are therefore not significant for the purpose of this study. Although analysing an interactive map that details the expansion of the residential school system makes for an interesting, visual representation of this expansion, the result does not engage historical or sociocultural perspectives.

The expansion of residential schools in Canada appears as an example under a specific expectation about identifying “factors contributing to some key issues, events, and/or developments that specifically affected FNMI in Canada between 1890 and 1914...and explain the historical significance of some of these issues, events, and/or developments for different individuals and/or communities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Three sample questions associated with this example and related specific expectation include: “Why did the number of residential schools increase during this period? What was the significance of this expansion for First Nations and Métis children and their families?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166); “What was the Bryce Report? How did Ottawa respond to it? What does this response tell you about the government’s attitudes towards First Nations children? How did these attitudes contribute to the continuing development of the residential school system?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166); and “How did the attitudes of churches and the federal government influence the design and conditions of residential schools during this period?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). Two of these sample questions engage historical perspective through diverse perspectives. In asking about the attitudes of churches and the federal government, for example, students could potentially learn more about these perspectives. Unfortunately, these sample questions do not engage sociocultural perspectives because they do not engage with concepts related to identity and/or positionality.

Another example result is about “Ottawa’s establishment of per student funding of residential schools in 1891” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). It appears under a specific expectation about

identifying “key political and legal changes that occurred in and/or affected Canada during this period...and explain the impact of some of these changes on various individuals, groups, and/or communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit individuals and/or communities” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). A related sample question asks, “What impact did the Truancy Act of 1891 have on the treatment of students in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). These results are not significant as they do not engage historical or sociocultural perspectives.

Residential school appears as a sample question several times. Of the 50 results in the SSHG curriculum, 22 are sample questions. In addition to the sample questions listed above, a sample question in Grade 8 history asks, “In 1883, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald stated that ‘When the school is on the reserve the child lives with its parents, who are savages, he is surrounded by savages. Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence.’ What does this statement contribute to your understanding of the establishment of the residential school system? What does it imply about the policies the government would pursue with respect to First Nations?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 160). This sample question appears under a specific expectation about interpreting and analysing evidence using various tools. It is an interesting question to ask, and explicitly engages historical perspective through historical context, evidence and diverse perspectives.

A sample question in Grade 8 history asks, “Where would you look for information on student deaths in residential school? Why are school/government records of such deaths incomplete? How do these incomplete records affect our ability to determine the truth about this issue? What other sources could you consult to gain a fuller understanding” “When you are conducting research, what challenges do you face in gathering, organizing, and storing Indigenous primary sources?” “Where could you find documents that reveal the perspective of the federal and provincial governments on the North during this period? Where would you find information on the perspectives of people who lived in this region?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). This is in the context of a specific expectation about gathering and organizing a variety of primary source evidence “about perspectives of different groups and communities,” including Indigenous communities (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). This sample question engages historical perspective through evidence, and raises very important questions about the nature of evidence, especially when it concerns Indigenous primary sources. This will be explored further later in this chapter.

In the context of a specific expectation about assessing the credibility of sources, another sample question for Grade 8 history asks, “Why is it important to examine many types of sources with different viewpoints when examining the impact of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). This question clearly engages historical perspective through evidence and diverse perspectives. It does not explicitly engage Indigenous historical consciousness, though. In the context of a specific expectation about interpreting and analysing evidence, another sample question for Grade 8 history asks, “What do these sources tell you about similarities and differences in the residential school experience of First Nations and Métis children?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Under the same specific expectation, another sample question asks, “What do accounts of First Nations and Métis survivors of residential schools tell you about their differing experiences?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Although these questions do not urge students to consider positionalities and/or identities, they represent interesting and provocative comparative questions to ask. Similarly, under a specific expectation about evaluating evidence and drawing conclusions “about perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166), the curriculum asks, “What conclusions have you drawn about educational policies and practices in residential schools compared to educational policies/practices in non-Indigenous communities?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166).

Finally, *residential school* appears in the SSHG glossary a total of four times: twice, as *residential school system* and *residential schools*. The definition describes the schools as “A network of government-funded, church-run schools for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children, the goal of which was to eradicate Indigenous languages, traditions, knowledge, and culture and to assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream settler society” (MEO, 2018b, p. 223). It is important to note the different definitions provided in the 2013 and 2018 curriculum glossaries. In 2013, the MEO defined residential schools as:

Federally funded, church-run educational institutions for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children, these schools were particularly numerous in the first half of the twentieth century, although some operated into the 1990s. Aboriginal children were removed from their families and sent to boarding (residential) schools as part of a government policy of

assimilation. Students were deprived of their families, languages, and culture, and some were subjected to physical or sexual abuse. (p. 209)

The definition is much more specific in 2013. It is difficult to say why the definition in 2018 has removed the information about physical or sexual abuse. I cannot offer an explanation, however, I can posit that this change was perhaps made to save space in the glossary. The information that was removed from the 2013 definition still appears in the revised 2018 curriculum. For example, “physical, sexual, and emotional abuse” is listed as an example in the 2018 Grade 8 history curriculum, in light of the impact of residential schools on Indigenous individuals and communities (MEO, 2018b, p. 161).

This concept also appears twice under *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)*. Here, TRC is defined as:

A federally commissioned investigative body whose mandate was to learn the truth about the experience of residential school survivors and, in so doing, to create a historical record of and promote awareness and public education about the history and impact of the residential school system. (MEO, 2018b, p. 226)

The glossary results are identical for the 2018 CWS curriculum (see pages 191 and 194 of 2018 CWS curriculum).

In addition to the four identical front matter results and the one specific expectation result previously described, I will now turn to the remaining results for the CWS curriculum. These results, a mixture of examples and sample questions, are from the Grade 10 Academic and Applied history curriculum. Of the 30 results for *residential school*, 12 are examples. In addition to the examples listed above, many of the remaining results refer to the “continuing operation of residential schools” in the context of specific expectations about describing the causes of some “key political developments and/or government policies that affected Indigenous peoples in Canada...and assess their impact on First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities” (MEO, 2018a, p. 117 and p. 140; similar results in 2013 CWS curriculum on p. 120 and p. 136) and in the context of a specific expectation about analyzing the causes of some key events, developments and/or issues that affected Indigenous communities (p. 123 and p. 144). A sample question in Grade 10 Applied history asks, “How did the continued operation of residential schools affect

FNMI individuals and communities in Canada during this period?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 140; similar result in 2013a, p. 136). This particular question engages historical perspective by asking about the impact of residential schools on Indigenous individuals and communities. In order to understand the impact on these individuals and communities, it is necessary to engage with Indigenous perspectives.

Another example was in light of a specific expectation about assessing the significance of “public acknowledgements and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (MEO, 2018a, p. 128; similar result in 2013a, p. 124). A related sample question asks, “What events led to Stephen Harper’s statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools in 2008? Did this apology lead to changes in attitudes towards and/or in policies directed at FNMI individuals and communities in Canada? Why or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 129). “Ottawa’s apology for the residential school system” appears under a specific expectation about describing “some significant issues and/or developments that have affected relations between the federal/provincial governments and FNMI individuals and communities since 1982...and explain some changes that have resulted from them” (MEO, 2018a, p. 146; similar result in 2013a, p. 139). Another example listed with Ottawa’s apology is the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (p. 146). Apologies for residential schools appear as an example in Grade 10 Applied history, in the context of a specific expectation about describing:

some of the ways in which Canada and people in Canada have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world...and explain the significance of these acknowledgements/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada. (MEO, 2018a, p. 147; similar result in 2013a, p. 140)

Formal apologies were a common theme in the results, and can be viewed as “an example of a narrative of compensation” which (wrongly) represents a component of redress (Ng-A-Fook & Smith, 2017, p. 71). I agree that apologies, when relied heavily upon, can be viewed as narratives of compensation which misrepresent components of redress. Inviting students to consider how or

why apologies are often viewed as narratives of compensation could potentially lead to better understandings of how apologies misrepresent redress and reconciliation.

Another example for Grade 10 Applied history, which focused on mandatory attendance, was set in the context of a specific expectation about describing some key challenges the Indigenous individuals and communities faced in Canada (p. 137). Two related sample questions ask, “Why was it mandatory for status Indians to attend residential schools? What were the goals of these schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 137; similar result in 2013a, p. 131); and “How did the residential school experiences of FN and M children differ?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 137). Again, we have a comparative question, which could be useful for engaging sociocultural perspectives, though is not explicitly framed in a way that addresses identity, subjectivity, and/or positionality.

Another example result for Grade 10 Academic history suggests students “use a concept map to help them assess the short-and long-term consequences of residential schools for FNMI individuals and communities” under a specific expectation about interpreting and analyzing “evidence and information relevant to their investigations, using various tools, strategies, and approaches appropriate for historical inquiry” (MEO, 2013a, 2018a, p. 110). This could have been a great opportunity to integrate Indigenous perspectives and/or ways of making meaning about the past, however, the result does not explicitly engage Indigenous perspectives or epistemic themes.

Another example result for Grade 10 Applied history reads that students will, “use the concept of historical perspective when evaluating evidence about residential schools” in the context of a specific expectation about using “the concepts of historical thinking...when analyzing, evaluating evidence about, and formulating conclusions and/or judgments regarding historical issues, events, and/or developments in Canada since 1914” (MEO, 2013a, p. 129; MEO, 2018a, p. 135 for example and p. 134 for specific expectation). This is an excellent example, and fits right into my study, although it raises important questions about the nature of evidence and the challenges associated with Indigenous sources. This will be re-visited in more detail in the historical perspective section of this chapter.

Of the 30 results for *residential school*, nine are sample questions. In addition to the sample questions listed above, one of the sample questions for Grade 10 Academic history asks,

“How was Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s apology for residential schools viewed by Indigenous people? By various non-Indigenous Canadians?” under specific expectation “identify some key developments and issues that have affected the relationship between the federal/provincial governments and FNMI and communities since 1982...and analyse them from various perspectives” (MEO, 2018a, p. 127). A similar question appears in 2013 (as seen on p. 123 of the CWS curriculum). This result explicitly engages historical perspective through evidence and diverse perspectives. It is a great result because it asks how the apology was viewed by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, an approach that can contribute to a better understanding of narratives or compensation and invite us to consider whether apologies represent redress and/or reconciliation.

Another sample question result was previously mentioned when discussing the results for *internment*. The following question, found in the Grade 10 Applied history curriculum, asks, “In what ways was the internment of Japanese Canadians in World War II similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of FNMI in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141). It is set in light of a SE about describing “responses of Canada and people in Canada to some major international events and/or developments that occurred between 1929 and 1945, including their military response...and explain the significance of these responses for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141). This was newly added to the 2018 curriculum and is a good link to make because it invites students to consider similar/shared experiences in light of difficult historical events. It is interesting that the forced attendance is presented in comparison to the internment of Japanese Canadians because this association could raise interesting points on the poor treatment of certain groups of individuals in Canada.

Another sample question for Grade 10 Applied history asks, “What are some ways in which the residential school system continues to affect the lives of First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit individuals and communities in Canada?” under a specific expectation about describing “some key political developments and/or government policies that have affected Indigenous peoples in Canada since 1982...and assess their impact on the lives of First Nations, Métis, and/or individuals and communities” (MEO, 2018a, p. 146). This is an interesting question to ask as it implicitly asks students to consider Indigenous perspectives from the past to the present,

looking at how the legacies of the residential school system continue to impact Indigenous peoples today.

Finally, the last sample question appears in Grade 10 Applied history and asks, “What was the purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Do you think the commission was an effective response to the history of residential schools? Why, or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 148). This itself is significant because the TRC rarely appears in the 2013 CWS curriculum. It only appears once (p. 123) in the 2013 CWS curriculum.

Sixties Scoop

Sixties Scoop has been added to the 2018 CWS document, and appears a total of six times throughout the text. It appears as an example in Grade 10 Academic history, in the context of a specific expectation about describing “significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada...with reference to various groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities...and analyse them from multiple perspectives” (MEO, 2018a, p. 121). Although not explicitly stated in the example, the specific expectation it is linked to engages historical perspective through the analysis of multiple, diverse perspectives. In addition, the related sample question asks, “How did Indigenous people view this policy? How were Indigenous people affected by this policy? Do you think this policy was a continuation of earlier government policies targeting First Nations and/or Inuit children? Why or why not?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 121). This result explicitly engages historical perspective and focuses on Indigenous historical perspectives. This is a significant result, and a good example of an entry point. A similar sample questions for Grade 10 Applied history asks, “What attitudes underpinned this policy? In what ways were they a continuation of government attitudes towards Indigenous peoples?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 143). These represent excellent opportunities to explore narratives related to both Indigenous and government perspectives. In this way, students could potentially learn from these diverse perspectives, which could contribute to their understanding of historical context and how these attitudes persist today.

What are Some of the Purposes for Including Difficult Knowledge?

In reviewing the glossaries, it is clear that there is more difficult knowledge in the revised 2018 SSHG and CWS curricula than there was in the 2013 documents. Difficult knowledge topics such as *colonialism*, *genocide*, *pass system*, and *Sixties Scoop* have been added to the glossaries, and terms that previously appeared in the 2013 documents are now appearing more frequently in the 2018 versions. For example, *residential school*, which appears nine times in the 2013 SSHG curriculum, now appears 50 times throughout the 2018 version. The frequency doubles and then some in the 2018 CWS curriculum: the 2013 version has 13 occurrences and the revised version has 30. It is worth noting that this study does not explore the many other difficult knowledge topics that appear throughout the documents (e.g., eugenics and the Sexual Sterilization Act, youth suicide, etc.). Results outside of the search parameter (i.e., difficult knowledge topics that do *not* appear in the glossary) were not explored. Although this is a limitation of the current study, it provides an interesting avenue for future research concerning difficult knowledge in the curriculum.

It is important for educators and students to acknowledge and investigate the unsettling feelings that arise when studying difficult historical events. A critical sociocultural approach to research considers the emotional dimensions of teaching and learning and creates opportunities to analyze narratives in ways that help to expose the assumptions and omissions that structure historical narratives (Peck, 2010). Like Bekerman and Zembylas (2016), Epstein and Peck (2017) “conceive of historical narratives as embedded in complex webs of power relations that influence whose and which historical narratives are legitimated, as well as how and why historical narratives are constructed, appropriated, contested and otherwise taken up in schools and societies” (p. 7). Critical and sociocultural theories allow for an examination of the contexts in which narratives circulate.

Consciousness is about how we internalize knowledge, make it our own, and use it as a way to interpret the past, present, and future. Though different, historical consciousness and Indigenous consciousness can rely on disciplinary and sociocultural approaches in order to arrive at a mental representation or at a way of imagining the world. When examining difficult knowledge through a disciplinary lens, specifically through a historical perspective lens, it becomes clear that there are many entry points for exploring difficult knowledge using historical

perspective. The history curriculum in the SSHG and CWS curricula emphasize disciplinary approaches through Seixas' historical thinking concepts, therefore these results were somewhat to be expected. Sociocultural perspectives and forms of consciousness are not explicitly a part of the mandated curriculum. As was to be expected, there does not appear to be many entry points for exploring difficult knowledge using sociocultural approaches. Similarly, there are not many opportunities to explore difficult knowledge in ways that engage elements of Indigenous historical consciousness. The following sub-sections will describe these results in more detail.

Historical Perspective

Although I limited my investigation to Seixas' (2006) model of historical perspective as a historical thinking concept, I chose to limit my examination of historical perspective to his model because it is the one used in the history curriculum in Ontario. As is the case with the curriculum, this disciplinary approach often promotes historical distance by discounting affective responses to narratives in favour of more detached, critical evaluations. It is also important to consider the error of presentism, which involves the imposition of contemporary ideas on individuals in the past, and refers to the "assumption that historical people are more like us than they actually were" (Seixas, 2011, p. 144). The 2018 SSHG and CWS curricula both engage historical perspective through evidence, historical context, and diverse perspectives. These results were already previously described at length in the first part of this chapter, therefore I will provide a summary of the significant results.

The first results that come to mind are from the SSHG curriculum, and are part of the data collected for *Komagata Maru*. A sample question for Grade 8 history asks about newspaper coverage of the incident and the perspectives that these stories provide. It also asks students to consider other sources they might consult to investigate the perspectives of South Asians attempting to immigrate to Canada between 1890 and 1914. As mentioned earlier, this result explicitly engages historical perspective through evidence (e.g., newspaper coverage of the incident) and the exploration of diverse perspectives (South Asians). Similarly, in the context of communicating results, an example in Grade 8 history references "a poem written from the perspective of a passenger on the Komagata Maru" (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). Although this result

does not explicitly refer to South Asians, the example does engage historical perspective using diverse perspectives.

The second result that comes to mind is from the CWS curriculum. One of the sample questions for *internment* invites students to consider why diaries and letters belonging to Japanese Canadians living in internment camps would be a good source of evidence to better understand their experiences and perspectives. This question clearly engages historical perspective through evidence and diverse perspectives – in this case Japanese Canadians living in internment camps in World War II. Another sample question invites students to consider how the internment of Japanese Canadians compared to the forced attendance of Indigenous children in residential schools. As mentioned before, this question implicitly engages historical perspective through the use of evidence and diverse perspectives. Though it does not explicitly call for these engagements, in order to understand the ways in which internment was similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children in residential schools it is necessary to understand diverse perspectives through the exploration of relevant primary and secondary source evidence. This kind of comparative question was common in the revised curriculum, particularly in the results for residential school.

The third result that comes to mind involves *colonization* in the SSHG curriculum. Although not part of the history curriculum, this sample question, which is found in the Grade 5 social studies curriculum, invites students to consider the beliefs and attitudes that European settlers held about land ownership and Indigenous peoples, and the significance of these views for colonization. This question explicitly engages historical perspective through diverse perspectives – in this case European settlers. As mentioned earlier, this result represents a missed opportunity to “learn about and through colonialism” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 253) and colonization from the perspectives of Indigenous individuals and communities. The question could have integrated elements of Indigenous historical consciousness, yet it represents a missed opportunity which will be discussed further momentarily.

A majority of the results for *residential schools* suggest that students explore the system using disciplinary approaches. Many of the results for this concept yield comparative sample questions. In the CWS, for example, a sample question invites students to consider how the experiences of children in public schools and training schools differ from the experiences of

children in residential schools. In the SSHG curriculum, a sample question for Grade 8 history invites students to consider sources and what they reveal about similarities and differences in residential school experiences. Similarly, under a specific expectation about evaluating evidence and drawing conclusions “about perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNMI communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166), the curriculum invites students to consider the conclusions they have drawn about “educational policies and practices in residential schools compared to educational policies/practices in non-Indigenous communities?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 166). These comparisons can be drawn by considering diverse perspectives, which would necessarily involve the examination of various sources of evidence, both primary and secondary. Comparative questions in mind, the CWS curriculum also invites students to consider the ways in which “the internment of Japanese Canadians in World War II” was “similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit in residential schools?” (MEO, 2018a, p. 141).

In considering evidence, a sample question for Grade 8 history asks students to consider what the photographs of Thomas Moore, a First Nations child, reveal “about the process of assimilation, which residential schools were established to achieve” (MEO, 2018b, p. 162). The photos were supposedly taken before and while Thomas attended residential schools, and represent an interesting source of evidence. Students can review this evidence to comment on the process of assimilation. However, in analyzing these photographs of Thomas Moore, students might not grasp the difficult realities of assimilation. They might only make assumptions based on the superficial differences in physical attire, for example.

Some of the results for *residential school* invite students to consider the perspectives of those involved in funding and running the schools. A sample question for Grade 7 history, for example, asks students to consider why some “religious institutions in Canada felt the need to establish residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153). As a follow-up question, the curriculum asks, “What evidence supports your conclusions?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 153). This question explicitly engages historical perspective through diverse perspectives (i.e., of the religious institutions involved) and evidence. Similarly, a sample question for Grade 8 history asks students to consider how the “attitudes of churches and the federal government influence the

design and conditions of residential schools during this period?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 167). Drawing on a statement by Prime Minister John A. MacDonald, a sample question in Grade 8 history invites students to consider how this statement contributes to their “understanding of the establishment of the residential school system” and what it implies about “the policies the government would pursue with respect to First Nations” (MEO, 2018b, p. 160). The statement reads, “When the school is on the reserve the child lives with its parents, who are savages, he is surrounded by savages. Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence” (MEO, 2018b, p. 160). In analysing the evidence and answering this question, it is hoped that students will gain a better understanding of the historical context, and of the powerful forces governing these policies.

Another result to highlight is a result for *residential school* found in the revised Grade 8 history curriculum. It invites students to consider where they might find information on student deaths in residential schools. This result clearly engages historical perspective through evidence. The sample question also invites students to consider how these incomplete school/government records of such deaths “affect our ability to determine the truth about this issue” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). Some follow up questions include “When you are conducting research, what challenges do you face in gathering, organizing, and storing Indigenous primary sources?” “Where could you find documents that reveal the perspective of the federal and provincial governments on the North during this period? Where would you find information on the perspectives of people who lived in this region?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). These are important considerations, and raise questions about the nature of truth and the credibility of evidence, especially when it concerns Indigenous primary sources.

Another sample question for Grade 8 history asks students to consider why it is important “to examine many types of sources with different viewpoints when examining the impact of residential schools?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 165). As mentioned in the section on difficult knowledge, this question clearly engages historical perspective through evidence and diverse perspectives. It does not explicitly engage Indigenous historical consciousness, though. This will be described in more detail in the Indigenous historical consciousness section of this chapter.

One example result for Grade 10 Applied history suggests that students “use the concept of historical perspective when evaluating evidence about residential schools” (MEO, 2018a, p.

135). Although this example explicitly states that students will use historical perspective when evaluating evidence, it does not provide examples of appropriate evidence. Finally, a sample question result for Grade 10 Academic history invites students to consider how Prime Minister Steven Harper's 2008 apology for residential schools was viewed by Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians. This question explicitly engages historical perspective by asking students to consider the perspectives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. In doing so, students could potentially develop a richer understanding of the perceived impact of this apology.

There is only one result for *Sixties Scoop* that engages historical perspective. It is a sample inviting students to consider how Indigenous people viewed and were affected by this policy. This is an excellent example of an entry point to consider Indigenous perspectives in light of difficult histories associated with the Sixties Scoop, however, it does not provide relevant sources of evidence to help conduct this kind of investigation.

As mentioned earlier in the framework chapter, Tuck and Yang (2019) have noted that that curriculum studies are concerned with conveying how disciplinary approaches in education connect to power relations in society. Disciplinary approaches can limit students' historical understanding by overlooking the role that political, social, and cultural dynamics play in the "framing of dominant or alternative historical narratives or the functions that they serve" (Epstein and Peck, 2017, p. 3). This is why it is important to consider the ways in which the curriculum engages sociocultural perspective when presenting difficult knowledge.

Sociocultural Perspectives

When it comes to difficult knowledge examined through the sociocultural perspective lens, the curricula do not explicitly integrate or foster notions of positionality or identity. The results do not consider how the sociocultural elements of identity affect how people engage with the past when it concerns difficult knowledge. As discussed in Chapter 3 on conceptual and theoretical frameworks, a sociocultural approach encourages teaching students to understand their and others' positionalities and how they relate to the historical narratives that they come across in and outside of the classroom (Peck, 2010). Sociocultural research on the construction of

historical knowledge serves to extend our understanding of how certain contexts (social, cultural) and factors (race, ethnicity, social class) influence historical understanding (Epstein, 1997). In support of sociocultural research and perspectives, my research examined how difficult histories are framed in light of these considerations. My study considered whether the expectations (specific and overall) associated with difficult histories invite students to consider their own backgrounds and identity and how they shape their understanding of these difficult histories. It also examined whether these expectations encourage the exploration of their and others' own positionalities.

The new sub-section on cultural safety draws attention to the fact that teachers must “be aware that some students may experience emotional reactions when learning about issues that have affected their own lives, their family, and/or their community, such as the legacy of the residential school system” (MEO, 2018a,b, p. 15). Though not part of the mandated curriculum, this is an important consideration for my study. In noting the potential emotional reactions students may experience when learning about issues that have personally affected their lives, or those of their family and/or community, the curriculum imagines students relating to or identifying with the material on an emotional level. Although this particular result is not an explicit example of a sociocultural approach, it implies that we may see these kinds of opportunities in the curriculum (i.e., opportunities that help students relate to or identify with the material).

These opportunities, however, are not present when examining difficult knowledge through a sociocultural lens. The results for the sociocultural perspective lens do not explicitly encourage students to consider their and others' backgrounds and how they shape their understanding of difficult knowledge. Some of the results implicitly invite students to consider the impact of difficult histories on identity. In Grade 10 Applied history, the examples that read, “government recognition of the Holocaust and Holodomor and the genocide in Armenia, Rwanda, and/or Srebrenica” (MEO, 2018a, p. 147) and “apologies for the Chinese head tax, the internment of Japanese Canadians, and/or the residential school system” (MEO, 2018a, p. 147) are both in the context of a specific expectation about explaining the acknowledgement and commemoration of past events and their significance “for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (MEO, 2018a, p. 147). Similarly, several results are connected to specific expectations that invite

students to consider the significance of Canada's responses to major international events or developments, such as the Holocaust or Holodomor, for identities and heritage.

A few of the results are framed in light of specific expectations that emphasize Indigenous identities. "The continuing operation of residential schools" for example, is part of a specific expectation about Grade 10 history students analysing "key causes of some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities in Canada during this period" and assessing "the impact of these events, developments, and/or issues on identities, citizenship, and/or heritage in Canada" (MEO, 2018a, p. 123; MEO, 2018b, p. 144 for 2018 SSHG). As another example, *Sixties Scoop* is part of a specific expectation about Grade 10 Applied history students describing "some significant developments and/or issues that affected First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities in Canada during this period (1945-1982)...and explain the impact of these developments/issues on identities, citizenship, and/or heritage in Canada" (MEO, 2018a, p. 144). Although not part of the history curriculum, the final result, found in the overview for the Grade 5 social studies curriculum, can be considered significant. The text, found when searching for *colonialism*, states that students in Grade 5 social studies will investigate "relationships within and interactions between" "Indigenous nations and European settler communities prior to 1713" (MEO, 2018b, p. 109). Applying *colonialism* to discussions about the relationships between Indigenous nations and European settlers would make for an excellent opportunity to explore early relations between these communities.

Indigenous Historical Consciousness

It is clear that there is more Indigenous content in the glossaries and throughout the documents. Tables 11 and 12 below reveal how often FNMI are referenced, whether explicitly or implicitly (e.g., in reference to residential schools or treaties), in the mandated content standards outlined in the 2018 SSHG and CWS curricula. As seen in Table 11, in 2013, only 5% of the total overall expectations in the SSHG curriculum mentioned FNMI individuals and communities. In 2018, this number has increased to 38%. In the history curriculum alone, the percentage of overall expectations implicitly or explicitly referencing FNMI increased from 0 to 100%. In 2013, only 4% of the total specific expectations in the SSHG curriculum mentioned

FNMI individuals and communities. In 2018, this number has increased to 27%. In the history curriculum alone, the percentage of specific expectations implicitly or explicitly referencing FNMI increased from 0 to 55%.

Table 11: Indigenous Content in the SSHG Curriculum Expectations

2013			2018		
Total Overall Expectations	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Overall Expectations
60	3	5	38	23	60
Total Overall Expectations in History	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Overall Expectations in History
12	0	0	100	12	12
Total Specific Expectations	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Specific Expectations
328	14	4	27	93	345
Total Specific Expectations in History	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Specific Expectations in History
57	0	0	55	38	69

As seen in Table 12, in 2013, only 2% of the total expectations in the CWS curriculum mentioned FNMI individuals and communities. This value has since increased to 27%. In the history curriculum, the percentage of overall expectations implicitly or explicitly referencing FNMI increased from 4 to 61%. In 2013, only 1.5% of the total specific expectations in the CWS curriculum mentioned FNMI individuals and communities. This number has increased to 17%. In the history curriculum, the percentage of specific expectations referencing FNMI increased from 0.8 to 36%.

Table 12: Indigenous Content in the CWS Curriculum Expectations

2013			2018		
Total Overall Expectations	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Overall Expectations
64	1	2	27	17	64
Total Overall Expectations in History	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Overall Expectations in History
28	1	4	61	17	28
Total Specific Expectations	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Specific Expectations
268	4	1.5%	17	48	277
Total Specific Expectations in History	# FNMI	%	%	# FNMI	Total Specific Expectations in History
122	4	0.8	36	48	133

It is worth noting that no other groups are specifically addressed in the overall and specific expectations. The only results that come close are the instances where Holocaust appears in two specific expectations. These specific expectations focus on the impact of Holocaust on Canadian society but do not explicitly list specific groups of people, not even the Jewish community. There is clearly more FNMI presence in the overall and specific expectations, as seen in the tables above. This finding reveals that the content is *there*, but upon closer examination of the content, one can see a lack of integration of Indigenous epistemic virtues/themes, especially in the history curriculum. The expectations are mainly framed as follows:

By the end of Grade 8, students will...evaluate evidence and draw conclusions about perspectives of different groups and communities, *including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities*, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period. (MEO, 2018b, p. 168, emphasis added)

“Including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities” has been tacked on to many of the overall and specific expectations, and can be seen as a superficial attempt to integrate Indigenous perspectives.

As stated earlier in the framework chapter, the introduction of Indigenous Content Requirements in Canada, represented in the overall and specific expectations outlined in the Ontario curriculum, may be critiqued as an attempt to evade the “the transformative project of decolonization with a liberal project of curricular inclusion of Indigenous content” (Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019, p. 20). So, what exactly is involved in this “transformative project of decolonization” (Smith, Tuck & Yang, 2019)? To support moving beyond simple curricular inclusion of Indigenous content, for this study I have chosen to broaden the concept of historical consciousness to include Indigenous consciousness. To guide this component of the study, I have drawn on Marker’s (2011) Indigenous epistemic themes to search for opportunities where the curriculum integrates difficult knowledge in ways that promote Indigenous narratives on colonialism, relationality with land, animals, nature, and the circular nature of time/oral histories.

In performing this analysis, I have discovered that there are multiple missed opportunities for these kinds of engagements throughout the curriculum. Although the new sub-section on Indigenous education in Ontario suggests that the revisions will strengthen “the learning connected with Indigenous perspectives, cultures, histories, and contemporary realities, including those related to the residential school system and treaties” (MEO, 2018a, b, p. 15), in reality the mandated history curriculum does not achieve this when it comes to difficult knowledge. The remainder of this section will be broken down into Marker’s (2011) epistemic themes to help describe some of the missed opportunities found in the Grades 7, 8, and 10 history curricula.

Indigenous Narratives on Colonialism

There were plenty of missed opportunities to engage Indigenous narratives on colonialism. The main missed opportunity was described earlier, and was about how the curriculum could have promoted learning “about and through colonialism” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 253). Although not a part of the history curriculum, a result for *colonization* in Grade 5 social studies invites students to imagine how European settlers felt about land ownership and Indigenous peoples. This would have been an excellent opportunity to explore how Indigenous peoples felt about land ownership and their forced relocation. Although inclusive curricula have attempted to bring the experiences of Indigenous peoples into “more public” conversations about the “consequences of ‘nation building’ as colonization,” Marker (2011) notes that the deeper perspectives of Indigenous peoples “in regard to their understandings of the processes of time and the principles of their knowledge systems are usually missing” (p. 97). This appears to be the case in the revised curriculum. There were many missed opportunities to investigate colonialism using Indigenous perspectives.

Relationality with Local Landscapes, Land, Animals, and Nature

Here, I blend two of Marker’s (2011) epistemic themes. Although Indigenous epistemic themes were not a part of this particular data set (i.e., difficult knowledge results in the history curriculum), these forms of engagement do exist in the curriculum. In the introduction to

“Environmental Education in Social Studies, History, and Geography,” (MEO, 2018b, p. 45) for example, the curriculum references the MEO’s *Acting Today, Shaping Tomorrow: A Policy Framework for Environmental Education in Ontario* (2009b). This framework states that, through environmental education, students “will understand our fundamental connections to each other and to the world around us through our relationship to food, water, energy, air, and land, and our interaction with all living things” (2009b, p. 6). Although the study focused primarily on the results for the Grade 7, 8, and 10 history courses, many significant results were found in the Grades 1-6 social studies courses. The concepts of social studies thinking are slightly different from historical thinking concepts. Though most concepts are similar, social studies thinking concepts include ‘interrelationships’ (as seen on p. 62 of 2018 SSHG curriculum), which require “students to explore connections within and between natural and/or human systems, including how they adapt to and have an impact on one another” (MEO, 2018b, p. 62). A related question for Grade 4 social studies asks, “What does the Inuksuk tell you about the relationships between Inuit societies, the land, and the environment?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 62, presented as an example of a related question for ‘interrelationships’). Similarly, an example provided for a specific expectation about explaining the impact of the residential school system includes, “changes in Indigenous children’s relationship to the land” (MEO, 2018b, p. 161). In considering these relationships, we may draw on some of the epistemic themes outlined in Marker’s (2011) work on Indigenous historical consciousness.

There are many other examples outside the parameters of difficult knowledge. In Grade 7 history, for example, a sample question asks, “How did Indigenous peoples’ traditional knowledge of and their relationship with the land and water affect aspects of daily life in their communities?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 149). There are also examples outside the history curriculum. In Grade 8 geography, for example, a sample question asks, “What is the relationship between land/resources and wealth/power? How has the forced removal of indigenous populations from land with many resources to land with few resources contributed to an inequitable distribution of wealth?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 194). These examples show that there are in fact opportunities to explore relationality with land, however, they are not associated with the results in this study. Future research might benefit from understanding how we can create entry points for these opportunities in future history curricula.

Oral Histories

Oral histories are recognized as primary sources in the footnotes for the history overview pages of the 2018 SSHG and CWS history curriculum. In Grade 7 history, oral histories are often recognized as examples of:

evidence about perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and or Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues related to the shift of power in colonial Canada from France to Britain, using a variety of primary sources (MEO, 2018b, p. 147)

This is the case for Grade 8 history, as well. In Grades 7 and 8, however, oral histories are not referenced as a way to engage with difficult histories. Outside of the footnote referenced above, oral histories are also not referenced in the Grade 10 history curriculum.

Although outside the realm of this study (i.e., not part of the history curriculum, and not concerning difficult knowledge), it is worth noting that the SSHG curriculum makes a couple of significant references to oral histories. A specific expectation for Grade 4 social studies, for example, states that students will:

gather and organize information on ways of life and relationships with the environment in a few early societies, including at least one First Nation and one Inuit society, using a variety of primary and secondary sources in both print and electronic formats (e.g., ...oral history shared by Elders, community members, and/or knowledge keepers). (MEO, 2018b, p. 102)

Here, oral history is included as an example of a way in which students can better understand early societies and their relationships with the environment. In addition to including oral histories as an example of a primary source, the specific expectation also references relationality with environment, which is an interesting consideration.

Again, although outside the realm of this study, a sample question for Grade 5 social studies asks “What biases existed at the time, and continue to exist, against the preservation and reliability of oral histories? Why might knowledge passed through oral history be valued? Why might it not be valued?” (MEO, 2018b, p. 114). These questions raise other intriguing questions

about the nature and credibility of evidence. In the overview for Grade 5 social studies, the curriculum asserts that, using primary sources “such as treaties, historical images, and diaries, as well as secondary sources,” students will investigate the impact of colonialism (MEO, 2018b, p. 109). This result comes up when searching for *colonialism*, and represents a missed opportunity to include oral history as a form of evidence. As Ng-A-Fook and Smith (2017) have noted, oral histories represent an opportunity “to challenge grand narratives” (p. 66). I argue that there should be more opportunities for this kind of engagement in future curricula. The revised 2018 history curricula do not include oral history when addressing difficult knowledge.

This chapter sought to demonstrate that there is clearly more Indigenous content in the 2018 curriculum than there was in the 2013 versions, as seen in the increase in glossary terms (specifically those pertaining to difficult knowledge) and in the increased presence in mandated curricula (i.e., in the overall and specific expectations). However, because the results do not engage Indigenous world-views or epistemic themes, these additions will not necessarily contribute to the development of Indigenous historical consciousness. There is still much room for improvement. The following chapter describes these significant findings and their implications.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

Significant Findings and Implications

My work has made a contribution to current research by shedding light on the absence of Indigenous ways of knowing in the curriculum. At this point it is evident that more research is needed, and that this work should be geared towards providing teachers with resources to help them better integrate Indigenous sources and perspectives. These resources could supplement the revised curriculum documents, and could draw on the entry points and missed opportunities identified in this research. This study explored how the revised history curriculum represents difficult knowledge in hopes that it would shed light on how these difficult knowledge topics are addressed following the TRC Final Report and Calls to Action, and in light of recent literature on the blending of Indigenous and Western epistemologies in the construction of knowledge. Although there is more Indigenous content in the revised curriculum documents, Indigenous ways of knowing, narratives, and perspectives are indeed largely absent. Upon examining difficult knowledge in the revised curricula using a qualitative content analysis, one can see a lack of integration of Indigenous epistemic themes, especially in the history curriculum. In performing this analysis, I have discovered that there are many missed opportunities for the engagements Marker (2011) has called for in his work on Indigenous perspectives and epistemic themes.

The 2018 curriculum revisions in Ontario have allowed me to consider how the documents address the null curriculum in terms of what is absent within the curriculum policy documents. As stated earlier, in his reference to the null curriculum Eisner (2001) notes that “The absence of a set of considerations or perspectives or the inability to use certain processes for appraising a context biases the evidence one is able to take into account” (p. 97). In considering the importance of the official curriculum on difficult knowledge, one must also consider the null curriculum as these absences can be just as revealing. This raises concern about the implications for such absence in relation to the TRC’s Calls to Action and in terms of learning from the past to address reconciliation together as Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

Much like Gibson and Case (2019), I argue that changes to support reconciliation in Canadian history education can be implemented without “radically altering the basis for

determining and assessing historical knowledge” (p. 255). In their work on the implementation of the TRC’s recommendations, Gibson and Case (2019) propose three changes to help support reconciliation in Canadian history education. In describing one of the proposed changes, which focuses on strengthening the centrality and representation of Indigenous peoples, Gibson and Case (2019) identify and explore “six prominent historic failings in the positioning and representation of” marginalized groups, such as Indigenous peoples, in Canadian history education (p. 256). To address these failings, Gibson and Case (2019) report that educators should: (1) integrate significant Indigenous people, developments, and events; (2) “problematize ideology-laden terms,” (p. 256); (3) “present nuanced portrayals of Indigenous people” (p. 257); (4) insert multiple interpretations; (5) “frame inclusive narratives” (p. 258); and (6) emphasize Indigenous sources of evidence. In response to my findings, I wish to emphasize four of these historic failings as they relate to my current study: (1) the integration of “nuanced portrayals of Indigenous people”; (2) the embedding of “multiple perspectives” (p. 257); (3) the framing of “inclusive narratives” (p. 258); and (4) showcasing Indigenous historical sources.

In terms of presenting more nuanced portrayals of Indigenous peoples, Gibson and Case (2019) note that there is a need “to develop curricula and learning materials that highlight the diversity of interests, views, and circumstances of Indigenous people past and present” (p. 257). In an attempt to move away from the misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples, “the curriculum and accompanying resources must counter popular stereotypes with nuanced examples, identified by Indigenous people, of Indigenous successes, resilience, and sophistication” (p. 257). In terms of embedding multiple perspectives, Gibson and Case (2019) note that “overcoming this failing goes beyond introducing additional events that are historically significant from an Indigenous point of view” (p. 257). Rather, it requires educators to open up “the discussion of events and people currently present in the curriculum to include alternative Indigenous perspectives” (p. 257). In terms of framing inclusive narratives, Gibson and Case (2019) note that “more inclusive and explicitly anti-racist interpretations that incorporate Indigenous perspectives and present alternative perspectives must be the basis for constructing overarching historical narratives about Canada’s past” (p. 258). In terms of showcasing Indigenous sources, Gibson and Case (2019) assert that curricula, textbooks, and classrooms “have yet to adequately incorporate Indigenous oral and written accounts into the body of historical evidence that students are invited to consult” (p. 258). After conducting my research, it is clear that the MEO

has not yet taken the steps required to move beyond adding “more Indigenous historical content into a predominantly Euro-Canadian curriculum” (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 254). The MEO has attempted to integrate significant Indigenous people, developments and events. However, the MEO needs to work towards better implementing the TRC’s recommendations and these “historic failings” by emphasizing Indigenous sources of evidence.

den Heyer (2009) has described the integration of Indigenous perspectives in the Alberta social studies curriculum, and how this emphasis leads to anxiety for teachers and pre-service teachers. Many of the teachers may not have educational backgrounds in the area, and as a result it “positions most teacher candidates as students just at a time when they seek to adopt the familiar stance of the teacher” (den Heyer, 2009, p. 344). McGregor (2017) recognizes this challenge and “advocates for the development of communities of practice, drawing on specialists in historical thinking and Indigenous knowledges within and outside schools, to work towards supporting history classrooms inclusive of both historical thinking and Indigenous perspectives” (p. 1). “To answer the Calls of Action identified by the TRC,” Cutrara (2018) argues that:

we have to engage in history education in ways that invite us to respect the different ways of seeing into the past and present, to believe these stories as truths, and to court relationships that allow these ideas to exist together. (p. 268)

“To decolonize and Indigenize Canadian history education,” Cutrara (2018) continues, “we need to recognize the large chasms that lie in the structure of historical thinking that denies respect, truth, and relationality needed to respond to these histories in ways that are more than cursory” (p. 269). Although at the moment it is still unclear in the literature how we might transform education, some scholars have proposed seeking opportunities to reverentially blend epistemologies and pedagogies in an effort to contribute to an innovative and transformational educational system in Canada (Battiste, 2002, 2013; Lévesque, 2016a; Marker, 2011; Seixas, 2012). It is important to shed light on the marginalized chapters in Canadian history, and look to Indigenous methodologies to inform our efforts to be more inclusive. Indigenous knowledge should be incorporated in curriculum documents in order to allow teachers and students to view the integration of Indigenous knowledge as an opportunity to learn from Indigenous perspectives (Battiste, 2013; Donald, 2009). Educators might benefit from an attempt to incorporate

Indigenous knowledge in the curriculum, alongside existing conventional perspectives and knowledge.

“Extending epistemic recognition to Indigenous knowledges and peoples,” McGregor (2017) notes, “is a crucial part of curricular reform” (p. 13). Similarly, including Indigenous knowledges and world-views in history education, Clark (2011) suggests, can potentially allow us to “reconfigure our relationships to the ecologies of our communities and revise our thinking about how to live sustainably in the future” (p. 17). With this reconfiguration in mind, Cutrara (2018) and Marker (2011) argue that we might better understand the ways in which colonialism “divorced people, knowledge, and spirituality from the land” (Cutrara, 2018, p. 256). Although history teachers in Ontario are teaching students about residential schools and other difficult histories, in some cases instruction does not move beyond a telling of these stories. Teaching and learning Canadian history should involve explorations which consider a blend of Indigenous epistemic themes and disciplinary approaches. Like Anderson (2017), I am curious to learn more about what curricular imperatives, in addition to the historical thinking concepts, are needed to “reconcile history’s disciplinary tools with practices of historical consciousness that will engage learners with the moral dilemmas associated with Canada’s colonial legacy, silenced histories, and multiple shifting identities in the present” (p. 6). This is currently the gap that future research should seek to fill.

My research is not about how disciplinary or sociocultural approaches address or contribute to Indigenous ways of knowing or reconciliation, but rather it is about how these approaches can be used to investigate the presence/absence of Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing in the curriculum. Using disciplinary and sociocultural lenses, and the elements listed in Marker’s (2011) work on Indigenous epistemic themes, I noted that there is a significant absence of Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing in the curriculum, specifically when exploring difficult histories. This is something that can be improved upon in future curricula. Future research should be geared towards exploring ways in which teachers might better integrate these alternative views and perspectives, as they could potentially broaden the range of responses students draw on when interpreting the past and taking action in the future.

Limitations and Future Research Opportunities

The boundaries of this study include: (1) its focus on official curriculum (and not the taught, learned, or tested curriculum, which is of equal or greater importance); (2) its emphasis on 3 of the 6 grades in which history is mandated (outside the results section, Grades 3, 5, 6 are not represented because they are structured around social studies thinking skills and not historical thinking skills); and (3) its lack of an assessment of how other resources, such as textbooks and curricular materials, serve to support the curriculum.

The changes to Canadian history education that Gibson and Case (2019) propose in their work “represent demanding expectations for educators” (p.274). Teachers are already challenged, Peck (2010) notes, “by demanding curricula that span hundreds of years and a multitude of topics” (p. 311). Additionally, while provincial curricula may require the development of historical thinking skills such as historical perspective (historical empathy), von Heyking (2011) notes that “teachers often lack the time and the strategies to engage their students in investigations that would enhance their growth in historical thinking” (p. 178). In addition, the evaluation of historical thinking presents another challenge for teachers and pre-service teachers (Duquette, 2014; Morton, 2011).

In their work on reshaping history education in support of reconciliation, Gibson and Case (2019) ask whether it makes more sense to “expand the scope of history courses” to integrate Indigenous histories, perspectives, and world-views, or to preserve disciplinary approaches in history and establish a course that recognize “the broader ways of knowing within Indigenous history worldviews” (p. 274). They lean more towards the integrated, multidisciplinary course because it is realistic to achieve, it provides a space for more inclusive and adequate treatment of Indigenous histories, perspectives, and world-views, and it avoids “an epistemological dilemma” (Gibson & Case, 2019, p. 275). This kind of change, they maintain, does not require a comprehensive restructuring of the curriculum. For this reason, they view integrated courses as a realistic option. The integrated course also provides a space for more inclusive and adequate treatment of Indigenous world-views.

Gibson and Case (2019) suggest acknowledging “the limits of what disciplinary history courses can offer in terms of understanding Indigenous knowledge and worldviews,” and recognizing “the need for a broader, integrated course on Indigenous ways of knowing” (p. 273).

In creating a space for these truths, Marker (2011) contends, “truths that may be different from what we traditionally have been able to hear or believe,” curriculum developers and educators may contribute to the “development of a decolonized and Indigenized Canada” (p. 110). Gibson and Case (2019) recognize that “there is very limited space to add significant, richly contextualized treatments of Indigenous worldviews to the history and social studies courses currently offered” (p. 274). An integrated course avoids the epistemological dilemma that may arise when attempting to reconcile historical thinking with world-views and ways of knowing, particularly when it comes to the notion of truth. Treating these knowledge systems with equal respect, Cutrara (2018) suggests, requires accepting the truth of Indigenous stories, oral traditions, and beliefs as one would accept the truth of historical claims based on evidence. Gibson and Case (2019) believe this implies that students would be “encouraged to question the historical conclusions emerging from non-Indigenous people, but to accept without question the historical conclusions emerging from Indigenous knowledge holders” (p. 275). Gibson and Case (2019) note that “while Elders have much to contribute” to historical and scientific understandings, “they are not indisputable authorities in these areas” and their historical claims “are appropriately subject to scrutiny” (p. 275). “In the spirit of reconciliation,” Gibson and Case (2019) maintain, “this seems the fairest method for adjudicating among competing claims” (p. 275). At this time I would have to agree with this claim.

As Marker (2011) has noted, “history will likely continue to be one of the most difficult subjects for Aboriginal students because of its embedded assumptions about progress and modernity” (p. 111). In either case, whether revising history curricula or adding interdisciplinary courses in Indigenous world-views, Gibson and Case (2019) argue that teachers will need to learn about Indigenous cultural competency and connect with Indigenous Elders and knowledge holders for assistance. As mentioned by Gibson and Case (2019):

It will be counterproductive to increase representation of Indigenous history in curricula and learning resources if teachers are ill-prepared or unwilling to teach about it. In order to teach about Indigenous history effectively, teachers will need to be taught Indigenous cultural competency and sensitivity, and will need to connect with Aboriginal Elders and knowledge holders who may assist, mentor, and be sources of local history and practices. (p. 277)

As described in the Literature Review, notions of empathy, affect, and perspective are connected because they help us relate to others. However, a limitation of the curriculum itself is that, in terms of difficult knowledge, the policy documents do not devote much space to address relationality and relating to others. Future research in curriculum studies should seek to focus on relationality in the curriculum, as relationality “draws attention to the multiple intersecting influences that shape research and knowledge itself” (Gerlach, 2018, p. 1). In Alison Gerlach’s (2018) work on enacting decolonizing methodologies, she describes relationality and the ways in which it “provides the necessary epistemological scaffolding to actualize the underlying motives, concerns, and principles that characterize decolonizing methodologies” (p. 1). Moving forward, it will be worthwhile to explore the benefits and deficits associated with revising history curricula to better incorporate Indigenous epistemic themes, as well as those associated with developing and launching interdisciplinary courses in Indigenous world-views.

In Summary

With the findings shared in this thesis, it is clear that much work is yet to be done to better integrate Indigenous histories, perspectives, and world-views in curricula. For teachers interested in including Indigenous perspectives, they will need to “acquire the time-space in classrooms for considering the four themes of an Indigenous historical consciousness” as it “could inspire students to imagine alternative ways to structure the societies of the future as a result of learning about indigenous ways of experiencing time and space” (Marker, 2011, p. 111). However, including the four Indigenous epistemic themes in texts and history courses “will require a shift in the goals and purposes of studying history” (Marker, 2011, p. 111). Gibson and Case (2019) have recently noted that integrated and multidisciplinary courses may help alleviate some of the challenges associated with shifting the goals and purposes of studying history. Whether designing future history curricula or the proposed integrated and multidisciplinary courses described in Gibson and Case’s (2019) recent work, it would be helpful to revisit the goals and purposes of teaching and learning history. In revisiting the goals and purposes of history programs in Canada, we can perhaps continue to propose new ways of teaching, learning, and understanding the past – ways which draw on Indigenous epistemologies.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Appendix A: Disciplinary and Sociocultural Perspectives and Consciousness: Data and Memos for the SSHG Curriculum Content Analysis

TERM	Freq 2013	Freq 2018	CH	Text	DA: PT-ECD	SA: Posi/ID	IHC	Notes
colonialism	0	13	FM	Social Studies: "Students also explore the role that colonialism has played in Canada and the impact it has had on various communities and individuals" (p. 11 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Role/Impact on various comms/indivs = implicit context and perspectives
			FM	History: "They learn about the impact of colonialism , the Indian Act, the residential school system, treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada" (p. 12 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact on Indigenous indivs/comms = implicit context and perspectives
			FM	Strands for Social Studies Grades 1 to 6: exploring "the impact of colonialism " (p. 22 of 2018)	I: C	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context
			FM	Strands for History and Geography Grades 7 and 8: "learn about the legacy of colonialism and how it continues to impact people in Canada today" (p. 22 of 2018) (CEF = structures)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Legacy/Impact = implicit context and perspectives
			O	Grade 5 Social Studies: "Using primary sources , such as treaties, historical images, and diaries, as well as secondary sources, they will investigate, from a variety of perspectives, relationships within and interactions between these communities as well as the impact of colonialism " (p. 109 of 2018)	E: E, D,	Rela	From variety of perspective s	Pretty clear about evidence and diverse perspectives, and relationships, interesting to include treaties
			O	Grade 5 Social Studies: "Students will also begin to understand the impact of colonialism on contemporary Canada" (p. 109 of 2018) (CEF = structures)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			O-FQ	Grade 5 Social Studies: "What are some ways in which colonialism has shaped Canada" (p. 110 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			O-FQ	Grade 5 Social Studies: "How does colonialism still affect Canada today" (p. 111 of 2018) (CEF = structures)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 5 Social Studies: A2.6 in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries, using appropriate vocabulary...and formats" (p. 115 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 6 Social Studies: A2.6 in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries, using appropriate vocabulary...and formats" (p. 129 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	Look at the formats listed...interesting. Lots of perspective examples there.
			G	Term definition "The policy of establishing political control by one nation over another nation or region, sending settlers to claim the land from the original inhabitants, and taking its resources. It is a philosophy of domination, which involves the subjugation of one or more groups or people to another" (p. 213 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Appears under colonization, "see also colonialism "	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Appears under imperialism, "see also colonialism "	N/A	N/A	N/A	
colonization	0	9	E	Grade 5 Social Studies: A2.6 in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries, using appropriate vocabulary" (p. 115 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 5 Social Studies: A3.3 in SE about "describe the main motives for Europeans' exploration of Indigenous lands that were eventually claimed by Canada and for the establishment of permanent European settlements" (p. 115 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Main motives needs understanding = implicit context and perspectives
			SQ	Grade 5 Social Studies: A3.3, "What were some beliefs and attitudes of European settlers about land ownership and Indigenous people? What was the significance	E: C, D	N/A	N/A	Clear context and perspectives, though

				of these beliefs/attitudes for colonization and European settlement?" (p. 116 of 2018)				could have considered Indigenous perspectives = missed opportunity
			E	Grade 6 Social Studies: A2.6 in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries, using appropriate vocabulary" (p. 129 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 6 Social Studies: A2.6 " decolonization " (p. 129 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	First mention
			E	Grade 6 Social Studies: A3.2 in SE about "identify the main reasons why different peoples migrated to Canada" (p. 129 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Different experiences, need understanding = implicit context and perspectives
			E	Grade 8 History: B2.7 "a dance representing aspects of the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples" in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries using appropriate vocabulary...and formats appropriate for specific audiences" (p. 166 of 2018) - <i>includes info about potlatch ban</i>	I: C, D	N/A	Perhaps	Implicit perspective-taking, could engage Indigenous narratives
			G	Appears under colonialism, "see also colonization "	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Term definition "The process in which a foreign power invades and dominates a territory or land base inhabited by indigenous peoples by establishing a colony and imposing its own social, cultural, religious, economic, and political systems and values" (p. 2013 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
genocide	0	4	SQ	Grade 7 History: B3.1 "Who or what was most responsible for the genocide of the Beothuk?" (p. 154 of 2018) in SE about "identify factors contributing to some key events and/or trends that occurred in and/or affected Canada between 1800 and 1850...and describe the historical significance of some of these events/trends for different individuals, groups, and/or communities, including Indigenous individuals and/or communities" (p. 153 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	Used to be extinction of Beothuk
			E	Grade 7 History: B3.4 "the genocide of the Beothuk in Newfoundland" in SE about "identify key social and economic changes that occurred in and/or affected Canada during this period (1800-1850)...and explain the impact of some of these changes on various individuals, groups, and/or communities, including FNMI individuals and/or communities" (p. 154 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context and perspectives
			E	Grade 8 History: A2.7 "cultural genocide " in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries using appropriate vocabulary...and formats appropriate for specific audiences" (p. 160 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	First time for cultural genocide
			G	Term definition "The planned, systematic destruction of a national, racial, political, religious, or ethnic group" (p. 216 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Komagata Maru	3	3	SQ	History, Grade 8: B2.2 "Who provided newspaper coverage of the Komagata Maru incident? Whose perspectives do these stories provide? What other sources might you consult when investigating the perspectives of South Asians trying to immigrate to Canada in this period?" in SE about "gather and organize information and evidence about perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNMI, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period, using a variety of primary sources" (p. 165 of 2018) - <i>same as 2013 (p. 153)</i>	E: E, D	N/A	N/A	Explicit reference to perspectives and sources
			E	History, Grade 8: B2.7 "a poem written from the perspective of a passenger on the Komagata Maru " in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries using appropriate vocabulary...and formats appropriate for specific audiences" (p. 166 of 2018) - <i>same as 2013 (p. 154)</i>	E: D	N/A	N/A	Explicit reference to perspective
			G	Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	
pass system	0	3	E	Grade 8 History: A2.7 in SE about "communicate the results of their inquiries using appropriate vocabulary...and formats appropriate for specific audiences" (p. 160 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 8 History: B1.2 "loss of decision-making power to federal Indian agents, including the denial of personal rights and freedom under the pass system " in SE about "analyse some ways in which challenges affected FNMI individuals, families, and communities during this period (1890-1914), with specific reference	I: C, E, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit because the SE (not the E) references treaties (primary sources) and

				to treaties, the Indian Act, the reserve system, and the residential school system (p. 163 of 2018)				perspectives
			G	Term definition "An informal administrative policy that restricted the movement of First Nations people by requiring them to obtain a pass from an Indian agent in order to leave the reserve" (p. 222 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
residential school system/ residential schools	9	50	FM	History: "They learn about the impact of colonialism, the IA, the RSS , treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada" (p. 11 of 2018, as seen for colonialism)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit
			FM	Indigenous Education in Ontario (new sub-section): "The revision strengthens learning connected with Indigenous perspectives, cultures, histories, and contemporary realities, including those related to the <u>residential school system</u> and treaties" (p. 15 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	Perhaps	Opens door to possibility of IHC = "learning connected with Indigenous perspectives"
			FM	Cultural Safety (new sub-section): "Teachers should be aware that some students may experience emotional reactions when learning about issues that have affected their own lives, their family, and/or their community, such as the legacy of the <u>residential school system</u> " (p. 15 of 2018)	N/A	Perhaps	Perhaps	Opens up sociocultural perspective (though implicit)
			FM	"Some Considerations for Program Planning in Social Studies, History, and Geography" chapter, under sub-section "Indigenous Expertise and Protocols" (new): "Teachers can provide opportunities for Elders, Métis Senators, knowledge keepers, knowledge holders, residential school survivors and intergenerational survivors, and Indigenous experts in fields such as history, the environment, culture, governance, and law to offer their experience, skills, knowledge, and wisdom to benefit all students." (p. 38 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	Perhaps	Opens up IHC engagement, though implicitly
			E	Grade 6 Social Studies: A3.5 in SE about "describe significant events or developments in the history of two or more FNM and/or I communities in Canada...and how these events affected the communities' developments and/or identities" (p. 130 of 2018)	I: C, D	I: Identities	N/A	Implicit historical-perspective
			SQ	Grade 6 Social Studies: A3.5 "What are some ways in which the residential school experience affected FNMI families and communities?" (p. 130 of 2018)	I: D	N/A	N/A	Implicit: to understand, must understand perspectives
			O	History, Grades 7 and 8, under the Concepts of Historical Thinking, Cause and Consequence related questions "Why did the residential school system meet with growing resistance from Indigenous families during this period? What happened when parents resisted the removal of their children? Why did some parents not resist?" (p. 139 of 2018) - (this example refers to Grade 8 B3.5 on p. 167)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit: to understand, must understand context and diverse perspectives
			SQ	History, Grade 7: B2.6 "What have you concluded about why some religious institutions in Canada felt the need to establish residential schools? What evidence supports your conclusions?" (p. 153 of 2018) in the context of a specific expectation which states that students will "evaluate evidence and draw conclusions about perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period" (p. 153 of 2018 SSHG).	E: E, D	Asks about positionality?	N/A	Good ties to church perspectives on establishment of residential schools Note in methodology that need to limit search to 'residential' so that it picked up the words that were split (e.g., framing question on page
			O	History, Grade 8: "Students will consider the impact of the Indian Act, the residential school system , the Numbered Treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada." (p. 155 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context and perspectives
			O-OE	History, Grade 8: A3 "describe various significant people, events, and developments in Canada between 1850 and 1890, including the IA, treaties between Indigenous nations and the Crown, and the residential school system , and explain their impact" (p. 156 of 2018)	I: C, D, E	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context and perspectives and treaties (evidence)
			O-FQ	History, Grade 8 Framing Question: "What has been the lasting impact of the Indian Act and the residential school system?" (p. 157)	I			
			O-	History, Grade 8: B3 "describe various significant people, issues, events, and	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context

		OE	developments in Canada between 1890 and 1914, including the residential school system , and explain their impact" (p. 157)				and perspectives
		OE	History, Grade 8: A3 Understanding Historical Context "describe various significant people, events, and developments in Canada between 1850 and 1890, including the IA, treaties between Indigenous nations and the Crown, and the residential school system , and explain their impact" (p. 158 of 2018)	I: C, D, E	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context and perspectives and treaties (evidence)
		E	History, Grade 8: A2.1 "the establishment of residential schools for First Nations and Métis children" in SE about "formulate questions to guide investigations into perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNM and/or I communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada between 1850 and 1890" (p. 159 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		SQ	History, Grade 8: A2.5 "In 1883, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald stated that 'When the school is on the reserve the child lives with its parents, who are savages, he is surrounded by savages. Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence.' What does this statement contribute to your understanding of the establishment of the residential school system ? What does it imply about the policies the government would pursue with respect to FN?" (p. 160 of 2018) in SE about "interpret and analyse information and evidence relevant to their investigations, using a variety of tools"	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Referencing a past text, and analysing to understand policies = implicit context and perspectives
		E	History, Grade 8: A2.7 in context of SE about communicating results (p. 160)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		SE	History, Grade 8: A3.3 "identify some key factors that contributed to the establishment of the residential school system ...and explain the impact of the system on Indigenous individuals and communities" (p. 161 of 2018)	E: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit
		SQ	History, Grade 8: A3.3 "Which factors were the most influential in the establishment and administration of residential schools ?" (p. 161 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		SQ	History, Grade 8: A3.3 "Why were family connections and language among the first things targeted by residential schools ?" (p. 162 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		SQ	History, Grade 8: A3.3 "Why is education about the residential school system a key focus of the calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?" (p. 162 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	Interesting question
		SQ	History, Grade 8: A3.3 "What does the imagery in the photographs of Thomas Moore, a First Nations child, supposedly taken before and while he was in residential schools , reveal about the process of assimilation, which residential schools were established to achieve?" (p. 162 of 2018)	E: E	N/A	N/A	Interesting evidence
		OE	History, Grade 8: B3 Understanding Historical Context "describe various significant people, issues, events, and developments in Canada between 1890 and 1914, including the residential school system , and explain their impact (p. 163 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context, diverse perspectives
		SE	History, Grade 8: B1.2 "analyse some ways in which challenges affected FNMI individuals, families, and communities during this period (1890-1914), with specific reference to treaties, the Indian Act, the reserve system, and the residential school system ...and how some of these challenges continue to affect Indigenous peoples today" (p. 163 in 2018)	E: C, D, E	N/A	N/A	
		E	History, Grade 8: B1.2 "disruption of families, including loss of parental control and responsibility, as rights of Indigenous parents were disregarded when their children were removed and placed in residential schools " (p. 163 of 2018)				Interesting examples here...all difficult knowledge.
		E	History, Grade 8: B1.2 "the ongoing impact of the residential school system on the development of parenting skills and family/community bonding" (p. 163 of 2018)	I: C	Perhaps	N/A	
		E	History, Grade 8: B1.2 "the legacy of abuse from the residential school system" (p. 164 of 2018)	I: D			
		SQ	History, Grade 8: B1.2 "Why was it challenging for Indigenous students either to return to their communities or live in non-Indigenous communities after attending residential schools ?" (p. 164 of 2018)	I: D	N/A	N/A	Implicit

			SQ	History, Grade 8: B1.2 “In what ways is this term (‘intergenerational trauma’) relevant to a discussion of the impact of residential schools ?” (p. 164 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B1.2 “How did these rivalries (between Christian churches) contribute to the development of the residential school system ?” (p. 164 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit to understand rivalries, this is the second about churches
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B1.2 “When you investigate the short- and long-term impact that residential schools had on FN children and their families, what actions do you think have to be taken to make amends? In this context, how is an apology different from reconciliation?” (p. 164 of 2018)	I: D	Invites thought	N/A	Interesting
			E	History, Grade 8: B2.1 “the expansion of the residential school system ” in SE about “formulate questions to guide investigations into perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNMI communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada between 1890 and 1914” (p. 164 of 2018)	I: D	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B2.2 “Where would you look for information on student deaths in residential school ? Why are school/government records of such deaths incomplete? How do these incomplete records affect our ability to determine the truth about this issue? What other sources could you consult to gain a fuller understanding” “When you are conducting research, what challenges do you face in gathering, organizing, and storing Indigenous primary sources?” “Where could you find documents that reveal the perspective of the federal and provincial governments on the North during this period? Where would you find information on the perspectives of people who lived in this region?” (p. 165 of 2018) in SE about gathering and organizing evidence about diverse group perspectives (e.g., FNMI) using primary sources.				These are really great questions...perfect example of questions to ask for historical perspective. Also very much difficult knowledge.
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B2.3 “Why is it important to examine many types of sources with different viewpoints when examining the impact of residential schools ?” (p. 165 of 2018) in SE about “assess the credibility of sources and information relevant to their investigations”	E: E, D	N/A	N/A	Explicit example
			E	History, Grade 8: B2.4 “analyse an interactive map that shows the growth of residential schools in Canada” in SE about “analyse and construct maps as part of their investigations into some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period, with a focus on exploring their spatial boundaries” (p. 165 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B2.5 “What do these sources tell you about similarities and differences in the residential school experiences of FN and M children?” (p. 166 of 2018) in SE about “interpret and analyse information and evidence relevant to their investigations, using a variety of tools” (p. 166)	E: E, D	N/A	N/A	Explicit example
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B2.5 “What do accounts of FN and M survivors of residential schools tell you about their differing experiences?” (p. 166 of 2018)	E: E, D	N/A	Perhaps	Explicit example
			SQ	History, Grade 8: B2.6 “What conclusions have you drawn about educational policies and practices in residential schools compared to educational policies/practices in non-Indigenous communities?” in SE about “evaluate evidence and draw conclusions about perspectives of different groups and communities, including FNMI communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected Canada and/or people in Canada during this period” (p. 166 of 2018)	I: C, E	N/A	N/A	Requires understanding of context and evidence, though this is implicit
			E, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.1 “an increase in the number of residential schools for First Nations and Métis children” in SE about “identify factors contributing to some key issues, events, and/or developments that specifically affected FNMI in Canada between 1890 and 1914...and explain the historical significance of some of these issues, events, and/or developments for different individuals and/or communities” (p. 166 of 2018)	I: C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			SQ, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.1 “Why did the number of residential schools increase during this period? What was the significance of this expansion for FN and M	I: C	N/A	N/A	Implicit

			children and their families?” (p. 166 of 2018)				
		SQ, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.1 “What was the Bryce Report? How did Ottawa respond to it? What does this response tell you about the government’s attitudes towards First Nations children? How did these attitudes contribute to the continuing development of the residential school system ?” (p. 166 of 2018)	E: D, C	N/A	N/A	Pretty clearly asks for investigation, though debatable
		SQ, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.1 “How did the attitudes of churches and the federal government influence the design and conditions of residential schools during this period?” (p. 167 of 2018)	E: D, C	N/A	N/A	Pretty clearly asks
		E, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.3 “Ottawa’s establishment of per student funding of residential schools in 1891” in SE about “identify key political and legal changes that occurred in and/or affected Canada during this period...and explain the impact of some of these changes on various individuals, groups, and/or communities, including FNMI individuals and/or communities” (p. 167 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit
		SQ, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.3 “What impact did the Truancy Act of 1891 have on the treatment of students in residential schools?” (p. 167 of 2018)	E: E, D			
		E, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.5 “increasing resistance among Indigenous families to residential schools ” in SE about “describe significant examples of cooperation and conflict in Canada during this period (1890-1914)” (p. 167 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		SQ, OE	History, Grade 8: B3.5 “Why did the residential school system meet with growing resistance from Indigenous families during this period? What happened when parents resisted the removal of their children? Why did some parents not resist?” (p. 167 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit
		Gx2	Term definition (residential school system/residential schools) “A network of government-funded, church-run schools for FNMI children, the goal of which was to eradicate Indigenous languages, traditions, knowledge, and culture and to assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream settler society” (p. 223 of 2018) - <i>much different definition than 2013</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		Gx2	Appears under ‘Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)’ “A federally commissioned investigative body whose mandate was to learn the truth about the experience of residential school survivors and, in so doing, to create a historical record of and promote awareness and public education about the history and impact of the residential school system (p. 226 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	

APPENDIX B

Appendix B: Disciplinary and Sociocultural Perspectives and Consciousness: Data and Memos for the CWS Curriculum Content Analysis

TERM	Freq 2013	Freq 2018	CH	Text	DA: PT-ECD	SA: Posi/Rela	IHC	Notes
Antisemitism	5	5	E	Grade 10 Academic History: B2.6 under SE about “describe attitudes towards as well as discrimination against and other significant actions affecting non-Indigenous ethnocultural groups in Canada during this period (1914-1929)...and explain their impact” (p. 114 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: A1.7 “an oral presentation on racism and/or antisemitism in Canada” under specific expectation “communicate their ideas, arguments, and conclusions using various formats and styles, as appropriate for the audience and purpose” (p. 135 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: B2.4 under SE about “describe some significant challenges facing immigrants and other non-Indigenous ethnocultural minorities in Canada during this period, with a particular emphasis on forms of discrimination” (p. 137 of 2018) - “with a particular emphasis on forms of discrimination” added to 2018	I: C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: C3.3 under SE about “explain the significance of the Holocaust for Canada and people in Canada” (p. 141 of 2018)	I: D	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			G	Term definition				
colonialism	0	6	FM	History: “Students learn about the historical and contemporary impact of colonialism , the Indian Act, the residential school system, treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada.” (p. 11 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit context, perspectives
			O-FQ	Grade 10 Academic History: “How did colonialism continue to have an impact on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada during this period?” (p. 108 of 2018)	E: D	N/A	Perhaps, if encouraged	Requires understanding
			O-FQ	Grade 10 Applied History: “How did colonialism continue to have an impact on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada during this period (1929-1945)?” (p. 132 of 2018)	E: D	N/A	Perhaps, if encouraged	Requires understanding
			G	Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Appears under colonization, “see also colonialism ”	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Appears under imperialism, “see also colonialism ”	N/A	N/A	N/A	
enemy aliens	11	12	E	Grade 10 Academic History: B1.4 “the internment of “ enemy aliens ”” under specific expectation “explain the impact on Canadian society and politics of some key events and/or developments during World War I” (p. 113 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			SQ	Grade 10 Academic History: B1.4 “What does the term ‘ enemy alien ’ mean? Which groups did the Canadian government consider to be enemy aliens during World War I? What was the significance of Canada’s treatment of these groups?” (p. 113 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: C2.1 “internment camps for “ enemy aliens ”” in SE “analyse some significant ways in which people in Canada, including FNMI individuals and communities, cooperated and/or came into conflict with each other during this period (1929-1945)...with a focus on explaining key issues that led to those interactions and/or changes that resulted from them” (p. 117 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: C2.5 in SE about “explain some ways in which World War II affected non-Indigenous Canadians” (p. 118 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: B1.1 “the treatment of “ enemy aliens ”” in SE “describe some key social developments in Canada during this period (1914-1929)...and assess their impact on the lives of different people in Canada, including FNMI communities” (p. 136 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: B1.4 “...internment of “ enemy aliens ”” under specific expectation “describe the impact that World War I had on Canadian society and	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit

				politics and the lives of different people in Canada, including FNMI individuals and communities” (p. 137 of 2018)				
			Gx3	Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Appears under "internment"	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Appears under "internment", see also " enemy aliens "	N/A	N/A	N/A	
genocide	6	6	E	Grade 10 Academic History: D2.4 “Canada’s response to famine in Biafra or the genocide in East Timor” in SE about “describe some 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...and assess whether these developments marked a change in Canada’s approach to or role in international relations” (p. 122 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: E3.3 “the Armenian, Rwandan, and Srebrenican genocides ” in SE about “assess the significance of public acknowledgments and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (p. 128 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	<i>other examples here include 'suicide rates among Indigenous youth' which is new</i>
			SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: E3.3 “What was Canada’s involvement in Rwanda during the time of the genocide ?” (p. 147 of 2018) in SE about “explain the significance of responses by Canada and Canadians to some key international events and/or developments since 1982”	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: E3.4 “government recognition of the Holocaust and Holodomor and the genocide in Armenia, Rwanda, and/or Srebrenica” in SE about “describe some of the ways in which Canada and people in Canada have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world...and explain the significance of these acknowledgments/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 147 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Open Civics and Citizenship: B3.5 in SE about “identify examples of human rights violations around the world...and assess the effectiveness of responses to such violations” (p. 162 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Holocaust	9	11	E	Grade 10 Academic History: C3.2 in SE about “analyse how Canada and people in Canada, including FNMI individuals and communities, responded or were connected to some major international events and/or developments that occurred during this period...and assess the significance of the responses/connections, including their significance for identities and heritage in Canada” (p. 119 of 2018)	I: D, C	I: Identities	N/A	Implicit
			SE	Grade 10 Academic History: C3.3 “analyse the impact of the Holocaust on Canadian society and on the attitudes of people in Canada towards human rights” (p. 119 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: C3.3 “more open refugee policies, including those affecting Holocaust survivors and other displaced persons” (p. 119 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			SQ	Grade 10 Academic History: C3.3 “Do you think the Holocaust affected Canadians’ views about Canada’s treatment of FNMI? Why or why not?” (p. 119 of 2018)	E: C, D	Could be	N/A	Interesting question
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: E3.3 in SE about “assess the significance of public acknowledgements and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (p. 128 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: C3.2 in SE about “describe responses of Canada and people in Canada to some major international events and/or developments that occurred between 1929 and 1945, including their military response...and explain the significance of these responses for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 141 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
			SE	Grade 10 Applied History: C3.3 “explain the significance of the Holocaust for Canada and people in Canada” (p. 141 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit

			SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: C3.3 “Do you think that the Holocaust affected Canadian’s views about Canada’s treatment of FNMI in this country?” (p. 141 of 2018)	I: D, C	Perhaps	N/A	Interesting new question
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: E3.4 “government recognition of the Holocaust and Holodomor and of genocide in Armenia, Rwanda, and/or Srebrenica” (p. 147 of 2018) under specific expectation “describe some of the ways in which Canada and people in Canada have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world...and explain the significance of these acknowledgments/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 147 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Open Civics and Citizenship: C2.2 “ Holocaust Day” under specific expectation “describe ways in which some events, issues, people, and/or symbols are commemorated or recognized in Canada...and analyse the significance of this recognition” (p. 165 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Term definition				
Holodomor	6	6	E	Grade 10 Academic History: C3.2 in SE about “analyse how Canada and people in Canada, including FNMI individuals and communities, responded or were connected to some major international events and/or developments that occurred during this period...and assess the significance of the responses/connections, including their significance for identities and heritage in Canada” (p. 119 of 2018)	I: D, C	I: Identities	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: E3.3 in SE about “assess the significance of public acknowledgements and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (p. 128 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: C3.2 in SE about “describe responses of Canada and people in Canada to some major international events and/or developments that occurred between 1929 and 1945, including their military response to World War II...and explain the significance of these responses for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 141 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: E3.4 “government recognition of the Holocaust and Holodomor and the genocide in Armenia, Rwanda, and/or Srebrenica” under specific expectation “describe some of the ways in which Canada and people in Canada have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world...and explain the significance of these acknowledgments/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 147 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Open Civics and Citizenship: C2.2 “ Holodomor Memorial Day” in SE about “describe ways in which some events, issues, and/or symbols are commemorated or recognized in Canada...and analyse the significance of this recognition” (p. 165 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			G	Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	
internment	8	9	E	Grade 10 Academic History: B1.4 “ internment of “enemy aliens”” in SE about “explain the impact on Canadian society and politics of some key events and/or developments during World War I” (p. 113 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: C2.1 “ internment camps for “enemy aliens”” in SE “analyse some significant ways in which people in Canada, including FNMI individuals and communities, cooperated and/or came into conflict with each other during this period (1929-45)...with a focus on explaining key issues that led to those interactions and/or changes that resulted from them” (p. 117 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: E3.3 “Ukrainian- and Japanese-Canadian internment ” under specific expectation “assess the significance of public acknowledgements and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (p. 128 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: A1.2 “Why might diaries and letters of Japanese	E: E, D	N/A	N/A	

				Canadians living in <u>internment</u> camps be a good source on their experiences and perspectives? What other sources would you need to consult to explore other people's perspectives on the <u>internment</u> of the Japanese?" under specific expectation "select and organize relevant evidence and information on aspects of Canadian history since 1914 from a variety of primary and secondary sources" ...ensuring that their sources reflect different perspectives (p. 134 of 2018) - <i>good, perspectives</i>				
		E		Grade 10 Applied History: B1.4 " <u>internment</u> of "enemy aliens"" under specific expectation "describe the impact that World War I had on Canadian society and politics and the lives of different people in Canada, including FNMI and communities" (p. 137 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
		SQ		Grade 10 Applied History: C3.2 "In what ways was the <u>internment</u> of Japanese Canadians in World War II similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of FNMI children in residential schools?" in SE about "describe responses of Canada and people in Canada to some major international events and/or developments that occurred between 1929 and 1945, including their military response to World War II" (p. 141 of 2018)	E: C, D	N/A	N/A	Interesting new question
		E		Grade 10 Applied History: E3.4 "apologies for the Chinese head tax, the <u>internment</u> of Japanese Canadians, and/or the residential school system" under specific expectation "describe some of the ways in which Canada and people in Canada have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world...and explain the significance of these acknowledgements/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada" (p. 147 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
		G		Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	
residential school system/ residential schools	13	30	FM	History: "Students learn about the historical and contemporary impact of colonialism, the Indian Act, the <u>residential school system</u> , treaties, and systemic racism on Indigenous individuals and communities in Canada" (p. 11 of 2018, as seen for colonialism)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Impact = implicit
			FM	New sub-section on Indigenous Education in Ontario: "The revision strengthens learning connected with Indigenous perspectives, cultures, histories, and contemporary realities, including those related to the <u>residential school system</u> and treaties" (p. 15 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	Perhaps	Opens door to possibility of IHC = "learning connected with Indigenous perspectives"
			FM	New sub-section on Cultural Safety: "Teachers should be aware that some students may experience emotional reactions when learning about issues that have affected their own lives, their family, and/or their community, such as the legacy of the <u>residential school system</u> " (p. 15 of 2018)	N/A	Perhaps	Perhaps	Opens up sociocultural perspective (though implicit)
			FM	"Some Considerations for Program Planning in Canadian and World Studies" chapter, under "Indigenous Expertise and Protocols" (NEW), "Teachers can provide opportunities for Elders, Métis Senators, knowledge keepers, knowledge holders, <u>residential school survivors</u> and intergenerational survivors, and Indigenous experts in fields such as history, the environment, culture, governance, and law to offer their experience, skills, knowledge, and wisdom to benefit all students" (p. 40 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	Perhaps	Opens up IHC engagement, though implicitly
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: A1.4 "use a concept map to help them assess the short-and long-term consequences of <u>residential schools</u> for FNMI individuals and communities" under specific expectation "interpret and analyse evidence and information relevant to their investigations, using various tools, strategies, and approaches appropriate for historical inquiry" (p. 110 of 2018)	I: D, E	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			SE	Grade 10 Academic History: B2.5 "describe how the <u>residential school system</u> and other government policies and legislation, as well as the attitudes that underpinned them, affected FNMI individuals and communities during this period...and explain some of their long-term consequences" (p. 114 of 2018)	I: C, D	N/A	N/A	Implicit
			E	Grade 10 Academic History: B2.5 "with reference to mandatory attendance at	N/A	N/A	N/A	Tied to SE above

			residential schools ” (p. 114 of 2018)				
	SQ	Grade 10 Academic History: B2.5 “How did the experiences of children in residential schools differ from the experiences of children in training schools and in public schools?” (p. 114 of 2018)	E: D, C	Considers different experiences	N/A	Good question	
	E	Grade 10 Academic History: C1.4 “the continuing operation of residential schools ” under specific expectation “describe the main causes of some key political developments and/or government policies that affected Indigenous peoples in Canada during this period...and assess their impact on FNMI communities” (p. 117 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit	
	E	Grade 10 Academic History: D3.3 “the continuing operation of residential schools ” under specific expectation “analyse key causes of some significant events, developments, and/or issues that affected FNMI communities in Canada during this period...and assess the impact of these events, developments, and/or issues on identities, citizenship, and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 123 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A		
	SQ	Grade 10 Academic History: E2.3 “How was Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s apology for residential schools viewed by Indigenous people? By various non-Indigenous Canadians?” under specific expectation “identify some key developments and issues that have affected the relationship between the federal/provincial governments and FNMI and communities since 1982...and analyse them from various perspectives” (p.127 of 2018)	E: D	N/A	N/A	Good question and viewpoints to consider	
	E	Grade 10 Academic History: E3.3 in SE about “assess the significance of public acknowledgments and/or commemoration in Canada of past human tragedies and human rights violations, both domestic and international” (p. 128 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A		
	SQ	Grade 10 Academic History: E3.3 “What events led to Stephen Harper’s statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools in 2008? Did this apology lead to changes in attitudes towards and/or in policies directed at FNMI individuals and communities in Canada? Why or why not?” (p. 129 for question, 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Good question but not as explicit as last one...good comparative result, though	
	E	Grade 10 Applied History: A1.5 “use the concept of historical perspective when evaluating evidence about residential schools ” in SE about “use the concepts of historical thinking...when analyzing, evaluating evidence about, and formulating conclusions and/or judgments regarding historical issues, events, and/or developments in Canada since 1914” (p. 135 for example, p. 134 for specific expectation, 2018)	E: E	N/A	N/A	Explicit, even makes reference to historical perspective	
	E	Grade 10 Applied History: B2.3 “mandatory attendance in residential schools ” in SE about “describe some significant challenges facing FNMI individuals and communities in Canada during this period” (p. 137 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit	
	SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: B2.3 “Why was it mandatory for status Indians to attend residential schools ? What were the goals of these schools?” (p. 137 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	Tied to example above	
	SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: B2.3 “How did the residential school experiences of FN and M children differ?” (p.137 of 2018)	E: D, C	Potentially	N/A	Good question	
	E	Grade 10 Applied History: C1.4 “the continuing operation of residential schools ” under specific expectation “describe the main causes of some key political developments and/or government policies that had an impact on Indigenous people in Canada during this period...and explain how they affected the lives of FNMI individuals and communities” (p. 140 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit	
	SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: C1.4 “How did the continued operation of residential schools affect FNMI individuals and communities in Canada during this period?”, see specific expectation above (p. 140 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit	
	SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: C3.2 “In what ways was the internment of Japanese Canadians in World War II similar to and/or different from the forced attendance of FNMI in residential schools ?” in SE about “describe responses of Canada and people in Canada to some major international events and/or developments that occurred between 1929 and 1945, including their military response...and explain	E: D, C	I: Identities	N/A	Good question, new for this curriculum	

				the significance of these responses for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 141 of 2018)				
		E		Grade 10 Applied History: D3.2 “continuing operation of residential schools ” under specific expectation “describe some significant developments and/or issues that affected FNMI communities in Canada during this period...and explain the impact of these developments/issues on identities, citizenship, and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 144 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
		SQ		Grade 10 Applied History: E1.4 “What are some ways in which the residential school system continues to affect the lives of FNMI individuals and communities in Canada?” under specific expectation “describe some key political developments and/or government policies that have affected Indigenous peoples in Canada since 1982...and assess their impact on the lives of FNMI individuals and communities” (p. 146 of 2018)	I: D, C	N/A	N/A	Implicit
		E		Grade 10 Applied History: E2.2 “Ottawa’s apology for the residential school system ” under “describe some significant issues and/or developments that have affected relations between the federal/provincial governments and FNMI individuals and communities since 1982...and explain some changes that have resulted from them” (p. 146 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		E		Grade 10 Applied History: E2.2 “the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement” (p. 146 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		E		Grade 10 Applied History: E3.4 “apologies for...” under specific expectation “describe some of the ways in which Canada and people in Canada have, since 1982, acknowledged the consequences of and/or commemorated past events, with a focus on human tragedies and human rights violations that occurred in Canada or elsewhere in the world...and explain the significance of these acknowledgements/commemorations for identities and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 147 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
		SQ		Grade 10 Applied History: E3.4 “What was the purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Do you think the commission was an effective response to the history of residential schools ? Why, or why not?” (p. 148 of 2018) - <i>TRC reference! (TRC appears 11 times in 2018... only appears once in 2013, on p. 123)</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	Interesting question
		Gx2		Term definition (residential school system/residential schools)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
		Gx2		Appears under definition for TRC (twice)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Sixties Scoop	0	6	E	Grade 10 Academic History: D2.1 in SE about “describe some significant instances of social conflict and/or inequality in Canada during this period, with reference to various groups and communities, including FNMI communities...and analyse them from multiple perspectives” (p. 121 of 2018)	E: D	N/A	N/A	Though example itself isn’t DA, the SE it’s tied to explicitly says multiple perspectives
			SQ	Grade 10 Academic History: D2.1 “What was the Sixties Scoop ? What was the goal of this policy? How did Indigenous people view this policy? How were Indigenous people affected by this policy? Do you think this policy was a continuation of earlier government policies targeting FN and/or I children? Why or why not?” (p. 121 of 2018) à- <i>great list of questions, predominantly about sixties scoop here</i>	E: D, C	N/A	N/A	Good question, explicitly asks for Indigenous perspectives
			SQ	Grade 10 Applied History: D1.4 “What was the Sixties Scoop ? What attitudes underpinned this policy? In what ways were they a continuation of government attitudes towards Indigenous peoples?” (p. 143 of 2018)	N/A	N/A	N/A	
			E	Grade 10 Applied History: D3.2 in SE about “describe some significant developments and/or issues that affected FNMI communities in Canada during this period (1945-1982)...and explain the impact of these developments/issues on identities, citizenship, and/or heritage in Canada” (p. 144 of 2018)	N/A	I: Identities	N/A	
			Gx2	Term definition	N/A	N/A	N/A	